

**Social Capital and Social Entrepreneurship:
Analysing Links and Implications for Sustainability
in Third Sector Organisations in West Bengal**

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Certificate of authorship/originality

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Abstract

The theory of social capital attracts considerable attention across diversified fields due to its positive impact on society. A major portion of social capital literature is devoted to defining the concept and identifying the sources and factors that contribute to social capital development. Putnam (1993), the major proponent of this theory, defined social capital as the trust, norms and networks that facilitate coordinated action and improve the efficiency of society. He considered voluntary organisations to be a significant source of social capital as they encourage the trust-based relationships required for collective action. Many authors argued that social capital development is context specific. Krishna (2002) found that in a poor socio-economic context, social entrepreneurs acting as mediators can activate social capital and bring development. Social entrepreneurs act as catalysts to social change (Alvord et al. 2004), but limited studies have focused on their role in voluntary organisations in developing social capital.

The present research analyses the activities of social entrepreneurs who assist in building and strengthening social capital among villagers as a part of the development process, and the implications of these activities for organisational sustainability. The activities of two types of social entrepreneurs, outsiders (SEETOs) and insiders (non-SEETOs) have been analysed.

The research used a qualitative design and case study approach to investigate multiple levels of analysis within the single study. The case study organisations are five rural voluntary organisations from the state of West Bengal, India — three with SEETOs and two with non-SEETOs. Primary data have been collected during 2007 and 2008 through face-to-face interviews, published materials, photographs and participant observations.

The findings of this research indicate that the development of social capital is dependent on the ‘enabling’ leadership style of social entrepreneurs. The ‘enabling’ leaders played an important role in transforming an organisation into a learning organisation and developed the villagers’ organisational ability or social agency (an element of social

capital) as a group to solve their own problems. The learning organisation ensures organisational sustainability. The study also observed the ‘benevolent dictator’ leadership style. The ‘benevolent dictator’ failed to create a learning organisation, and so the villagers had no organizational ability or social agency, which then placed organisational sustainability at risk. However, both types of leader played positive and effective roles in improving the lives of poor villagers. The research confirmed the social entrepreneur’s role in social capital development in voluntary organisations within a poor socio-economic context.

List of terms used

<i>Basantotsav</i>	Spring festival
<i>Bidi</i>	Local hand rolled cigarette
<i>Dada</i> or ' <i>da</i> (in short)	Elder brother – used with respect and love
<i>Dalit</i>	Lower caste in the social system (synonymous to ‘untouchable’)
<i>Dharma</i>	Religion
<i>Didi</i> or ' <i>di</i> (in short)	Elder sister – used with respect and love
<i>Gajon</i>	Local drama based on common life story
<i>Gram</i>	Village
<i>Hogla</i> grass	A type of local grass used to weave mats and baskets
<i>Hut</i>	Weekly market
<i>Jethu</i>	Father's elder brother
<i>Kador</i>	<i>Santal</i> term - used for a small canal
<i>Kaku</i>	Father's younger brother
<i>Kirtan</i>	Religious song
<i>Mama</i>	Mother' brother
<i>Nari</i> or <i>Mohila</i>	Woman
Palm candy	Special type of delicious molasses made out of palm juice
<i>Panchayet</i>	Local (at village level) government - lowest tier of village administration
<i>Panchayet Prodhan</i>	Elected head of Panchayet – usually a local political leader
<i>Pucca</i> house	Brick built house
Rupees (Rs.)	Indian currency - exchange rate: A\$ 1 = Rs. 34 (October 2009)
<i>Sangho</i>	Organisation
<i>Shal</i>	A type of big tree
<i>Shola</i>	A type of local grass stem used to make handicrafts
<i>Sorder</i>	<i>Santal</i> village administrative head
<i>Thonga</i>	Hand-made paper packet used as bag
<i>Unnayan</i>	Development

List of abbreviations used

ANS	Alokananda Nari Sangho
BAS	Bhuvonpur Adibasi Sangho
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CAPART	Council for Advancement of Peoples' Action and Rural Technology
CASA	Church's Auxiliaries and Social Action
DGS	Daria Gramunnayan Sangho
FCRA	Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (of the Government of India)
GMS	Gramunnayan Milan Samity
GOI	Government of India
JP	<i>Jeevandeep Prokolpo</i> - Programme to enlighten (improve) life
JRY	<i>Jawahar Rojgar Yojona</i> - Planning for creating income-earning opportunities, named after Jawaharlal Nehru, former Prime Minister of India
LP	<i>Lokshiksha Parishad</i> - a state level voluntary organization of the Ramakrishna Mission
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
Non-SEETO	Social Entrepreneur Internal to Organization
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SEETO	Social Entrepreneur External to Organization
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association.
SGSY	<i>Swarnajayanthi Gram Swarozgari Yojana</i>
SMS	Shishu O Mahila Sangho
VO	Voluntary organization
VSK	Vivekananda Sishushiksha Kendra

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

From time immemorial people joined together in India and took voluntary initiatives to resolve their social problems within their own communities (Majumdar & Majumdar 1957). These relationships were based on mutual cooperation, mutual trust and sense of belonging which improved their participation in collective action for mutual benefits (Alliband 1983). These relationships or social ties function as 'social capital'. In other words, social capital has the potential to act as a development tool, and so the concept draws the attention of academics and professionals in diverse disciplines. There has been tremendous growth in the literature on social capital particularly from 1988 (Halpern 2001).

The concept of social capital is not new. It can be traced back to the writings of Lyda J Hanifan, superintendent of schools in West Virginia more than 80 years ago (Hanifan 1916). He emphasised the importance of community participation in enhancing school performance and focused on some tangible sources such as goodwill, sympathy, friendship, and social intercourse among individuals. In the same line of thinking, Glen Loury, an economist, drew attention to the influence of aspects of social capital on human development in 1977 (Loury 1977). Loury claimed that the social context strongly conditions individual development. For example, research indicates that poor networks stymied achievement levels of African-Americans in the United States (US) (Loury 1977). Subsequently, major sociological and political science contributions in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Coleman 1988; Putnam 1993 & 1995) provoked new research and much debate around the concept of social capital.

Social capital or social relationship, as Putnam (1993) argued, is characterised by the features of social organisation such as networks, norms and trust. Theorists have identified three types of social capital: Bonding (Coleman 1988; Putnam 1993),

Bridging (Granovetter 1973; Woolcock & Narayan 2000) and Linking (Aldridge et al. 2002). Bonding social capital is characterized by shared norms, thick trust and dense networks commonly found in families and close-knit groups. Bridging relationships indicate weak trust and thin networks that cut across different groups. Linking social capital reflects relationship with groups of higher social order.

The problem of poverty is still very prevalent in developing countries such as India where the benefits of development often fail to raise the standard of living for the poor (Jazairy et al. 1992; Rajasekhar & Satapathy 2007). Thus the importance of social capital for their development is paramount, and so identifying sources and factors associated with generations of social capital is one of the major issues in the social capital literature. There is no consensus on the nature of sources and factors associated with social capital formation. Voluntary organisations, government organisations, religious faith, societal cleavages, government policy and family structure can all influence social capital formation (Stolle 2003). Krishna (2002) argued that factors associated with social capital mostly depend on the context where association takes place. This study, based on India showed social entrepreneurs can activate social capital. Thus sources and factors can vary in different countries and in different contexts.

Voluntary organisation is one important source that can reproduce social capital (Putnam 1993). Anecdotal stories provide evidence that social entrepreneurs can bind villagers together for development purposes and collect resources using their personal contacts to organise collective actions. The social entrepreneur in this case was a non-resident, and non-managing committee member of the organisation (Jain & Jain 2004) In this research such a person is considered as a 'social entrepreneur external to organisation' (SEETO).

The dependence of villagers on social entrepreneurs for reproducing social capital is a matter of concern. Dependence on a single person can hinder sustainability when the person withdraws. Sustainability of development has been defined as "*the ongoing dynamic process of continuing the valued results of development activities*" (Viswanath 1995). It focuses on long-term continuation of the result or outcome of development activities. Development activities that have a positive outcome only in the short-term

are not considered sustainable. Organisational sustainability depends on local participation in management tasks, in the decision-making process and the contribution of funds. At the same time, the organisation should be a learning organisation (Rahman 1990; Smillie & Hailey 2001; Uphoff et al. 1998). Dale also argued that organisational sustainability depends on social, financial, and human capital, and proper utilization of one type of capital can bring other capitals (Dale 2001).

The purpose of this study is to analyse the links between social capital and social entrepreneurship by assessing the activities of two groups of social entrepreneurs — those who help the poor by managing community organisations for their development from outside (external to organisation or SEETO), and the those who do the same from inside the organisation (internal to organisation or non-SEETO). It also attempts to analyse the extent to which social entrepreneurship impacts on organisational sustainability.

1.2 Background of research

In order to understand the activities of social entrepreneurs in developing villagers' lives in rural India we need to understand the concept of rural poverty in India, including women's poverty, history of voluntarism in India, and its voluntary sector with particular reference to the state of West Bengal. All of these concepts provide the perspective that leads to an understanding of the emergence of various voluntary organisations' involvement in development activities.

1.2.1 Rural poverty in India

Poverty can be defined in a number of ways. The World Bank report (World Bank 2009) has focused on hunger, lack of shelter, joblessness, death of a child due to illness, lack of educational opportunities and so on. At the same time, combined rates of literacy, level of income, and longevity has been considered by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as the main poverty indicators since 1990s. Chambers (1988) divided poverty into three major dimensions :

(1) poverty related to a lack of income and assets;

(2) physical weakness such as malnutrition, sickness, disability, lack of strength, ignorance, illiteracy, lack of access to government services, and living in rural and remote locations; and

(3) vulnerability to contingencies, to becoming poorer, and powerlessness.

Chambers argued that vulnerability and powerlessness have been largely ignored by government poverty alleviation programmes. However, these are critical dimensions to the eradication of poverty.

Subsequently, Chambers added to his notion of poverty by adding the two further aspects of 'well-being' and 'ill-being' (Chambers 1997). Aspects of well-being include freedom of choice and action, good social relations, security, enough income for a good life, and physical well-being. Violence, corruption and lawlessness were key contributors to ill-being.

"Well-being can be described as the experience of good quality life. Well-being and its opposite ill-being, differ from wealth and poverty. Well-being and ill-being are words with equivalents in many languages. Unlike wealth, well-being is open to the whole range of human experience, social, mental and spiritual as well as material. It has many elements. Each person can define it herself or himself. Perhaps most people would agree to include living standards, access to basic services, security and freedom from fear, health, good relations with others, friendship, love, peace of mind, choice, creativity, fulfillment and fun. Extreme poverty and ill-being go together, but the link between wealth and well being is weak or even negative: reducing poverty usually diminishes ill-being, but amassing wealth does not assure well-being." (Chambers 1997, p 10)

The reality of poverty in South Asia¹ is one of the extreme deprivations of approximately 500 million people who live below the poverty line and cannot manage the basic minimum requirements for their livelihood. They comprise approximately 40 per cent of the total world poor. Within this total figure, 300 million live in India (World Bank 2009).

¹ As per the World Bank definition, South Asia region includes 7 nations — India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan and the Maldives.

Carnea (1987), Cornia et al. (1987) and Jazairy et al. (1992) argue that the development growth model has an important role to play in the poverty scene where people still face different social problems involving health, education and poverty. Since the initiation of growth models which prescribed marketisation, privatization, deregulation and minimal government intervention, proponents of this model theorized a ‘trickle down’ effect to come from large scale industrial and agriculture projects that would benefit poor communities. This however did not eventuate (Uphoff et al. 1998). Since the initiation of this model the number of people below the poverty line is increasing in developing countries along with increasing income inequalities. More than 80 per cent of the world’s population lives in countries where income differentials are widening. The poorest 40 per cent of the population accounts for only 5 per cent of global income; the richest 20 per cent account for 75 per cent of global income (UNDP 2008). In 2005, the wealthiest 20 per cent of the world accounted for 76.6 per cent of total private consumption (topmost 10% accounted for 59%). The poorest 20 per cent accounted for just 1.5 per cent (0.5% for the bottom 10%) (World Bank 2009).

One of the results of this development growth model is the emergence of a dualistic society in urban and rural areas. A ‘modern’ sector provides relatively secure and comfortable living standards for owners, managers and employees in the ‘formal’ sector — financial institutions, commercial companies, manufacturing firms, and government offices including parastatal organisations and the military. In rural areas, the modern sector is composed of landed farmers with sufficient resources and initiative to gain reliable access to institutional credit, mechanized equipment, modern production inputs and marketing channels. Outside the modern sector are small landholders and women in rural areas who live in absolute poverty (Uphoff et al. 1998)

A dualistic society is still predominant in India despite its emergence as a powerful country in terms of its GDP growth in recent years. The rural poor are still suffering from malnutrition and hunger. The Human Poverty Index (HPI), developed by the United Nations (UN), provides a picture of the poverty of a country. Based on levels of deprivations in the three basic dimensions in the human life — a long and healthy life, knowledge, and a decent standard of living — HPI is estimated separately for developing countries (HPI-1) and for selected OECD countries (HPI-2). In 2008-09,

India ranked 88th among 135 countries (for which HPI-1 was constructed). The Index revealed that 11 per cent of the Indian population had no access to clean drinking water; the adult literacy rate was 34 per cent; 15.5 per cent of people did not likely to survive beyond the age of 40; and 46 per cent of children were underweight (UNDP 2009).

In line with the global trend, income inequality in India also has worsened over the period. Gini coefficient², an indicator of inequality, had risen from 0.28 in 1973–74 to 0.30 in 2004–05 for rural population and from 0.30 to 0.37 for urban population. Interestingly, the coefficient had improved for the rural population from 0.30 to 0.27 during the period for the state of West Bengal where the case study organisations of this research are located. About 28.3 per cent of the rural population was considered poor in India in 2004–05 as against 25.7 per cent for the urban population. In West Bengal, the gap was wider — rural poor accounted for 28.6 per cent of the population as against 14.8 per cent for their urban counterpart (GOI 2009) Approximately 65 per cent of the total rural population was literate in 2006 against 61 per cent in 1999. The enrolment rate in primary schools was 61 per cent with a high ‘drop-out’ rate. Sometimes the average amount of time spent in school education for poor children in rural India was as low as 1.5 years against an average of 6.2 years for children in East Asia (UNDP 1999).

Poverty among women in India

Poor women in developing countries are among the most poor and vulnerable. An UNDP Report (1999) found that women in India did achieve some progress during the period of 1991–97 in the areas of per capita real GDP, life expectancy at birth, literacy rate, and gross enrolment rates in primary, secondary and tertiary education. However, women still lagged behind men significantly in most areas. In 2005–06, the adult literacy rate was 55.1 per cent for women against 78.1 per cent for men in India. Gross enrolment ratio at primary school was 105.9 for girls and 112.7 for boys in 2005–06 (GOI 2009).

² The Gini coefficient is a measure of statistical dispersion, commonly used to indicate the level of inequality in income distribution in an area. The Gini coefficient can range from 0 to 1. A low Gini coefficient indicates a more equal distribution, with 0 corresponding to perfect equality, while higher Gini coefficients indicate more unequal distribution, with 1 corresponding to perfect inequality.

Another characteristic of the poverty of women in India is evident in women's poor work participation rate in economic activities. According to the 2001 Census Report (GOI 2001), only 25.6 per cent of women in India were active economically (51.7 per cent for men). One reason for the low level of economic participation for women might be social and cultural customs which do not consider women responsible for supporting their families economically. It has been observed that more women work for income in poorer families with a larger proportion of household income being derived from women's earnings in such families (Mehra 1997). Reasons for women's poverty in India can be classified under two categories: those resulting from belonging to families that are poor, and those relating to women's subordination within the family, community and wider economic and political spheres (Wignaraja 1993).

An underlying cause of poverty for women in India arises from cultural discrimination against them and unequal rights relating to land and property ownership and inheritance (Tisdell & Regmi 2005; Roy 1999). Cultural discrimination of women arising from seclusion excludes them from gainful employment and education, and technical training outside the home. These norms in turn, are reflected in two types of gender divisions of labour: the gender division of tasks within the family and family business (farm), and the gender division or segmentation of labour markets outside home (Carr et al. 1996). For example, women in India work 69 hours per week as opposed to 57 hours for men. Moreover, the majority of the work that woman undertakes is unpaid (housework) or lowly paid (subsistence level economic activity) (UNDP 1995). Thus women's labour is exploited due to low cost and easy availability (Tisdell 1991).

As a result of these social and cultural forces, most women in India have less independent access to capital, property, markets and extension services than men. They are dependent on men throughout the entire life-cycle. This dependency reduces their bargaining power, as well as access to health care facilities, education and training Carr et al. 1996. It is a vicious cycle that continues to disempower women in India.

The Government of India has initiated various types of anti-poverty (or income generation) programmes in India since independence in 1947. One of the major programmes, Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgari Yojana (SGSY) was introduced in 1999 to promote self-employment by providing assistance such as credit and training directly

to individuals or through Self-help groups (GOI 2004). SGSY is based on the principle of participation of the poor in the planning, implementation and monitoring of the programme progress. A recent study (Rajasekhar & Satapathy 2007) found the programme has limited potential to promote self-employment through group formation. One of the reasons for its limited success was low social capital among the women, they argued. The study also found that women were unable to gain benefits of the programme due to social, economic, marketing and infrastructural constraints (Rajasekhar & Satapathy 2007). Basu (Basu 2007) observed that women have less control and power over their own credit. In a village in West Bengal, India the control of the credit finally went to the male member of the family (mostly husbands) in case of about 38 per cent of the total women who took loans under SGSY. Tisdell (Tisdell et al. 2000) argued credit programmes or only income generation cannot enhance the empowerment of women in the context where various social taboos exist against them. He emphasized on a range of social and economic factors that can enable women to take part in the decision making process, which is one of the indicators of empowerment. Studies observed significant success of third sector organisations in reducing poverty of women due to higher participation of the poor in planning of their development programmes (Basu 2004; Basu & Basu 2003; Begum 2004; Carr et al. 1996; World Bank 1991).

1.2.2 The third sector

Any society includes three main actors or agents who perform different activities to achieve certain goals: the state, the market and civil society. *"The idea of civil society has been used in various ways though voluntary organisations and volunteering appear to be the core elements of civil society everywhere"* (Dekker & Broek 1998, p 12).

Civil society actors are different from state actors which include political parties and their organisations, government agencies, the military, police and the judiciary. These are different again to market actors which comprise national and multi-national corporations and financial institutions (Chatterjee 2002). The distinctive features of civil society are becoming complex as the boundaries of the three sectors are increasingly blurred and overlap with one another. One way to characterize civil society is that it is the space between the family and the state (Hughes et.al. 2000; Winter 2000).

The relative importance of the three sectors in any society is different and depends on historical processes and contexts (Brown & Tandon 1994). The state is considered the First sector of society. The importance of the state sector varied over the years. It played a very important role in many countries immediately after the Second World War. However, its role in the development model has gradually declined since 1970s. The market is called the Second sector of society, which acts as the primary agency of economic development in many countries, particularly in the West. Over the past few decades civil society has been seen as an important vehicle for achieving development goals. So, civil society is now considered the Third sector of society (Brown & Tandon 1994). The institutions and actors of civil society are of various forms and their definitions vary in different countries. In India it is generally referred as the voluntary sector or voluntary organisation that is synonymous with the non-profit, charitable and tax exempt sectors (Sen 1993).

Civil society is known as the third sector. Civil society includes the web of associations, social norms and practices that comprise social activities different from other activities performed by the state and the market. The actors of civil society are associations, voluntary agencies, non-governmental organisations, people's movements, citizen's groups, consumers associations, small producers associations and cooperatives, women's organisations and indigenous people's associations (Sen 1992). Civil society is peoples' organisations that support people, based around the concept of voluntary participation. It has certain attributes such as equality, autonomy, freedom of entry and exit, deliberative procedures of decision making, and recognised rights and duties of members (Chatterjee 2002).

Emergence of third sector organisations in developing countries

The contribution of civil society or voluntary organisations is an increasingly important vehicle for achieving development goals (Korten 1980). It has been growing steadily in size, activity and number over the last two decades in developing countries, particularly in South Asia, due to the failure of government sponsored development initiatives to reach the poor and marginalised sections of society (Korten 1990). One of the results of traditional approaches to development has been the emergence of dualistic societies in economies that place most of their productive resources in the hands of a small elite and leave the remainder of the population at the subsistence level (Korten 1990). One of the

reasons for the failure of the state fulfilling development goals in South Asia is structural (Fernandez 1987). Few individuals control resources and their utilisation; they also control political power, which to a large extent flows from the control of resources. As a result any infusion of resources targeted for the poor tends to have a ‘trickle-up’ effect, so that it generates a larger share of resources for the rich than for the poor (Uphoff et al. 1998). The poor cannot participate effectively in society through these systems nor benefit from these programmes.

In the past, policy makers suggested various people-centered development models where local people control, manage and own their resources (Korten 1995; Riker 1995). Local organisation is integral to people-centered development (Korten 1995). Studies observed that amid harsh and acute adversity, poor people can organise themselves and devise their own survival strategies even with limited resources (Chambers 1983, 1997). During the mid-1980s, several local initiatives showed promising results in developing countries (Rahman 1990; Uphoff et al. 1998). Thus the concept of people-centred development came into prominence during that period, and the notion of development changed its emphasis (Riker 1995). Korten (1990) explains that development is a process that increases people’s institutional capacity to manage their resources according to their own aspirations. Consequently, people’s organisations or voluntary organisations (the third sector) came to prominence in developing countries (Bhatt 1995a; Brown & Tandon 1994).

Voluntarism in India

India has one of the most developed voluntary sectors among developing countries in terms of its contribution to the process of economic development. The average person in India considers voluntary work important for the welfare of society and human beings as part of their culture and religion. The Hindu concept of *Dharma* (religion) lays down a code of ethics to promote moral and social behaviour that reflects concerns for all other human beings (Tandon & Srivastava 2002).

The origin of voluntary work in India can be traced back to social service with its antecedents in charity and philanthropy in 1,500 BC when it was mentioned in the *Rig Vedas*, the ancient Aryan religious scripture (Dadrawala 1991). The role of the political regime was mainly restricted to promoting moral, aesthetic, and spiritual progress in

society. Voluntarism played an important role in the social and economic development of civilization in India until the 17th century (Inamder 1987). It operated in the fields of education, medicine, cultural promotion and in crises such as droughts, floods, epidemics, foreign invasions, and pilferage by robbers and criminals. The disadvantaged and the poor were cared for by social mechanisms outside state control through the systems of joint family, caste, solidarity of colleagues, guilds and individual philanthropy and religious philanthropy (Sen 1993). Philanthropy, which is based on respect and love for the human race, has always been part of life in India.

Bengal³ produced religious leaders like Sri Ramakrishna (1834–86)⁴ who believed that '*All religions are true paths to God*' and his philosophical depth and simplicity of preaching core values of Hinduism attracted educated people. The most prominent of them, Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902), the most renowned disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, was an internationally acclaimed philosopher and the founder of *Ramakrishna Mission Ashram*, the most prominent socio-religious organisation for human development in India. He was always interested in the concept of 'man-making education'. The philosophy of 'man-making education' is focused on overall 'human development' which avoids teaching facts and instead attempts to liberate man's innate creative potential. The Ramakrishna Mission has become an important agency of religious reform and social service, not only in Bengal but also in other parts of India and overseas through its religious, educational, social reform and welfare activities (Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture 2006).

During the 19th century voluntary activities were prominent in social reform movements in India and Bengal took a lead role. Some of the inequitable cultural practices that centered on women such as educational norms and feudal systems, were the subjects of these reform movements (Majumdar & Majumdar 1957). Raja Rammohan Roy (1774–1833), the Bengali social reformer and founder of *Brahmo Samaj*, was a strong opponent of practices such as '*Sati*'⁵ and fought for the education of women and widow

³ The state of 'Bengal' in undivided India constituted the modern state of West Bengal in India and the independent country of Bangladesh until 1947.

⁴ Sri Ramakrishna was a well known Indian philosopher and saint of the 19th century and had a significant influence on Indian spiritual and social life.

⁵ 'Sati' was a funeral practice among some Hindu communities in which a recently widowed woman would either voluntarily or by use of force and coercion immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre. This practice has been outlawed for a long time.

marriage. These social reform movements inspired middle class educated people to work voluntarily to alleviate social suffering. To continue with the task of social reforms in Hindu society, Iswarvandra Bidyasagar (1820–91), a Bengali scholar, took up the widow marriage movement, which became the inspiration of other movements across India.

Voluntary activities in pre-independent India became more powerful during the 1920s under the influence of Rabindranath Thakur (1861–1941). Through his educational institution '*Santiniketan*' in West Bengal he preached the real value of education which help to develop human qualities. Tagore's education and lyrics were one of the main sources of inspiration for many Indians during the Indian independence movement prior to 1947 (Srivastava et al. 2002).

India was under British colonial rule for 300 years until 1947. The independence movement in India was highly active during the last one hundred years of the British rule (Sen 1993). Leaders such as M K Gandhi (1869–1948) came into prominence during this period of nationalism and social reform. Gandhi was one of the pioneers of voluntary activities during that period and inspired people to serve for social causes and to work among the under-privileged social and economic classes of the population who were deprived of education, health, employment and income. Concerns about village development was the main theme of Gandhi's voluntary activities (Alliband 1983). Gandhi believed that village construction was the only path to India's development as a nation and through this path India could be free from British rule. Gandhi's concept of development included all aspects of life: social, political, economic, cultural, and spiritual (Chaturvedi 1987). He believed that only self-governed, self-supporting and self-reliant village communities could bring rural development where greater harmony and cooperation could flourish. His philosophy of egalitarian Indian society inspired Indians to participate as volunteers to serve their country. One of the basic approaches of his developmental activities was through the empowerment of individuals. The pre-independence years of the freedom struggle witnessed the flowering of voluntarism and the sacrifices of volunteers for socio-economic development of the poor and weaker sections of society (Sen 1993).

In post-independence India after 1947, the emergence of a strong welfare state curtailed the voluntary action of non-state actors to a certain extent (Srivastava et al. 2003). However, by the end of the 1970s, the failure of the state to fulfill its welfare and development obligations lead many youths and organisations to undertake voluntary initiatives in order to address emerging social problems. The presence of altruistic individuals dissatisfied with state development action is strongly presented in the documentary titled *The Village Republic* concerning communities' forest management initiatives (Bhatt 1995b). Thus a new phase of voluntary actions emerged in post-independence India. The government in India accepted their role as complementary to the provision of state welfare services.

By the mid-1980s another dimension of philanthropy and voluntarism came into prominence relating to an inflow of foreign funds to the voluntary sector (Paul Chowdhry 1987). Repeated natural disasters, social action group movements, violence against governments⁶ and the continuous inflow of foreign funds forced this sector to follow diversified approaches regarding their activities and programme development. Some approaches focused on the empowerment approach in the belief that people should be enabled to handle their own problems; some took a social welfare approach; and others went for integrated development approaches (Sen 1992). During the 1980s, integrated development programmes were popular among voluntary organisations where the overall development of a particular community or group (or an area) including economic, social and infrastructural aspects were the main focus of their development agenda (Robinson & Riddell 1995). The popularity of this approach grew in rural areas as well as slums in urban areas. An alternative approach was to help the poor with various resources such as credit, appropriate technologies, relevant education and training, natural resource conservation measures. The underlying philosophy emphasises that the main resources of rural development should come from the ideas, energy and determination of the poor themselves. This development approach is called 'assisted self-reliance'. (Esman & Uphoff 1984, p 260)

⁶ The most prominent being the *Naxalite* movements in the 1960s, particularly in the states of West Bengal, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh.

Overview of voluntary organisations in India

The definition of voluntary organisations associated with structural and operational concepts include five key features: formal, private, self-governing, non-profit distributing and voluntary nature of organisations (Sen 1993). Anheier and Salamon (Anheier & Salamon 1998), and the Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) defined non-profit organisations (NPOs) with the same five criteria (Srivastava & Tandon 2005). Following this definition, voluntary organisations in India include religio-political institutions, institutions that emerged or were inspired by social movements, NGOs, community-based organisations, welfare wings of religious organisations, business organisations, cultural organisations, scientific associations, associations for the promotion of sports or arts, caste associations, traditional voluntary agencies and religious trusts. Voluntary organisations also include public charitable trusts, educational institutions, civil society organisations, civil movement organisations, cooperatives, trade unions, government organized NGOs (GONGOs) and NPOs formed by wealthy individuals and organisations in order to enjoy tax benefits (Sen 1993).

A number of the various types of voluntary organisations are engaged in direct grassroots implementing activities. Based on their functions and approaches, they are broadly classified into three groups:

- organisations with a welfare orientation — providing relief and rehabilitation services during famine, floods and other emergencies;
- organisations with development orientation — supporting productive capacities and self-reliance among the poor through Self-help projects to assist with the meeting of their basic needs; and
- organisations with empowerment orientation — viewing poverty as a result of political processes, aiming to help poor communities to participate in these processes in order to bring about social change.

The activities of voluntary organisations in India generally fall into five dominant areas: religious, community/social service, education, sports/culture and health. Most organisations undertake multiple activities with a major focus on a single function, although half of the total are engaged in community and social services (Srivastava & Tandon 2005).

In India, as per the legal definition, there are five types of voluntary organisations that have non-profit status:

- a society registered under the Societies Registration Act 1860;
- a trust registered under the Indian Trusts Act 1882;
- a cooperative under the Cooperatives Societies Act 1904;
- a trade union under the Trade Union Act 1926;
- a company under section 25 of the Companies Act 1956 (Sen 1993);
- A voluntary endowment under Religious Endowments Act 1863.

Besides these Acts, there are numerous state level Acts operating in individual states (APPC 2006). Laws applicable to the provision of services such as education, health, recreation and sports are applicable to the voluntary sector offering that particular service.

The size of the voluntary sector in India at present is quite phenomenal. The first ever sample survey on the size of the sector found that in 2000 there were about 1.2 million voluntary organisations in India (Srivastava & Tandon 2005). The contribution of the voluntary sector to employment creation was even more significant. These organisations involved as many as 19.2 million people in 2000, many of whom worked on a voluntary basis. This was equivalent to 2.7 million paid employees and 3.4 million full time volunteers, a total of 6.1 million. This is considerable given the fact that the central (federal) government in India employed approximately 3.3 million people in 2000. However, almost half of the total voluntary organisations in India are unregistered. Among the states, the proportion of registered voluntary organisations was highest in Maharashtra (74 per cent). The proportion was 48 per cent in West Bengal where case studies on this research were conducted. The proportion of unregistered voluntary organisations was second highest in West Bengal, marginally behind Tamil Nadu (Srivastava & Tandon 2005).

More than half of voluntary organisations in India are predominantly rural based. In West Bengal, about two-thirds of voluntary organisations are based in rural areas. Moreover, Indian voluntary organisations are essentially small. Nearly three-quarters

had only volunteer staff or at most, one paid staff member. Only one in 12 voluntary organisations employed more than 10 paid staff (PRIA 2001).

Voluntary organisations and the Government of India

The relationship of voluntary organisations with the government of India can be described as a 'love-hate'. It is often centered on mutual cooperation and suspicion of others (Fernandez 1987).

Two views existed within the Indian government after independence regarding the role of voluntary agencies in development. One view strongly believed that voluntary organisations should be an essential part of the development process in India. The other view consistently opposed this and believed that the role of voluntary organisations should be to assist government activities only, particularly when government programmes were not considered sufficient (for example, in remote areas). Thus, one group was supporting the role of substitution and the other emphasized a complementary role. However, until the period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985–90), the role of voluntary organisations in the development process had not been recognized by the government in India. Their roles were limited to the field of social welfare programmes, particularly regarding the welfare of children, women, handicapped persons and disadvantaged communities. (World Bank 1991)

The Seventh Five-year Plan document accepted the role of voluntary organisations in the development planning process and assigned a huge fund of Rs. 1.5 billion for rural development work (GOI 2000a, 2000b). The Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART) was established as a wing of the Ministry of Rural Development in 1986. Its aim was to disburse funds directly to voluntary organisations for projects related to rural development, including programmes to organise the poor and for the promotion of new technological innovations through voluntary organisations. The Seventh Five-year Plan document listed a wide range of anti-poverty and minimum needs programmes eligible for funding. Besides income and employment generation programmes there were other programmes in social forestry, ecological development, primary health care, provision of safe drinking water, education, rural housing, land-ceiling implementation, enforcement of minimum wages and bonded-labour rehabilitation (GOI 2000a). The mutual cooperative relationship

between the government and voluntary organisations found expression in the government's request to them to implement specific government poverty alleviation programmes at district or sub-district levels in India's Five-Year Plans since 1985-90 (GOI 2008).

A voluntary organisation's role as an intermediary in identifying the targeted local group of the government's poverty alleviation programme has been important. Generally, the voluntary organisation's staff have in-depth knowledge of the local people and their needs. This helps voluntary organisations to identify the targeted group for the government's poverty alleviation programme. Previously the slum community leader, raw material supplier, local councilor or politicians played this intermediary role, either individually or jointly. The *Annapurna Mahila Mandal* (AMM) in Mumbai and the Working Women's Forum in Chennai and Bangalore, and the 'Self-Employed Women's Organisation' in Ahmedabad, *Lokshiksha Parishad* (LP) in Kolkata are examples of organisations who are playing this role successfully (World Bank 1991; Basu & Basu 2003). It is becoming clear that, if voluntary organisations are responsible for project implementation, the administrative costs are brought down and the participation rates of intended beneficiaries are higher (Farrington & Bebbington 1993).

Another dimension to the relationship between government and voluntary organisations is programme replication. There are many examples where government has sought to replicate voluntary agency initiatives on a larger scale, especially in the case of technological innovation, health care and education (Bhatt 1995a). Voluntary organisations and government share many of the same poverty alleviation objectives. The major point of difference between government and voluntary organisations actually lies in the smaller scale but more focused nature of interventions, a greater commitment to social enhancement and an explicit concern with participation.

A major challenge to the government in any country is to ensure that voluntary organisations do not violate the constitutional frame and regulatory regime of the country (Hasan 2008). Another dimension of government-voluntary organisation relationships in India is mutual suspicion, where the government attempts to curb voluntary organisations activities. As mentioned earlier, the Societies Registration Act 1860 was promulgated to register these organisations. There are a range of other rules

and regulations also to monitor the activities of the voluntary organisations. The federal government of India imposed controls on international donations in 1976 by introducing the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA). All these legal tools and levels of implementation make the Indian government's voluntary organisation regulatory regime very complex and difficult to comprehend (Hasan 2008). This complexity has been reflected in their relationships. A study observed, *"the Act has been amended several times since 1976 to further tightening it over the last 20 years, the state has been tightening its role as a regulator and using it more often than not for limiting space, work and those types of voluntary organisations which go beyond mere provision of help and charity and welfare of the poor"* (PRIA 2001, p 45). The study found that the relationship between the voluntary sector and the government was often confrontational despite the close working relationship they have with one another (Smillie & Hailey 2001). The Indian government followed a middle path approach by mixing various regulations to control this sector with provision of funds to help their activities (Robinson 1991).

1.3 Genesis of the study

The primary motivation for this study is derived from the existing literature as well as the personal experience of the researcher. Jain and Jain (2004) narrated the anecdotal story of a social entrepreneur who motivated a group of villagers to form their own organisation in order to strengthen social capital. It provided an example of social entrepreneurship in a community based organisation under the Joint Forest Management (JFM) programme in Rajasthan (a state in central India). The focus of this development approach has been to share the responsibilities of forest development and management between government and the communities who live in the area. It is a concept based on collective responsibility. Social structure and relationships with greater interaction and communication within the community were found to be the basic requirements of the success of this programme. The study (Jain & Jain 2004) emphasised the primary role of a government official in the successful community organisation as a social entrepreneur with the vision to reforest the area. To convert this vision into reality he motivated and sensitised the villagers by explaining how various regulations on forest resources could benefit them and why it was necessary to form their own organisation. His activities included educating the villagers and helping them to actively manage their

community organisation for themselves. The government official was a social entrepreneur in this case who provided help from outside in order to strengthen social capital in the villagers to help develop their forest regions. This example created additional curiosity for the researcher on the role of social entrepreneurs in strengthening social capital which has the potential to greatly enhance the lives of poor villagers.

The curiosity about the role of social entrepreneurs was coupled with the researcher's personal experience. In a previous research project conducted by the researcher involving voluntary organisations in the state of West Bengal in India, it was observed that social entrepreneurs played an important contributory role in the success of development initiatives at various stages (Basu 2001). These social entrepreneurs were non-residents of their respective villages. They were not a part of the managing committee. They acted from outside and their role in organisational successes remains relatively under-researched. These individuals are referred as 'social entrepreneurs external to organisations' (or SEETO) in this research.

1.4 Aims and objectives of the study

The purpose of this research is to describe, understand and analyse the activities of social entrepreneurs who assist in building and strengthening social capital among villagers as a part of the development process. In other words the research seeks to establish links between social capital reproduction and social entrepreneurship. In order to achieve this goal SEETO and non-SEETO approaches to building social capital are analysed and compared. The study also seeks to analyse the implications of these activities for organisational sustainability.

In this study SEETOs are defined as social entrepreneurs who are non-residents of the villages they work in and non-members of the organisations they assist. Non-SEETOs are social entrepreneurs who are residents of the village and members of managing committees in the organisations they assist.

In developing the parameters for this inquiry, the following research question is established:

What is the relationship between the social entrepreneur and social capital, and how do the resulting organisational activities affect village development, and its implication for sustainability of rural voluntary organisation in India?

This main research question is divided into several sub-questions:

- What are the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in rural voluntary organisations in India?
- How do these characteristics affect social capital in their respective organisations?
- How do the resultant activities affect the development of the poor?
- What are the implications of their characteristics for organisational sustainability?

1.5 Methodology

The present research investigates the behaviour of social entrepreneurs in the context of village development in India by using a qualitative design. It explores, explains and builds a theoretical analysis from what is analysed in the data. Qualitative approaches to research are designed to understand people's behaviour in a holistic way. Behaviour is observed and analysed in its natural context (Punch 1998). The study employed a case study approach in order to investigate the multiple levels of analysis within a single study (Yin 2003). Multiple case study techniques have been used to enhance the reliability of the statement. For its various levels of analysis the study used descriptive and explorative case study methods (Yin 2003). This research followed both emic and etic approaches (Headland 1990) at different stages. It followed the emic view to refer the data and used the villagers own words to interpret the aspects that are meaningful to them. The case studies are presented as much as possible from the perspective of the villagers using language appropriate to them. But while analysing the case study findings and comparing them with each other the study reverted back to the etic form of discussion in order to reflect on it at a more abstract level.

Five rural voluntary organisations were selected from the district of South 24 Parganas and Birbhum in the state of West Bengal in India. One of the major elements in the selection criteria was the existence of social entrepreneurs (SEETO or non-SEETO) within the organisation. Other criteria included the nature of their development activities, level of cooperation and willingness to support this research, and accessibility to their location. The researcher's familiarity about the location, culture and language also played a role in selecting case study organisations.

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews, published data, photographs, and personal observations. Thus it satisfies the triangulation aspect covering at least three sources of data to make the data valid (Feagin et al. 1991).

Analysis of the data identified a number of themes and patterns which were then compared with the relevant theory. Part of the analysis process was to organise the data into tabular form (Miles & Huberman 1994) in order to assist with cross-case analysis (Yin 2003).

1.6 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter 2 summarises and reviews the various concepts and previous work in the area of social capital, social entrepreneurship, development and organisational sustainability. The review of these four areas provides the basis by which to identify gaps in the knowledge base and where a contribution can be made. The research question is developed to fill some of the existing research gaps.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used in this research which is based on a qualitative design, employing multiple case studies with cross-case analysis and conclusions drawn from five voluntary organisations in rural West Bengal, India. The research paradigm/approach section in this chapter provides a justification for the use of a qualitative design in the collection and analysis of the data.

The following five chapters (Chapter 4–8) provide analysis of the findings from the five case study organisations. Each chapter is divided into six sections. These include the socio-economic features of the respective villages where the case study organisations

are located; overviews of the organisations; analysis of their performance; analysis of SEETO or non-SEETO's characteristics such as social position, mission and activities; an assessment of their influence on social capital reproduction, development impacts as they relate to the villagers' lives; and their implications on organisational sustainability.

Chapter 9 provides a cross-case analysis of the case study findings. The findings from each are compared with one another and also with the existing research in relevant areas. There is a particular focus in this chapter on social context, characteristics of social entrepreneurs and leadership style, the impact on social capital reproduction, and again on implications of organisational sustainability.

The final chapter of this thesis (Chapter 10) attempts to provide answers to the research questions regarding the relationship between social capital reproduction and social entrepreneurship and culminating in a theory to describe and interpret the relationship between each. It is argued that this theoretical analysis and development contributes to the social capital literature. Potential areas of further research are also identified in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing literature in order to identify gaps in the body of knowledge relating to the relationship between social capital and social entrepreneurship in voluntary organisations in rural India. The present research focuses on three major areas: 'social capital', 'social entrepreneurship', and 'organisational sustainability'. However, the context of voluntary organisations in rural India remains the main focus of the following literature review. The study also analyses the development impacts of social entrepreneurship on the 'villagers' lives and the implication of this for organisational sustainability. Towards the end of this chapter the research gap is identified and the research question of this study has been formulated.

2.2 The concept of capital

To understand the concept of "social capital," it is necessary to understand the concept of capital first and to place it in the context of different theoretical types of capital (Lin 2001a). Capital is broadly considered as a concept and a theory both. As a concept, it represents investment in different types of resources of value in a given society. As a theory, it describes the process by which capital is created and reproduced (Lin 2001b). In the classical theory of capital, Marx defines capital as part of the surplus value created in a production process (Marx 1995; Brewer 1984). In this process, the owners of capital or those who control the means of production capture the surplus value. Neo-capitalist theories provide a similar definition of capital but with different theories. For example, the human capital theory states that investment in certain types of human resources (e.g. skills and knowledge) may also generate economic returns, even for labourers participating in the production process (Johnson 1960; Schultz 1961; Becker 1993). Similarly, social capital theory explains production as a process by which surplus value is generated through investment in social relations (Lin 2001a). From this brief

analysis it is clear that capital can be of various forms and its impact on economic return and development can also be different.

In more recent literature the concept of development centres around four important types of capital - social, economic, human, and natural (Dale 2001). All of them are needed to achieve sustainable development. The concept of social capital focuses on the relationships among group members that aid collective action. Economic capital is comprised of financial and physical assets. Human capital includes the sum total of individual knowledge, skills and psychological capacity. Physical capacity of individuals that depends on level of nutrition, healthiness and related factors should also be considered relevant in the context of human capital. Natural capital includes both natural resources and the maintenance of ecological systems.

Pierce (1999) argues that we need to revise the relationship between the four kinds of capital. These four types of capitals are complementary to each other and not a substitute for one another. If used correctly, the mobilization of one form of capital can multiply the effects of another in a positive way (Onyx & Leonard 2007).

Social capital includes Bridging and Linking social capitals. Bridging social capital entails various bridging links that provide access to various resources and information from other groups. This is an important element of economic development. It has been found that sustainable social entrepreneurs are often characterised by bridges and networks among diverse stakeholders (Alvord et al. 2004). Bridging and Linking social capital ensures access to two other capitals: human and economic. Following this line of thought, Roseland (1999) argued that we need to pay significantly more attention to social capital, in that social capital enhances returns on investment in other forms of capital. However, Onyx and Leonard (2007) argued on the basis of three case studies of voluntary organisations in rural India, Thailand and the Philippines, that though four capitals are interdependent. Human capital has a catalyzing effect on strengthening social capital.

“... most important in each case, was the catalyzing effects of human capital and training. That is success in both the Thai case and in the Philippines occurred through the capacity to tap into specialized expertise, and to use this in various

forms of shared learning, formal and informal, to mobilize development effort. This access to specialized expertise required an adequate level of trust in network participation in the first place, existing levels of social capital enabled the learning to take place through networks, but then the learning triggered further development of social capital and desired social and economic achievement. Learning and social capital formation had an iterative effect on each other” (Onyx & Leonard 2007, p 18).

As learning can develop human and social capitals it is our intention to examine the process of generation of social capital and its impact on economic and human capitals. However the scope and relevance of discussing natural capital is limited in this study.

2.3 Social capital

Social capital has become a well-known and popular concept in the social sciences over the last two decades. Major sociological and political science contributions in the late 1980s and early 1990s have drawn considerable attention to this social resource. One of the reasons for its popularity lies in its application to community life and its ability to reduce community problems, restore peace, and enhance development and contribute to making government more effective (Stolle 2003). Authors have argued over various definitions of social capital. Social capital is commonly conceptualized as a societal resource that links citizens to each other and enables them to pursue their common objectives more effectively (Stolle 2003). Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p 226) expressed the basic idea of social capital by saying “... *that a person’s family, friend and associates constitutes an important asset, one that can be called on in crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gain*”. They also argued that what is true for an individual can also be true for groups and communities. Many dimensions of this social resource which enable people to join together to solve their problem are not new. People of Asia have long been involved in cooperative action such as mutual support and benefit with the aim to resolve social problems in the communities where they live (Hasan 2008; Tolentino 2002).

The idea of social capital was traced in literature for a long time, but the word was first used in the work of Loury in 1977 to explain reasons to develop the skill of an

individual (Loury 1977, p 176). Loury (p 176) noted “... *an individual’s social origin has an obvious and important effect on the amount of resources that is ultimately invested in his or her development. It may thus be useful to employ a concept of ‘social capital’ to represent the consequences of social position in facilitating acquisition of the standard human capital characteristics*”. The concept captured the differential access to opportunities through social connections for minority and non-minority persons in any society where minorities are seen as less socially connected to sources of information and opportunities to develop their job credibility (Portes 1998). Portes argued that the consequences of social position of an individual can be considered as social capital. But no systematic treatment of social capital analysis was found in Loury’ literature.

Bourdieu (1985, p 248) defined the concept of social capital as “*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition*”. This more contemporary definition drew more attention to social capital than that of Loury. Bourdieu argued that social networks are not the social capital itself — to get social capital one needs access to resources. To Bourdieu social capital is an outcome of social structures and networks which offer access to resources. The acquisition of social capital needs deliberate investment of both economic and cultural resources. To him it is a strategy of preserving and transmitting cultural capital of the elite among themselves, which then reproduces a social class. To Bourdieu the process of acquiring social capital is characterized by unspecified obligations, uncertain time horizons and the possible violation of reciprocity expectations within the group members. By the lack of clarity, these transactions can help disguise what otherwise would be plain market exchanges (Bourdieu 1985).

Coleman (1988 & 1990) popularized the social capital literature further. In this case, social capital is defined by its function. Coleman argued that social capital is not a single entity but “*a variety of entities with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structures and they facilitate certain action of actors – whether persons or corporate sectors—within the structure*” (Coleman 1990, p 80). Like other forms of capital, it is productive. It makes possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be possible in its absence. Social capital to him is not simply a mechanism, a thing, or an outcome, but simultaneously any or all of them. Portes (1998) criticized the

definition as 'fuzzy' but accepted the importance of Coleman's definition as providing the context of social capital as a social structure and its outcome appropriate from this social structure.

Although Coleman's definition of social capital brought the concept into popular social science theory, the principal source of idea for community development practitioner and researcher is Putnam (1993). Through his work the definition of social capital has been thoroughly modified and became influential in development studies in the US and internationally (DeFilippis 2001). Putnam (1993, p 167) defined social capital as "*those features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.*"

The above definitions identify social capital as a feature of social organisation. Loury (1977), Coleman (1988), and Bourdieu (1985) noted that social capital is a reciprocal behaviour embodied in any particular individual but embedded in social structure. At the same time they argued that social capital is realized by individuals. Putnam argued for the first time that it is a resource possessed or not possessed by communities only (DeFilippis 2001). Putnam also argued it is civil society that conflated social capital. Thus voluntary organisations based on trust, norms and networks become the institutions through which social capital is generated (Putnam 1993).

However some authors (Woolcock & Narayan 2000) consider only norms and networks as paramount elements which enable people to act collectively. They have not incorporated trust as one of the features of social capital in their definition, arguing that trust is the outcome of relationships based on existing norms and networks (Woolcock & Narayan 2000). However trust is considered the single most important feature of social capital by a number of authors (Coleman 1988; Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 1993). Fukuyama (1995) labelled trust as the single most important element of social capital and argued that it is embedded in the cultural background of society. Thus a certain level of trust always exists in any society, and relationships and networks grow based on the level of trust.

Norms are also considered an important element in social capital (Putnam 1993; Newton 1997; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Newton (1997) argues that norms are

always associated with certain values. For example, the norm of cooperation can grow if actors accept the values of cooperation. Thus Newton took norms and values as elements of social capital. Like Coleman (1988) he considers reciprocity as a social norm and included it as an element of social capital. The authors agreed that the features of a given social structure such as trust, norms, reciprocity and networks are common elements of all types of social capital of various degrees (Leonard & Onyx 2003).

Portes (Portes 1998, p 8) argued, “*consensus is growing in the literature that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures*”. Onyx and Bullen (2000) define social capital as the potential for social action based on the presence of appropriate networks, norms, trust and social agency. The potential may remain latent, requiring activation. It is not enough to simply maintain networks of mutual support; instead they need to be mobilized into action on the basis of community initiative for their own development. Onyx and Bullen (2000) argue that this is social agency and in all the literature the concept of this collective capacity or social agency is implicit. “*The development of social capital requires the active and willing engagement of citizens working together within a participative community*” (Onyx & Bullen 2000, p 195). This is social agency. Narayan (1995) referred to this as the organisational ability of the poor. The authors consider social agency or organisational ability as one of the important elements of social capital along with trust, norms, reciprocity and networks.

In summary, the authors reach a common conclusion that social capital is composed of relationships between individuals and groups, not as simply as individuals (Edwards & Foley 1998). It is a relationship between and among people and is beneficial to the members of the networks, and also enhances organisational effectiveness.

2.3.1 Benefits and types of social capital

Research has found important associations between social capital and organisational effectiveness (Babbington & Perreault 1999; Coleman 1988; Putnam 1993). Social capital facilitates actions within a set structure, thereby setting one of the important conditions for organisational effectiveness. Putnam (1993) viewed social capital as a resource that is open to all groups and communities, and is capable of producing a variety of positive outcomes, including economic advantages and democratic

government. Other authors have seen enhanced human capital such as Coleman (1988), educational attainment (Aldridge et al. 2002), improved health (Islam et al. 2006), well-being (Grootaert & Narayan 2004; Halpern 2005) and even charitable giving to religious and secular organisation (Wang & Graddy 2008).

Relationships created through social networks and civil associations are an important resource for solving poverty related problems (Narayan 1995), for taking advantage of new opportunities (Islam & Kaufmann 1999), resolving disputes and enhancing economic development (Knack & Keefer 1997; Narayan 1999). Therefore a voluntary organisation that seeks to achieve the goal of community development needs to work on relationships with local people if it is to succeed. Thus voluntary organisations wishing to succeed in rural development need to consider the building of social capital (Uphoff et al. 1998). It is a common trend of undertaking projects funded by governments and non-government organisations to introduce a clear concept of social capital by reviewing the existing literature (Aldridge et al. 2002; Productivity Commission 2003). It helps to explore ways in which social capital can be developed, facilitated and sustained in new communities (Lance & Woolcock 2003), to measure the level of social capital (Narayan & Cassidy 2001; Onyx & Bullen 2000; Scull 2001) and to contribute to policy makers on its beneficial impact, and to measure the strength of communities (ABS 2006).

The concept of social capital is not unitary. The various theorists in this area acknowledge that there are many forms of social capital. The recent literature on social capital features the foundation of three types of social capital: 'Bonding' (Putnam 1993, 1995; Coleman 1988), 'Bridging' (Gittel & Vidal 1998; Woolcock & Narayan 2000) and 'Linking' (Szereter 2000; Woolcock 2001).

Some authors (for example, Putnam 1993; Coleman 1988) argue that social capital can be developed within a social structure. Relationships in the social structure should be close, integrated or bonded in assisting one another to manage risk and vulnerability in everyday life. This is Bonding social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002). While focusing on Bonding social capital, many costs are associated with the close-knit and integrated community. Some authors found negative impacts of these close community relationships (Portes 1998), which can prevent the development of its members, or can

segregate other people outside the group and deny them access to their resources (Portes 1998; Waldinger 1995). The system of integrated sectarian groups can be detrimental when working together in obtaining common goals for the community as a whole.

Again, the evidence from different studies in developing countries suggests that having high levels of integrity within community groups does not automatically lead to economic prosperity. The local community members are required to establish relationships with the members of other communities (Woolcock & Narayan 2000) who may be able to contribute further resources.

To eliminate the negative effects of closed relationships within a group and to obtain economic development, some authors define social capital from the viewpoint of networks and argue that relationships developed in any network should include people both inside and outside of the community in question, which has the potential for further positive impacts on the members. The relationship and social ties with other groups outside the community is thin and weak as opposed to close, and this is Bridging social capital (Granovetter 1973; Lin 2005, 2008; Massey 1998; Portes 1998).

A British Government review of the social capital literature found a distinction between 'social glue' and 'social oil' (Aldridge et al. 2002). They referred to Bonding social capital as 'social glue', which indicates strong bonds of association and can be found in close-knit groups or families. 'Social oil' is a weaker version of 'social glue', but it is effective strategy of moving forward where relationships exist across different groups (Granovetter 1986), between friends of friends, with business associates, friends from different ethnic groups and acquaintances. However Johannisson and Olison (Johannisson & Olaison 2007) argue that Bonding social capital or strong ties grow into genuine strength in times of emergency and challenge the view that only Bridging social capital are seen as the foundation of the way forward. This showed Bonding social capital is not meant for producing conservatism and stagnation. This capital can be put to work in response to crisis situations that contains both uncertainty and ambiguity.

The research focused on a third type of social capital termed Linking, which exists between groups with different social classes. This dimension of social capital was first

proposed by Woolcock (Woolcock 2001). The following section analyses some elements of Bonding, Bridging, and Linking social capital.

Bonding social capital

Multiplex networks

Networks are a common element of social capital (Burt 1997, 1998; Portes 1998). A network is an interconnected group of people who usually have an attribute in common (Productivity Commission 2003) which helps to build relationships. Networking is the term generally used to refer to establishing effective relationships with key people inside and outside the organisation (Luthans 1988). Thus networks can be developed based on organisational activities.

People engage with others through a variety of lateral associations. In some cases they have personal friendships, in other cases they are citizens solving community problems, and in some cases provide material or informational support (Leonard & Onyx 2003). These multiple roles of an individual with various functions help to establish multiplex networks inside and outside communities. Networks can be dense and multiplex where people know each other closely due to being members of the same community or family members. This is referred to as a ‘dense network’ composed of strong ties (Granovetter 1973).

Networks can also play an important role in the provision of other aspects of social capital. Networks help to maintain social norms. Social norms are likely to be spread and observed in a more connected society. Areas with stronger, dense, horizontal and more cross-cutting networks help members to develop cooperative values (Stolle 2003).

Again the members of a highly connected community network may find it easier to trust one another (Tocqueville 1969). In this way, networks help to build relationships based on trust and norms. According to Ostrom (Ostrom 1990, p 206), “*Networks of civic engagement foster norms of reciprocity*”. Networks enable greater participation. According to Pateman (1970, p 105), we learn to “*participate by participating*”; participation increases trust. Putnam (1995, p 666) writes, “*people who join are people who trust... the causation flows mainly from joining to trusting.*”

Multiplex networks of individuals and groups produce cooperative values, maintain and spread social norms, and increase participation which helps bonded relationships. Multiplex networks are features of Bonding social capital (Coleman 1988; Putnam 1993).

Shared norms and values

All groups establish acceptable standards of behaviour that are shared by each of the members called norms (Robbins et al. 2001). Norms tell members what they ought and ought not to do under certain circumstances — that is, what is expected of each person in different situations. Norms are generally informal “*and unwritten but commonly understood formulas both for determining what patterns of behaviour are expected in a given social context and for determining what patterns of behaviour are valued or socially approved*” (Onyx & Bullen 2000). In other words social norms are a shared understanding of informal rules that prescribe certain behaviour in various circumstances. Generalised social norms can include honesty, law abidingness, a strong work ethic, respect for elders, tolerance and acceptance of diversity, and helping people in need. These are generally accepted norms. Situation specific social norms can be valid in particular situations or contexts (Productivity Commission 2003).

Some authors argue that norms and values complement one another (Newton 1997). Norms and values of cooperation predispose individuals to cooperate, trust, to understand and empathise with each other and to treat each other as fellow citizens. Therefore, “*relationship based on norms and values constitutes a force that helps to bind society together by transforming individuals from self-seeking and egocentric calculators, with little social conscience or sense of mutual obligation into members of a community with shared interest, shared assumptions about social relations and common good*” (Newton 1997, p 575).

Norms and shared values, or common faith, have an important role in binding a group together (Lin 2005), which makes it an important element of Bonding social capital (Lin 2005; Onyx & Leonard 2008). Norms create a credible informal contract which assists in the formation of predictable behavioural patterns. Norms can be generated from the example or practice of a leader or leaders (Schien 1992) or through a repetition of

events (Pettigrew 1979; Svendsen & Svendsen 2004). Pettigrew (1979) argued that the 'rituals' organised by a school principal annually created its culture, and explained how the values and goals of the leader were reinforced by rituals. Based on the beliefs and ideologies of British private schools, the study claims that the culture of a new organisation is created by leaders through feelings and rituals. Schien (1992) has cited evidence showing leader's values were shared and enacted by different lower level employees. The literature identifies Bonding social capital as characterized by shared social norms and values (Leonard & Onyx 2003; Lin 2005; Onyx & Leonard 2007). Underpinning many social norms is the concept of reciprocity which enables group members to share via exchange and helping each other (Coleman 1988).

Norms of generalized reciprocity

Norms of generalized reciprocity refers to the expectation of donors that they will be fully repaid in the future (Portes 1998). The individual provides a service to others, or acts for the benefit of others at a personal cost but with the general expectation that this kindness will be returned at some undefined time in the future if required (Coleman 1988). Thus an act of reciprocity raises the expectation of the donor that he/she will be paid through an obligation felt by the recipient that he/she should repay the favour. Reciprocity helps to build relationships. It is different from economic exchange because the currency with which obligations are repaid can differ from that with which they were paid and the timing of repayment can be unspecified depending on the relationship between the donors and creditors (Portes 1998). Reciprocity is made up of a series of acts, each of which is short-term altruism (benefiting others at a cost to the actor), but which typically benefits all participants longer-term (Taylor 1982).

In Bonding social capital, donors' expectation are characterised by vague, uncertain, and uncalculated terms of repayment. This is related to generalised reciprocity where the actors assume that good deeds will be repaid at some unspecified time in the future, perhaps even by an unknown stranger (Sahlins 1972). It is based on a trust in others (Misztal 1996, p 18). Therefore generalised reciprocity is an element of Bonding social capital.

Thick trust

Trust refers to the level of confidence that people have that others will act as they say, or that what they say is reliable (Productivity Commission 2003). Simmel (1950, p 326) wrote, “*Trust is one of the most important synthetic forces within society*”. It brings people close to each other. So one of the common elements of Bonding social capital is trust. Fukuyama (1995, p 26) defined it as “*the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of that community. Those norms can be about deep ‘value’ questions like the nature of God or justice, but they also encompass secular norms like professional standards and codes of behaviour*”. Thus trust develops within a community who share common norms and values. In an environment where norms and codes of behaviour are shared, trust tends to grow automatically (Newton 1997).

Trust can breed trust (Cox & Caldwell 2000). Researchers argue that placing trust in others may cause others to act in more trustworthy ways, and may make them more willing to return that trust. Thus trust is iterative in nature.

Trust can be developed for various reasons, which means there are different types of trust (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). One of the types of trust is knowledge-based trust, which occurs when a person has enough information about someone to accurately predict his behaviour. A person can be trustworthy by being consistent in his work and word, thereby people are able to predict his behaviour.

Identification-based trust is the highest level of trust and is achieved when there is an emotional connection between the parties (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). It allows one to act as an agent for the other and to substitute that person in interpersonal transactions. Trust exists because the parties understand each other’s intentions and appreciate the other’s wants and desires. This mutual understanding is developed to the point that each can effectively act for the other. For example Identification-based trust occurs in organisations among people who have worked together for long periods of time and have a depth of experience that allows them to know each other well. They can anticipate one another and freely act in each other’s absence. Controls are minimal at this level — one does not need to monitor the other party because there exists an unquestioned trust or loyalty (Lewicki & Bunker 1996; Shapiro et al. 1992).

Misztral (1996) defines this identification-based trust from another point of view. She identified trust as a belief. It occurs when the results of somebody's intended action will be appropriate from one's point of view. She argued that the appropriateness of one's action from another's point of view depends on the existing social order. She identified some forms of trust to match the forms of social order. Collaborative order, she argued involves trust as a device for coping with the freedom of others. In this case, trust allows collaboration to occur in the absence of sanctions and rewards in the same way that identification based trust works.

Cohesive order involves trust based on familiarity, bonds of friendship and common faith and values (Misztral 1996). Uslaner (cited in Leonard & Onyx 2003) identified this trust as particularised trust. Thus bonds of friendship and common faith can generate particularised trust. Williams (2000) labelled this 'thick' trust. In small face-to-face communities, thick trust is an essential ingredient of solidarity, which is generated by intensive, daily contact between people often of the same tribe, class or ethnic background. Tribal societies are a prime example of this. Thick trust can be found in the isolated rural peripheries or remote areas (Newton 1997). Thick or particularised trust is an element of Bonding social capital (Leonard & Onyx 2003).

General trust placed on strangers is called generalised trust or 'thin' trust (Newton 1997). Levels of generalised trust are likely to vary both between groups within a society as well as between different societies. Putnam (2000) argues that generalised trust is more valuable than particularised trust as it extends the radius of trust to a wider circle of people, allowing a much larger range of interactions with their attendant benefits. This is considered one of the indicators for measuring social capital in communities (Onyx & Bullen 2000). Some individuals may also be more likely to trust strangers who have religious, racial, vocational or other characteristics that are similar to themselves (Productivity Commission 2003).

Trust is an expectation or belief about other people's actions based on existing norms. Relationships develop if trust is formed between two persons or among group members. Trust can be generated through predictable behaviour, shared norms and emotion. Bonding relationships refer to thick and particularised trust (Leonard & Onyx 2003)

Bonding social capital refers to dense multifunctional networks, shared norms and values, generalized reciprocity and thick trust.

Bridging social capital

Some authors argue that without the intercommunity ties that cross class, ethnicity, religion, gender and social status, the economic development of the community is not possible (for example, Granovetter 1973). The authors argue that Bonding social capital operates as an effective defensive strategy against poverty of community members, and the necessary condition for real economic development entails a shift to other intercommunity networks which is Bridging social capital (Portes 1998; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). In the recent literature, this has been referred to as Bonding and Bridging social capital (Gittel & Vidal 1998). Lin (2005) also argued that in order to obtain new, different and better resources, bridging with other networks is essential. Citing the principle of Homophily, Lin argued that there is a correlation between close relationships and shared resources. The principle of Homophily argues that people make friendships and share their sentiments with people who are of similar resources. Thus to get new, different and better resources it is necessary for the poor to be associated with resource-rich people.

One important aspect of Bridging social capital is its relation to economic development. Active engagement in bridging networks of diverse intellectual, technical and material support can enhance community development (Lin 2005; Woolcock & Narayan 2000).

There are at least two concepts of bridging relationship that have been used in the discussions of social capital — those that cross demographic divides of class, age, ethnicity etc (Portes 1998) and those that bridge across networks which are not necessarily of dissimilar people or different organisation. Such gaps may occur as a result of geographic distance between similar organisations (Burt 1998).

More research is required into the type of trust, norms, networks and reciprocity that constitute the Bridging relationship. However, the common theme in the Bridging relationship is that as the intensity of the relationship decreases, the density of networks decreases, and the resources become diverse and rich (Lin 2005). Along this line of discussion, Granovetter (1986) argues that Bridging social capital is based on weak

relationships that are built on thin trust. Non-dense networks based on fewer functions are considered another feature of Bridging social capital. *"It might be expected that for Bridging social capital, the terms of the reciprocity need to be more obvious, more immediate and more explicit than Bonding social capital"* (Leonard & Onyx 2003, p 192).

Linking social capital

Linking social capital is embodied by ties between individuals and organisations occupying different levels of power and authority in society (Aldridge et al. 2002; Woolcock 2001). This Linking social capital links lower groups with higher levels of association. Often these networks provide a collective voice to the lower group and help the group members in engaging with more powerful organisations such as government and media. These networks refer to the capacity to access resources such as information, knowledge and finance from a higher societal level or network. These networks contribute to the stock of Linking social capital.

It is concluded that Bonding social capital is a relationship based on thick trust, dense networks, shared values and norms, and generalised reciprocity, which helps collective action. This can be possible in a close community, whereas Bridging social capital refers relationships with other similar groups separated due to geographical distance or groups separated by religion, gender, class or ethnicity, which helps develop organisations with better resources. The bridging relationship is based on weak ties (Granovetter 1973), less intense contacts and less functional ties (Lin 2005). Bridging relationships require the sharing of common values to establish shared norms. However, the wider the social distance bridged the greater the likelihood of a clash of norms (Leonard & Onyx 2003). The relationships contribute to technical, intellectual and material support that aids in economic development. Linking social capital involves relationships between two groups with an inequality of social status and power (Aldridge et al. 2002, p 11–12). Thus all these three types of social capital are needed to make an organisation effective.

This poses the question: how is social capital reproduced and what are the sources and their determinants that can reproduce relationships based on trust and norms?

2.4 Social entrepreneurship

Rapid industrial and technological advancement has been one of the impacts of globalization in developing countries (World Bank 2009). This has stimulated rapid economic growth in some quarters, leading to increasing rates of income inequality and the segment of the population suffering from poverty (Ries 1999). Governments and multilateral development agencies are struggling to provide timely and effective support. Under these contemporary circumstances, social entrepreneurship has emerged as a global phenomenon to assist in the solving of social problems (Mair et al. 2006; Nicholls 2006). It is an innovative approach for dealing with complex social problems (Johnson 2000) where social entrepreneurs are seen as the major player of most of the successful social entrepreneurship.

Various motivations for social entrepreneurship have been identified in the literature. One motivation is to look for more effective approaches than the existing social support activities. The author (Canon 2000) classes them as ‘recovering social workers’. Thompson et al. (2000) distinguish between ‘vision-oriented motivations’ for social entrepreneurial activities and ‘crisis-oriented motivations’. An author (Prabhu 1999) notes an unease about the status quo, a need to be true to one’s values, and a need to be socially responsible, as one of the motivations. Social entrepreneurs comparable to Martin Luther King, Florence Nightingale, and Gandhiji (M. K. Gandhi) are not rare in the history of the world. Chapter 1 explained how philanthropic activities have been influenced by culture and religion in India. More recently, the scale and reach of the social impact created by social entrepreneurship is greater than in the past, and their approaches to development are more varied (Nicholls 2006).

Studies (Ashoka 2006; Bornstein 2007; Mawson 2007) provide examples of social entrepreneurs who solved social problems, driven by their own vision and values. These were altruistic individuals who took and led philanthropic initiatives. They revealed their entrepreneurial capacity (Alliband 1983) through strengthening their initiatives.

Social entrepreneurs are the key to successful social entrepreneurship (Bornstein 2007). In this context, Muhammad Yunus of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, Ella Bhat of

Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India, Bill Drayton of the Ashoka Foundation in the US and Ms Mathai of Green Belt in Kenya are recent examples (Bornstein 2007; Maathai 1985; Yunus 1998). These social entrepreneurs, through their innovative ideas, energy and steadfastness, solved social problems and brought many positive changes to the lives of the world's poor. There are different types of social entrepreneurship with varying meanings.

2.4.1 Types of social entrepreneurship

The most recent academic literature on social entrepreneurship shows the emergence of taxonomy. Fowler has produced the most complex social entrepreneurship typology to date highlighting three broad categories of social entrepreneurially activities. The first category, 'integrated social entrepreneurship,' refers to situations in which economic activities are expressly designed to generate positive social outcomes, and where surplus generating activities simultaneously create social benefits and ideally create horizontal, vertical, forward or backward economic linkages. Fowler identifies the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh as an example of integrated social entrepreneurship (Fowler 2000 , p 645).

The second category, 're-interpretation', is where a not-for-profit organisation can diversify their services to generate further income to new clients. The third category is 'complimentary' social entrepreneurship where a not-for-profit organisation can affix a for-profit enterprise to run their main not-for-profit organisation.

It can be considered that Fowler could not cover the vast areas of social entrepreneurship which may arise in real life differences and diversities in a singular description or theory. The authors (Johannisson & Olaison 2007; Mawson 2007) acknowledged these differences and argued that social entrepreneurship may be of various kinds. However, irrespective of the type, all social entrepreneurship attempts to develop the lives of the poor. Thus, it is important to explain the concept of development.

2.4.2 Meanings of social entrepreneurship

The concept of entrepreneurship has a long history in the business sector. A major theme has been the creation of value through innovation (Drucker 1985; Schumpeter

1951). The concept has taken on a variety of meanings or approaches when applied to social concerns.

Market/business orientation approach of social entrepreneurship

The market/business approach views social entrepreneurship as combining commercial enterprises with social impacts (Alter 2000). In this respect, social entrepreneurs use their business skills and knowledge to create enterprises that accomplish social purposes in addition to being commercially viable (Emerson & Twersky 1996). “*Social entrepreneurs consider strategic moves into new markets to subsidize their social activities through exploiting profitable opportunities in the core activities of their not-for-profit venture or via for profit subsidiary ventures and cross sector partnership with commercial corporations. It is widely known as social enterprise.*” (Nicholls 2006, p 11)

In this approach, a social entrepreneur, having more interest in social function is a synthesizer of commercial and social purposes. Running small for-profit businesses and channeling the earnings back into social service provision are one of the major techniques of this approach. Social entrepreneurship, in this perspective is usually conceived of commercial ventures as a direct means of achieving social objectives (Young 2000). This category is a market-based business trading for a social purpose. Skloot (1987, 1988) Emerson and Twersky (1996) and Young (2000) argue that income earned through commercial venture has been a more important method of collecting funds than other means such as donations, grants and public funding under this perspective. In this approach market orientation is the main focus of these social entrepreneurships and they are fully self-funded. They originate in the third sector (Nicholls 2006).

Mission oriented social entrepreneurship approach

This approach viewed social entrepreneurship as an innovative way of creating social impact or social value. This view focuses on innovations and social arrangements that have consequences for social problems, often with relatively little attention to economic viability by ordinary business criteria or market orientation (Dees 1998). Dees argued that *the way* these services are delivered has more significance on social impact that creates social value than the social benefits such services can provide. Social

entrepreneurs here look to create social impacts both through the organisational or operational activities of delivering service and the benefits of the service (Nicholls 2006). The type of social impact created will depend on their social mission.

In developing countries the social mission of the majority of successful social entrepreneurship-based programmes (Uphoff et al. 1998) is the empowerment of the poor through changing existing social norms, values and practices. The Grameen Bank did this by offering loans to poor women which led to the development of many successful small businesses, which has changed the social value that women are incompetent in business. Their mission here is to make the poor self-reliant. However, the mission could be any other area of health, education, or the environment (Nicholls 2006).

Social entrepreneurs in the second approach are focused on creating social values and are willing to work with powerful institutions such as government and business. Social entrepreneurship “*offers the prospect of a more engaging way to move forward*” (Young 2000, p 61). This conceptualization also suggests that social entrepreneurship can take a variety of forms, including innovative not-for-profit ventures, for-profit ventures for social purpose and hybrid organisations mixing for-profit and not-for-profit activities (Dees 1998). For example, the Furniture Resource Centre in Liverpool (see www.frcgroup.co.uk) began as a furniture recycling, removal, and employment training social venture engaged with social landlords, but diversified into community waste collection, recycling, retailing and finally as its profile grew into social sector consultancy. These types of ventures may originate in the private, public or third sector.

Creating social value is at the centre of their mission in this approach (Dees 1998). Social value is a subjective element. It is a matter of real life experience the value of which varies from person to person (Nicholls 2006). For example, the ‘Get Sorted Academy of Music’ in Rotherham, South Yorkshire is a programme for disadvantaged youth (Thomson et al. 2000) that was founded by a local music teacher to assist local drug-addicted young people back to a normal life by engaging them in music. The young people’s experience of ‘feeling better and powerful’ after joining the programme and performing music was considered as social impact or social value. The feelings of empowerment and belonging to the group, where these young people are otherwise

isolated, have a social value associated to these young people. Social entrepreneurs can generate such social value (Young 2000).

Whilst aiming never to compromise social mission, social entrepreneurs will look for alliances and resources wherever they may be easily located. Thus many engage simultaneously with government, philanthropic institutions, the voluntary sector, banks, and the commercial market in order to secure funding and other support (Nicholls 2006).

The various meanings of social entrepreneurship have created confusion. Social enterprise in the first approach synthesizes business and social purpose and looks to move away from grant dependency to self-sufficiency through generating an income stream. Social entrepreneurship in the second approach focused on innovative social arrangements and can run the activities without generating any income. These are two extreme cases of the funding model. The models of social entrepreneurship found in practice fall somewhere between these extreme cases (Nicholls 2006).

Casson (2005) refers to innovation as '*high level of entrepreneurship*', the kind of drive that led to the creation of railroads, the birth of the chemical industry and the emergence of the multidivisional multinational firm (Nicholls & Cho 2006). Thus social entrepreneurs are essentially social innovators.

Social change approach

Some authors argue that social entrepreneurs not only create social value, they sustain value for long time periods and bring positive social change (Nicholls 2006). Their work implements a sustained change in the social, economic and political practices of disadvantaged groups, and they shift public attitude towards weaker sections of society. The Grameen Bank has shifted the traditional local attitude towards female financial management capacity (Yunus 1998), so they shifted social value and sustained the changed value to create a social change (Alvord et al. 2004).

Social change differs from the concept of growth or scaling up (Young 2000). Thekaekara (2005) argued that social change lies in the alignment of shifting practices, structures and beliefs. The Green Hotel in Mysore, southern India provides a model of

environmental and social tourism, employing abused women and *dalits* (untouchables) (Nicholls 2006). This model of social entrepreneurship changes the existing social norms and practices, structures and beliefs, and brings social change that helps the poor *Dalit* women (Young 2000).

Alvord et al. (2004) used the term ‘social transformation’ instead of social change and argued that social entrepreneurship is a catalyst for social transformation well beyond targeted solution, and a mobilizer of social actors towards common goals. Social transformation consists of three types of change which social entrepreneurship is associated with: cultural, economic, and political. In terms of cultural change, social entrepreneurship enhances villagers’ capacity through training altering the existing social norms, roles and the expectation of the village to improve the cultural context. In Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) conducts training courses for villagers in increasing their capacity and belief in their own potential, which has been found to change existing social practices and beliefs, leading to positive social changes (Alvord et al. 2004). By developing a micro-finance system, the Grameen Bank provides tools and resources to enhance productivity and transform economic circumstances. This micro-finance changed the economic activities of women and enhanced their ability to earn an income.

Political change also helps to change the existing norms of the villagers by building and encouraging local movements to challenge power and give a voice to marginalised communities to increase their political influence. The Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) in India organised and assisted poor women who worked as small-scale sellers, home-based producers and laborers, to protest against the oppression and exploitation of the local police. SEWA used advocacy and mobilised the self-employed women to claim their rights as self-employed business women. The women achieved their goal in time by building an active movement that brought about change in their political practices (Alvord et al. 2004).

Thus, a number of themes are associated with social entrepreneurship. One associated theme is that of innovation (Nicholls 2006), which can occur in public, private or voluntary sector organisations that employ a variety of forms such as for-profit, not-for-profit, and hybrid organisations. The innovative social entrepreneurship produces social

value in the way it deliver services, and it solves social problems through social arrangements and innovation by paying relatively less attention to market criteria (Dees 1998). Social entrepreneurs collect funds through grants, donations and self-generating income streams (Nicholls 2006), as well as bringing social transformation for the better (Alvord et al. 2004).

Although the researcher (Alvord et al. 2004) believes that all three approaches to social entrepreneurship have considerable utility, particular interest is focused on social entrepreneurship as a catalyst for social transformation. More specifically, the study focuses on the form of social entrepreneurship that creates innovative solutions to immediate social problems and mobilizes the ideas, capacities, resources and social arrangements required for sustainable social change/transformation.

2.4.3 The concept of development of the poor

There are various criteria to define development of the poor. The concept of development is associated with that of poverty (Chambers 1997). However, there is a general consensus that activities that assist the poor in their fight against poverty should be considered as development of the poor (Chambers 1997; Uphoff et al. 1998).

Chambers (1997) emphasised three factors of development: productivity, well-being and empowerment. The people should be able to utilise factors of production under their control such as labour, capital and land to which they have access. This imparts them with economic power and raises productivity, as well as reducing overall dependence on charity. Well-being refers to a wide range of attributes that enhances a feeling of self-worth and fulfilment in an individual or community (See subsection 1.2.1). Good health and acquiring a knowledge of opportunities and culture from literacy is vital to the sense of well-being (Shiva Kumar 1996). Other aspects of one's existence — a respectable occupation, a decent living place, quality food, basic amenities such as water, electricity and clothing — that permits one to live with dignity and reasonable comfort are also part of this sense of well-being (UNDP 2003). Freedom of choice and action, good social relations, security, possessing enough resources for a good life and physical well-being were the main factors that Chambers argued (1997). However, Chambers coined the term 'ill-being' to express poverty or the feelings of a lack of well-being where violence, lawlessness, and corruption are three major contributing

factors. The income that is derived from an improvement in productivity is a major contributor to this well-being. The level of income is one of the indicators of productivity and has been considered by many institutes as one of the tangible factors of development (UNDP 2003; World Bank 2009).

The third issue of development is empowerment, that is, a degree of control over one's own circumstances and destiny of individuals, their families and their communities (Korten 1980; Narayan 2005). Empowerment is particularly seen as the capacity of poor people and subordinate groups which can influence the development process (Narayan 2005). Empowerment was highlighted as one of the primary forces for poverty reduction by the World Bank in its millennium World Bank Report and in subsequent strategy statements (World Bank 2001). Thus empowered people can reduce their poverty and undertake a key role in their development process.

People are concerned about empowerment because a lack of empowerment is a form of poverty (Chambers 1997). The particular relevance for the notion of empowerment lies in its focus on inequalities that are produced by the *relations* between different groups, through unequal social interactions and associated processes of socialization (Petesch et al. 2005). Poor people experience inequalities not only with respect to economic resources including human capital, but also with respect to social, cultural, and political factors. Such relational and categorical inequalities serve to disempower the poor, reducing their capacity to influence the world around them to further their interests.

To improve the capacity to influence the world, poor people need to enhance their own power or should be empowered. People require freedom of choice and the ability to transform choice into a desired outcome. To undertake this transformation, people often face constraints within the context where they live, and so empowerment implies the ability to make choices and also the ability to influence the context to transform those choices into reality (Narayan 1995). Kabeer (1999, p 437) suggests that empowerment is "*the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where the ability was previously denied to them*". This definition highlights both the actor's ability to make choices and the process of change in the achievement of this ability. In interpreting the process of empowerment, Kabeer emphasises the need to examine a poor group's resources, agency and achievements. According to the World Bank's

empowerment sourcebook, “*empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives*” (see Narayan 2005, p 5). Like Kabeer, this definition refers to the poor person’s ability to make purposeful choices and focus on institutions as part of the ‘context’ where they can exercise their choices.

In this respect, the capacity to make effective choices is influenced by two factors: agency and opportunity structure. Alsop and Heinsohn (Alsop & Heinsohn 2005) provide two factors in the empowerment process:

- a change in the capacity of the poor to take purposeful action collectively; and
- a change of opportunity structure in the social, political, and economic life where the poor pursue their interests (see also Narayan 2005).

The first factor implies the organisational ability to make collective decisions. The opportunity structure mentioned as the second factor above consists of various formal rules, roles, rights and precedents in the existing social structure, as well as informal aspects such as norms, attitudes and values of the poor person’s social, economic and political lives. These opportunity structures block or augment the effects of the development process on villagers (Narayan 2005).

This control or empowerment of the poor that confers security to individuals and enhanced productivity in the sense of well-being—one of the three factors of development (Chambers 1997).

2.4.4 The characteristics of social entrepreneurs

The activities of social entrepreneurs naturally gain the attention of scholars who seek to identify their characteristics and the basis of their success. Though there are various meanings of social entrepreneurship and their associated activities, there are some common characteristics (Johnson 2000) in their approaches.

Peter Drucker, a world renowned management academic, stated, “*the social entrepreneur changes the performance capacity of society*” (cited in Gendron 1996, p 37). The twentieth-century growth economist, Joseph A Schumpeter characterized the entrepreneur as the source of ‘creative destruction’ necessary for major economic

advances (Schumpeter 1980). Changing activities for the betterment remains at the heart of their activities. They have other characteristics, as outlined below.

They take a social mission

Social entrepreneurs are often viewed as business entrepreneurs with a social mission. They are, as Dees (Johnson 2000, p 8) explained, “*one species in the genus entrepreneurs*”. According to Drucker (1993), the term ‘entrepreneur’, defined as ‘one who undertakes’, was introduced by French economist Jean Baptiste Say in the 17th and 18th centuries to characterize a special economic actor — not someone who simply opens a business but someone who “*shifts economic resources out of lower and into an area of higher productivity and greater yield*” (Drucker 1993, p 21). Social entrepreneurs are separated from business entrepreneurs by their social purpose or mission (Dees 1998). Social entrepreneurs typically take on a mission to address areas of unmet social need that the public or private sectors have failed to address. In many cases, these can be considered failures in the social market or public goods such as transport, education and health services (Nicholls 2006). Such a market may be inherently dysfunctional due to a range of reasons including a lack of credible performance, information, high transaction costs, and a general lack of innovation. Hence non-public sector intervention is needed (Emerson 2003) and social entrepreneurs take this opportunity to meet these needs.

Nicholls (2006, p 14) outlined the main areas where social entrepreneurs are historically operative and create social change. These include:

- poverty alleviation through empowerment, such as the micro-finance movement;
- health care, ranging from small-scale support for the mentally ill in the community to larger scale ventures tackling the HIV/AIDS pandemic;
- education and training, such as widening participation and the democratisation of knowledge transfer;
- environmental preservation and sustainable development, such as green energy projects;
- community regeneration, such as housing associations;
- welfare projects, such as employment programmes, homeless initiatives and drug and alcohol abuse projects; and

- advocacy and campaigning, such as Fair Trade and human rights promotion.

These areas are not discretely separated units; in reality they often overlap with one another. Social entrepreneurs sometimes develop cross-category activities in order to maximise social change across their whole operational process.

However, a social mission is not similar in every social context, as it differs according to the problems social entrepreneurs identify in the existing social context. Mair et al. (2006) found the identification of problems, gap or social opportunity to be his social mission to help the needy, that is, he identified a social unmet need or a new positive social impact opportunity Mair et al. (2006) considered that in social entrepreneurship, the interest is centered on the potential to meet a social need in a substantial manner, and thus to alleviate social problems. *“These social needs are not limited to a particular category, but to the possibility to enhance social conditions and promote extensive social change.”* (Perrini 2006, p 16) Therefore unmet demands are context specific.

Smillie and Hailey (2001) argue that there are two broad categories of social mission. The first category is technocratic, service-oriented and focused on meeting poverty alleviation through enhancing the poor’s physical assets. The main concept of this category lies in the philosophy that economic problems are seen as the result of the natural limits of geography and demography — shortage of land and food combined with overpopulation — problems to be solved with technological and managerial services. Many social entrepreneurs seek answers to development in these approaches. They believe savings, credit, training and other technological and management services were essential to the development process. The Grameen Bank provided credit, BRAC provided training, and Anand dairy cooperatives in India provided management services to help milk-producing cooperatives to expand their development (Uphoff et al. 1998).

The second category uses an organising principle where the main focus is on challenging the existing system (Smillie & Hailey 2001). They believe that poor groups require mobilisation and empowerment in order to resist the exploitation of the higher classes’ vested interests, and to challenge the existing system. Advocacy and campaigning social missions belong to this category The SEWA leader followed this principle.

Some social entrepreneurs have combined the two categories of missions successfully and brought changes in the lives of the poor. They educated and mobilized the poor against the existing system's unequal power structure and inequitable access to resources as well as provided technology and credit. Mixing both categories of approaches is common in the literature.

Some studies (e.g Krishna et al. 1997) showed that the trade union movement (for example, SEWA) is known for its advocacy role in mobilizing poor self-employed women, mainly small traders, to resist the tyranny of the local police. Again the leader of one of the largest voluntary organisations in Bangladesh *PROSHIKA* stated that *“without economic empowerment, it is not possible to have total empowerment”* (Smillie & Hailey 2001, p 99). SEWA undertook various economic development programmes along with its advocacy role. They mobilize and at the same time help the poor with credit and financial assistance, and training and education programmes.

However, social entrepreneurs involved in successful programmes in developing countries believe in empowering the poor in their battle against poverty (Uphoff et al. 1998), they do not want to be their patron. To achieve the goal they assist the poor with various services such as credit, training, and education with the target of making them self-reliant. This philosophy is embodied in the notion of assisted self-reliance. Self-reliance is defined as *“the source of power of the poor. It is a combination of material and mental strength by which one can deal with others as an equal and assert one's self-determination”* (Rahman 1990, p 46). In other words, it is an inner strength and confidence to make personal choices and decisions. Rahman argued that self-reliance is one of the factors of empowerment.

By providing credit one of the social entrepreneurs said they want to inspire *“the entrepreneurial spirit latent among all people”* (Uphoff et al. 1998, p 35). These authors argued that *“[i]t seems a bit paradoxical concept since it links assistance with independence to arrive at outcome of self-determination ... Unfortunately, assistance too often creates dependence ... ASR requires providing assistance in certain ways on specified terms that have the effect of building up capacities, incentives, and confidence for self-management”* (p 21). Thus, finding gaps in the existing social situation and

taking a mission to meet these gaps is considered to be the social missions of the social entrepreneur.

They take risks

Schumpeter argues that social entrepreneurs have an aptitude “*to act with confidence beyond the range of familiar beacons and to overcome that resistance.*” (Schumpeter 1976, p 132) This is one of the defining factors of entrepreneurship, which entails a social function in case of social entrepreneurship. They take risks to achieve their objectives, which is supported by Mort (2002), who argues that social entrepreneurs have a higher level of tolerance for uncertainty.

They innovate

Social entrepreneurs are people of innovative ideas—hence they change their environment. They see opportunities or possibilities rather than problems (Dees 1998) — everywhere and sometimes nowhere (Barendsen & Howard 2004). Bhowmik and Jhabvala (1996) found that Ella Bhatt, a social entrepreneur working for SEWA in a barren village area of Gujarat, diagnosed employment-creation as the basic need of the area. She herself relentlessly sought opportunities to utilise local resources to create employment. She developed an employment-creation programme as her mission and after analysing the environment and having long discussions with the local people, was able to identify local resources and relevant individual skills. She innovated a development programme for local women based on their traditional stitching skills. The ‘Banaskantha Women’s Association’ was successful in creating major sources of employment in the area within the first few years of its establishment.

Social entrepreneurs create new services and products, and new ways of dealing with problems, often by bringing together approaches that have traditionally been kept separate (Dees 1998; Leadbeater 1997). As some authors observed, they are very much innovative by nature (Cunningham & Lischeron 1991; Dees 1998). Schumpeter (1980) notes innovation does not require the invention of an entirely new service, product or approach; it can simply involve applying old ideas in a new way or to a new situation. Sometimes they don’t create new ideas but follow old ideas by applying them to a new situation or context, so it is innovative ideas and personal ‘know-how’ or the ‘how-to’s’ of social entrepreneurs that enable them to adapt old ideas to a new environment. In this

respect, all social entrepreneurs are innovative if they are able to successfully implement old ideas (Bornstein 2007).

They network

One of the main resources that social entrepreneurs work with is people. They organise the resource-poor to achieve their goals (Leadbeater 1997), and so they are required to network with other people to collect resources (Thompson et al. 2000). Social entrepreneurs used their circle of friends and also moved outside this confine to extend their networks in order to collect resources (Henton et al. 1997). Smillie and Hailey (2001) found that the leader of one of their case study organisations in Pakistan used his former professional contacts as a government employee to collect resources. Nicholls (2006) observed they network with government, philanthropic individuals, business groups and voluntary organisations to collect resources.

They learn

Social entrepreneurs learn ‘by doing’ and remain continuously engaged in the learning process (Dees 1998). The ‘learning by doing’ approach is tried and tested according to Mawson (Mawson 2007), as is also the case for business entrepreneurs. In the case of social entrepreneurs, however, these characteristics are coupled with a strong desire for social justice and for positive outcomes based on ethical processes (Nicholls 2006). Research by Smillie and Hailey (2001) indicates that social entrepreneurs also learn through formal training and education, and in informal ways such as from village dialogue, from their past mistakes, experimentation, staff discussions and from the practices of other voluntary organisations.

They lead

Social entrepreneurs are leaders (Mawson 2007). Prabhu (1999) used the term ‘social entrepreneurial leader’ to mean social entrepreneur. Conversely, not all leaders are social entrepreneurs. Social entrepreneurs are always linked with growth, but not all leaders are linked with growth (Prabhu 1999). The meaning of leadership is not easy to grasp as it is found in the literature and research on leadership (Bass 1981); it is as voluminous as it is diverse. However, it is clear that leadership is the process through which an individual influences group members to attain group or organisational goals (Smillie & Hailey 2001). The literature on leadership through social entrepreneurs has

not been extensively developed. Social entrepreneurs can take both transactional and transformative leadership styles; in the first approach they motivate people to achieve their goals, whereas in the second approach they inspire the group to achieve the goals and the workers contribute beyond their individual job requirements (Nicholls 2006).

Social entrepreneurs are leaders of people and they build relationships with people (Barendsen & Howard 2004; Mawson 2007). One commonality among most social entrepreneurs is they have a respect for the potentiality of individuals, regardless of their economic status (Uphoff et al. 1998).

Social entrepreneurs have the ability to adapt their leadership and managerial styles to the differing needs of people (Cunningham & Lischeron 1991). Because of the challenges that face social entrepreneurs, they need to be able create models and approaches that fit into particular cultures and sub-cultures. Traditional models of entrepreneurship are not realistic where they fail to take into account cultural and historical differences in developing countries. New models of entrepreneurship recognize the cultural and historical differences of the poor population (Cunningham & Lischeron 1991). Adaptation is at the heart of social entrepreneurial leadership (Dees 1998).

Social entrepreneurs are competitive and at the same time highly collaborative, providing “*collaborative leadership to bring diverse parties to the table, identify common ground and take joint action*” (Henton et al. 1997, p 153). Alvord et al. (2004) argues that social entrepreneurs are highly collaborative by nature. They can collaborate with diversified groups from those of a higher social power to grass roots voluntary organisation leaders. Bronstein (2007) argued the quality to share credit with others contributes to bringing everyone together. Mawson (2007) similarly emphasized the social entrepreneur’s ability to create committed teams and communities.

Prabhu (1999) observed similarities between the leadership of social entrepreneurs and business entrepreneurs. He stated many social entrepreneurs shared with their business entrepreneurs a strong desire to be in control of their environment, sometimes resisting changes, blocking innovations and rejecting collaborations in fear of losing their power-base, therefore suffocating their organisations. They are ‘charismatic autocrats’

(Smillie & Hailey 2002, p 135). Chambers (1997) said they can achieve many good things through their personal strength, vision and commitment, but their power can be a disability that jeopardizes organisational effectiveness. It is easily accessible for them to impose their own agenda, to block change and to deny the realities and perceptions of the local people.

Uphoff et al. (1998) found a different type of leadership. In the literature on third sector organisations in developing economies, it is not uncommon that many successful social entrepreneurship activities started with the initiative of one person with vision, energy, steadfastness and skills. Examples include social entrepreneurs like Muhammad Yunus and F.H. Abed in Bangladesh, Akhtar Hamid Khan in Pakistan, V. Kurien and Ella Bhatt in India, P.A. Kiriwandeniya in Sri Lanka, Mechi Viravaidya in Thailand, and Ledea Ouedraogo and Bernard Lecomte in the Sahel region of West Africa (Krishna et al. 1997).

Uphoff et al. (1998) described the leadership style of these social entrepreneurs described above as 'facilitative'. They believe in participatory development where they enable villagers to take an active part in the decision-making process. The leaders have the ability to persuade communities that they have something to gain from working together. The leaders here acted as facilitators, helping villagers to take responsibility in collective action.

Smillie and Hailey (2001) depicted the characteristics of facilitator social entrepreneurs such as Dr. Manibhai Desai of the Pune-based Bharatiya Agro Industries Foundation (BAIF) in India. Manibhai had a national reputation as both a cattle breeder and a horticulturist. He was a self-taught agriculturist and used science to serve the rural people. Much of BAIF's success can be traced to the ability of Manibhai to adapt technical advances to the needs of the poor and his belief that "*committed people are not enough, everyone needs technical skills*" (Smillie and Hailey 2001, p 85). Another study by Krishna et al. (1997) described how social entrepreneurs in the Orangi Pilot Project for building a sewerage system for the slum-dwellers in Karachi (Pakistan) had to encourage them to participate in the scheme. These leaders took an adapting style and at the same time facilitated the villagers in participating in organisational activities and facilitated their learning.

Smillie and Hailey (2001) also found social entrepreneurs never dominated the poor. Their relationship with the villagers was very personalised and was one of interdependence with the village people. They never imposed, but proposed their ideas (Uphoff et al. 1998) and adapted to the culture of the poor (Henton et al. 1997). Traditional managers usually attempt to maintain control over as many resources and decisions as possible in order to be effective or successful (Luthans 1988). In contrast, social entrepreneurs did not control, they shared their understanding and financial resources (Bornstein 2007) and listened to the poor (Mawson 2007). Uphoff et al. (1998) argued in their studies that successful social entrepreneurs in developing countries are facilitative leaders. They demonstrated their ability to work hard (Krishna et al. 1997). They made sacrifices by leaving their employment, and some took a vow of celibacy, pledging to devote their entire life to the service of the rural poor (Krishna et al. 1997). They were concerned with the work and family life of their staff, their values, and culture, their growth as individuals and professionals. The villagers respected them as their 'guru' or master and also loved them as senior family members. They believed in rules, regulations, systems and set standards of discipline and punctuality — one social entrepreneur stated "*my life is my message*" (Smillie & Hailey 2001).

However there is no one singular style of leadership, as it varies depending on the situation and context they worked in (Barendsen & Howard 2004). It can be said that social entrepreneurs are people with various characteristics: they have a social mission, innovate, take risks, network and they learn. They are leaders of people. Some of these leaders adapt to the needs of the villagers and called adapting leaders (Dees 1998), some control and are termed 'charismatic autocrats', and some 'facilitate the villagers to do' and are called facilitative leaders. Author and social entrepreneur Andrew Mawson commented "*social entrepreneurs defy easy definition. When you think you have them neatly placed in a box, like Houdini they find a way out — for we are, by nature creative spirits*" (Mawson 2007, p 6).

Thus social entrepreneurs with such characteristics may have a strong impact in reproducing social capital, but there are limited studies which highlight their influence on social capital. Various anecdotal stories describe their impact on social capital.

2.4.5 Stories of social entrepreneurs who reproduced social capital

Jain and Jain (2004) provided an example of social entrepreneurship in community-based organisations under the Joint Forest Management (JFM) programme in the Rajasthan state in central India. In recent years, community-based participatory approaches have been increasingly adopted in India to involve local communities in reviving and managing the degrading forest areas in a sustainable manner. The effective functioning of community-based organisations depends on the social structure and relationships within the community. The focus of this development approach has been to share the responsibilities of forest development and management between the government and communities. The government provides technical guidance and the investment support, while the communities are primarily expected to take responsibility for protecting the forest through compliance with resource use regulations. In return, communities are provided a share of the produce from the forest area. Collective regulation of resource use, its development and protection by village people remains a basic aim of the community-based organisations in this region. Only if the participants understand the basic objectives of collective compliance to the regulations and restrictions and the resultant collective benefits, could the programme be successful. Not only that the community itself should comply but they should keep watch that others are complying with these regulations. This is based on the concept of collective responsibility. Thus social structure and relationships with greater interaction and communication within the community were found to be the basic requirement of success for this programme.

A government official in the community-based programme in Rajasthan, found that the programme was successful in some areas where communities took active initiatives in the process and where he himself took various activities in different stages of the programme to motivate communities in taking initiatives (Jain & Jain 2004).

It is not a simple task to motivate and sensitise village people to form an organisation for managing forest resources, although it has long-term benefits for them. The poor village people look at the short-term and immediate benefits of their efforts. The success of the programme depends on the level of sincerity with which villagers were motivated, sensitised, and aware of their responsibilities.

Jain and Jain (2004) discuss the primary role of a government official in the successful community organisation (in JFM) as a social entrepreneur with visions of reforestation. In order to convert the vision of revived forest resources into reality, the government official motivated and sensitised people by explaining how various forest resource regulations would collectively benefit them and why it was necessary to form their own organisations. Motivating people depends on the individual motivator's ability and dedication. In the next step, Jain assessed the involvement of people in the community organisations in forest management processes so that he could evaluate the progress. Jain found that people generally abide by the regulations if they receive immediate benefits. Village people would plant seedlings if they got money for erecting fencing and building watersheds. The process needed continuous financial investment, which was not feasible. Such efforts often need to be combined with some development activities in a way that does not create a strong dependence on continuous investment. This could be achieved by making investment only as a reward for continued community commitment about their responsibilities. The need is to sensitise and motivate them.

The government official arranged regular meetings with village people, other government staff, village representatives and voluntary organisation (VO) representatives to find solutions through consensus. He suggested reward systems linked with forest management and development activities, and employed innovative ideas by engaging women to patrol forest areas. He trained other staff to delegate his duties to motivate, mediate and monitor progress. He helped to manage community organisations as an outsider. Jain, the government official, was a social entrepreneur in this case.

A video documentary '*The Village Republic*', made by the Centre for Science and the Environment (Bhatt 1995b), showed how rural people's collective actions in several states in India — Haryana, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Orissa — had changed the quality of their lives. It was suggested that given the opportunity, rural people in poor communities could achieve miraculous levels of success in undertaking ecologically sustainable activities if they received assistance from outside sources of expertise and resource. Social entrepreneurs take supervisory and monitoring roles in these grassroots initiatives.

Limited studies have focused on the social entrepreneur's role in influencing social capital. It was mentioned (See sub-section 2.2.2) that Krishna (2002) observed links between village leaders and productive social capital in 69 villages in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh in central India (Krishna 2002). These village leaders were not employed in any paid work and acted as volunteers for the village development; trustworthy, educated, hardworking and willing to help the villagers without any personal benefits. They changed the villagers' lives and are considered to be social entrepreneurs.

There are various reasons for the emergence of these social entrepreneurs in rural villages (Krishna 2002). Education in rural areas was almost entirely neglected before India's independence in 1947 and spread very slowly in the subsequent three decades, confined to upper cast people. It has spread significantly and with great speed over the last three decades. Some of these newly-educated village people from lower casts have become trustworthy and hardworking, and acquired a new ability to negotiate independently with state bureaucrats and politicians.

A fourteen-fold increase in state expenditure over the last fifteen years accompanied by proliferating government activity in rural areas has vastly expanded points of interface and mediation between the village and the state. In India, there was a vast array of public controls over the private industrial sector, particularly in the period when the government of India initiated poverty alleviation programmes in the 1990s (Mishra 1997; Singh 1995; Vanik 1990). Since then the villagers' transactions with a complex and procedure ridden state bureaucracies have increased. At nearly every stage of the agricultural cycle from collecting seeds and fertilizers to selling their products to the farmer, they are confronted with complicated paperwork containing technical terms which they are unable to understand due to a lack of education and inadequate knowledge. All these acted as barriers to obtaining benefits from these programmes. The rich upper -caste leaders assisted the poor villagers with these activities, and so the villagers came to depend on them. In return the upper caste leaders asked the poor villagers to cast a vote in favor of their chosen candidate in the election to further their own interests. The villagers used to obey the upper caste leader's demands, despite the election candidate not being their chosen candidate. Krishna (2002) argued the newly-

educated leaders helped the villagers in this area and also helped them to transform their needs into demands by electing their chosen candidate in the election. These newly educated lower caste leaders freed the villagers from the dependency of the upper caste leaders and changed the lives of the villagers for the better by helping them in their collective action. In this way the village leaders activated social capital.

Krishna's study (2002) regarded the village itself as the unit of analysis. He did not focus on any structured community organisations.

Voluntary organisations in India are a large sector, and most of the voluntary organisations in India are located in rural areas. They are contributing to alleviating poverty in various ways. If there is a mediating agent between community and government in development activities then there should be a mediating agent between structured community organisation and government. In this respect, questions such as 'What is happening there?' and 'What is the role of their leaders in reproducing social capital?' are important questions to consider, and are investigated by the current study. It will investigate the role of social entrepreneurs in structured rural voluntary organisations in India.

An earlier study by the present researcher (Basu 2001) found that the leader played a central role in forming Bonding, Bridging, and Linking relationships, which were then directly associated with the success of community organisations. Based on a case study of voluntary organisations in the state of West Bengal, India, she observed that the leader increased the capacity of the villagers by undertaking various collective development activities. The leader is a hardworking, trustworthy and altruistic person, which are common characteristics of social entrepreneurs. (Leadbeater 1997)

Thus from the anecdotal stories it can be derived that an individual with some qualities such as a social entrepreneur in a voluntary organisation can have a role in influencing the villagers relationship that helped collective action or social capital reproduction and can bring development to the village poor.

2.4.6 Social entrepreneur external to organisation (SEETO)

One of the important features of these social entrepreneurs can be found in the anecdotal stories of the JFM programme in Rajasthan (Jain & Jain 2004) and the previous case study experience of the present researcher, which influenced this study's views on social capital formation (Basu 2001). It was observed that the JFM social entrepreneur (a government officer) was a non-resident and did not hold any position in the community organisation. In the researcher's previous case study experience, the leader of a voluntary organisation was also a non-resident and was not holding any official position in the community organisation. These altruistic individuals helped the local people in their organisations from outside the organisation and have been instrumental in the success of development initiatives. These individuals are referred to as 'Social Entrepreneurs External to Organisation' (SEETO) as they are not directly related to the village organisations. Social entrepreneurs who are residents of the village community and members of the organisation are referred to as non-SEETOs. There are no studies about how their activities can influence social capital. The present study intends to investigate the activities of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in reproducing social capital.

If social entrepreneurs play an active role in reproducing social capital, then implication on the sustainability of the organisation becomes important. Organisations find it difficult to be sustainable if they depend largely on a single person's role (Chambers 1983; Chambers 1997; Esman & Uphoff 1984) in producing social capital. This was particularly found in the study of Krishna (2002), where social entrepreneurs or SEETOs were not doing any paid work and were working full-time for village development activities. Thus the possibility of their resigning from village development activities if they were offered paid work is a possibility that cannot be ignored. This aspect might place village development at risk, but Krishna has not focused on this issue.

2.5 Organisational sustainability

The positive role played by SEETOs in successful voluntary organisations has strong implications for organisational sustainability. The existence of SEETOs in an organisation indicates dependence on a single person, which may then affect organisational sustainability adversely. Scholars, donors, and practitioners have recently

become concerned with organisational sustainability of voluntary organisations as these organisations have been playing an important role in the development process of the poor in developing countries since the 1990s (Robinson 1991). Considerable interest in the development of these voluntary organisations in different regions of the world has generated new ideas to strengthen the socio-economic development processes in which these organisations are involved. Organisational sustainability has been considered one of the major concerns of development agenda (Brown & Tandon 1994).

2.5.1 Meaning of organisational sustainability

Sustainability of development has been defined as “*the ongoing dynamic process of continuing the valued results of development activities*” (Viswanath 1995). It focuses on the long-term continuation of the result or the outcome of the development activities. Development activities that only have positive outcomes in the short-term are not sustainable. For example, a programme to train a man to establish a small group may have short-term success when they start the group, but it is not sustainable until the man has the capacity to maintain the group and expand its activities in the long-term (Viswanath 1995). Thus sustainability encompasses not only continuing, but developing the valued result of development activities.

The valued result of development activities can be qualitative such as empowerment or capacity, or it can be quantitative such as the number of beneficiaries and the size of the organisation in terms of assets Uphoff et al. (1998). In the present study, the valued result of development activities is considered social capital or relationship reproduced by social entrepreneur that helps collective action. Thus maintaining and developing those relationships by the villagers are considered in the study as an indication of sustainability.

The study proposes that social entrepreneurs have a major role in reproducing social capital and making the organisation effective. In analysing the sustainability of this development, the study considers whether the villagers have the potential to maintain and strengthen social capital from what their leaders reproduced.⁷

⁷ The Oxford dictionary meaning of ‘potential’ is the qualities or abilities that may be developed and lead to success (Sara et al 2001).

The issue of the sustainability of voluntary organisations is particularly important in cases where the villagers depend on leaders. Leaders can come from outside or inside the organisation. Dependence on leaders can be dangerous for organisational sustainability, particularly for outsiders who are not a part of the organisation as they usually withdraw after some time. Their withdrawal may seriously impact organisational sustainability. Studies have illustrated that outside development agents, most of the time, fail to understand the realities, needs and requirements of the poor and imposed their definitions, perceptions and plans accordingly for the development of the poor (Uphoff 1986). The outsiders generally did not listen to, enquire of or learn from the villagers (Rahman 1990; Chambers 1997). The same instance occurred in the case of inside leaders, where if the poor found that the organisational decision does not reflect their knowledge and interest, then they may feel isolated, which can inhibit their participation and can make the organisation unsustainable (Edwards & Hume 1992). However, Uphoff (1986) argued that outsiders were not always harmful to the organisation. He argued that facilitator social entrepreneurs, some are outsiders brought positive changes to the lives of the poor.

It is difficult to get an agreed view on the impact of outsiders on organisational sustainability. Activities of SEETOs have an implication on the sustainability issue as they are outsiders to the organisation. The present study proposes to analyse the implications for sustainability of organisations where social entrepreneurs, both SEETO and non-SEETO, play a major role in strengthening social capital. The following section briefly analyses various factors that can affect organisational sustainability.

2.5.2 The process of organisational sustainability

According to Rahman (1990), when an organisation strongly depends on their leaders' organisational sustainability depends on the local capacity to manage their organisation. Brown and Tandon (1994) confirmed this argument. They emphasised three tasks:

- local people's participation in management tasks;
- mass participation in collective decision-making, implementation of collective tasks, taking initiatives, review of and evaluation of collective activities and social progress. This ensures that activities are undertaken according to mass priorities and

consensus. The wider body of people should have sufficient opportunity to fulfil themselves by active participation in the activities of collective action; and

- the solidarity of local people. The complexity of development activities and the variety of external constituents to whom organisations must respond set the stage for internal conflicts. For sustained development, local people need to manage these conflicts and tensions with their own efforts and initiatives, which is an indication that people care for each other in times of distress.

Rahman (1990) suggests that these three tasks focused strongly on cooperative action and solidarity-based relationships of local people or *social capital* for achieving sustainability of social benefits accruing in voluntary organisations. Uphoff et al. (1998) emphasizes two factors: contribution of local resources and continual learning for organisational sustainability. If locals do not contribute their resources, their attitude of ownership of the organisation does not grow. They must contribute their skills and take part in the management task, the mass should take part in the decision-making process, and they should contribute their money or other resources (no matter how small) to the organisation. Uphoff et al. (1998) showed that the poor are paying fees for the services delivered by the organisation and this made it sustainable.

Korten (1980) argued that any voluntary organisation requires continual learning in order to cope with the changing environment and to survive. Learning offers new and innovative ideas in facing change. Smillie and Hailey (2001), based on their studies covering nine voluntary organisations in South Asia, argued that successful organisations are learning organisations.

In this respect, consensus is growing that without innovative ideas or the ability to adapt to internal and external changes or human capital, voluntary organisations cannot sustain themselves in the long-term Uphoff et al. (1998). In order to sustain themselves in the long-term, voluntary organisations require continual innovation, new ideas or knowledge. Learning organisations can offer knowledge.

Learning organisations

Engagement in learning processes helps to generate innovative ideas which help voluntary organisations to be efficient, effective and sustainable in the ever-changing

environment where they work (Korten 1980). Management writers such as Drucker argue that knowledge is the key resource, one that all leading organisations, in both the private and non-profit sectors, must manage and exploit if they are to maintain their position (Drucker 1992). In the case of voluntary organisations Smillie and Hailey (2001) argue that development is a knowledge-based process. Knowledge is the product of information, experience and judgment. It is of no use if it is not disseminated, applied, and above all, used for learning. Knowledge, learning and development are therefore inextricably linked, and development organisations should be learning organisations. Activities undertaken in the learning process include collecting information to identify problems, the analysis of problems to find solutions, and to apply these solutions into practice (Uphoff et al. 1998). The hallmark of the learning process is continuous rethinking and adjustment (Viswanath 1995).

However, all of these depend on the willingness and ability of individuals within an organisation to engage in the process of learning (Swieringa & Wierdsma 1992). Staff individual learning is not a necessary condition for organisational sustainability; organisations should generate and share learning.

Smillie and Hailey (2001) argued that successful and sustainable voluntary organisations learned formally and informally from various sources. Informal learning takes place in areas such as consensus in meetings, conversation and dialogue with villagers. More formal learning is undertaken through training and education. Information has been shared through personal engagement in institutional learning such as seminars, workshops, awareness-enhancement camps, management processes. Information also has been generated and disseminated through research findings, and monitoring processes and documentation and publications, and formal. All these sources helped the organisation to remain engaged in the learning process and made them learning organisations.

It can be concluded that in order to achieve a sustainable organisation, locals should be engaged in the management of their organisation and in mass participation in the decision-making process, the contribution of local resources to the fund, and the organisation should be a learning organisation (Korten 1980). Learning organisations remain engaged in learning processes such as collecting data, analyzing data, applying

the data in practice and sharing the data with others (Uphoff et al. 1998). A learning organisation collects information formally and informally. The sources of informal and formal learning are based on a consensus from conversations and dialogue with the villagers, personal experiences, formal training and formal education systems, research findings, evaluation methods and institutional learning such as seminars, workshops, management processes, publications, and documentation (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Thus the study considers all these elements when determining whether organisational sustainability is likely.

If organisations depend on social entrepreneurs in reproducing social capital, which is one of the important factors of organisational sustainability, then its sustainability remains in question. Thus the study considers local participation in the management task of their organisation, the mass participation in the decision-making processes, the contribution of local resources, and the learning organisation itself to assess organisational sustainability. The present study analyses the impact of the role of the social entrepreneur in sustaining the organisation.

2.6 The research gap

Several issues can be derived from the review of literature presented in previous sections. Social capital comprises features of the social organisation such as trust, norms and networks that facilitate coordinated action (Putnam 1993). Putnam based his studies in Italy (1993), arguing that voluntary organisations can reproduce social capital. Some authors (Foley & Edwards 1996) criticized this view and argued that medium-level institutions play a mediator role between community and the government, and has influence in social capital production and reproduction. Krishna (2002) argues that networks have little to do with influencing social capital reproduction, but that norms play the main role, which is context specific. Different contexts in different countries with different contributing factors can influence social capital reproduction. He argued that in India, village-level social entrepreneurs play a mediator role to activate social capital. However, anecdotal stories told of social entrepreneurs who are non-residents of the village and non-members of the voluntary organisation or SEETO motivating the villagers to form their organisation and playing a key role in influencing social capital in rural voluntary organisations (Krishna 2002). The existing studies were based on the

village in its rural context in India and did not focus on their role in voluntary organisations. The present study changed the dimension of the existing study of Krishna and undertook the voluntary organisation as the unit of analysis, and analysed SEETOs' and non-SEETOs' roles in influencing social capital.

Several questions appear to be relevant when we change the dimension:

- 'What are the organisational activities of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in voluntary organisations?';
- 'How do these activities affect social capital?';
- 'How does social capital change the villagers' lives for better?'; and
- 'If it does so, then what are the implications for organisational sustainability?'

In these anecdotal stories we find the existence of SEETOs in a limited number of successful social entrepreneurs and also a limited idea of their activities. This research intends to analyse the influence of SEETOs and non-SEETOs on voluntary organisations in rural India, specifically in the state of West Bengal. The size of India's voluntary sector is large (approximately 1.2 million organisations in 2000), where the majority of voluntary organisations operate in rural areas. Leaders play an important role in these organisations. A key question is 'What is happening in these organisations?' Dongre and Gopalan (2008a) argued, based on their recent studies in India that half of their key informants think that the governing role lies mainly with the leader. A number of other key questions include 'What type of activities are SEETOs performing?' and 'Are their activities more significant than the activities of non-SEETOs to reproduce social capital?' The existing literature does not provide answers to the range of issues raised above. The proposed study investigated these areas almost untouched by the existing literature.

2.7 The research question

On the basis of the literature review and the identified research gaps, the main research question can be stated as:

“What is the relationship between the social entrepreneur and social capital, and how do the resulting organisational activities affect village development and its implication for sustainability of rural voluntary organisation in India?”

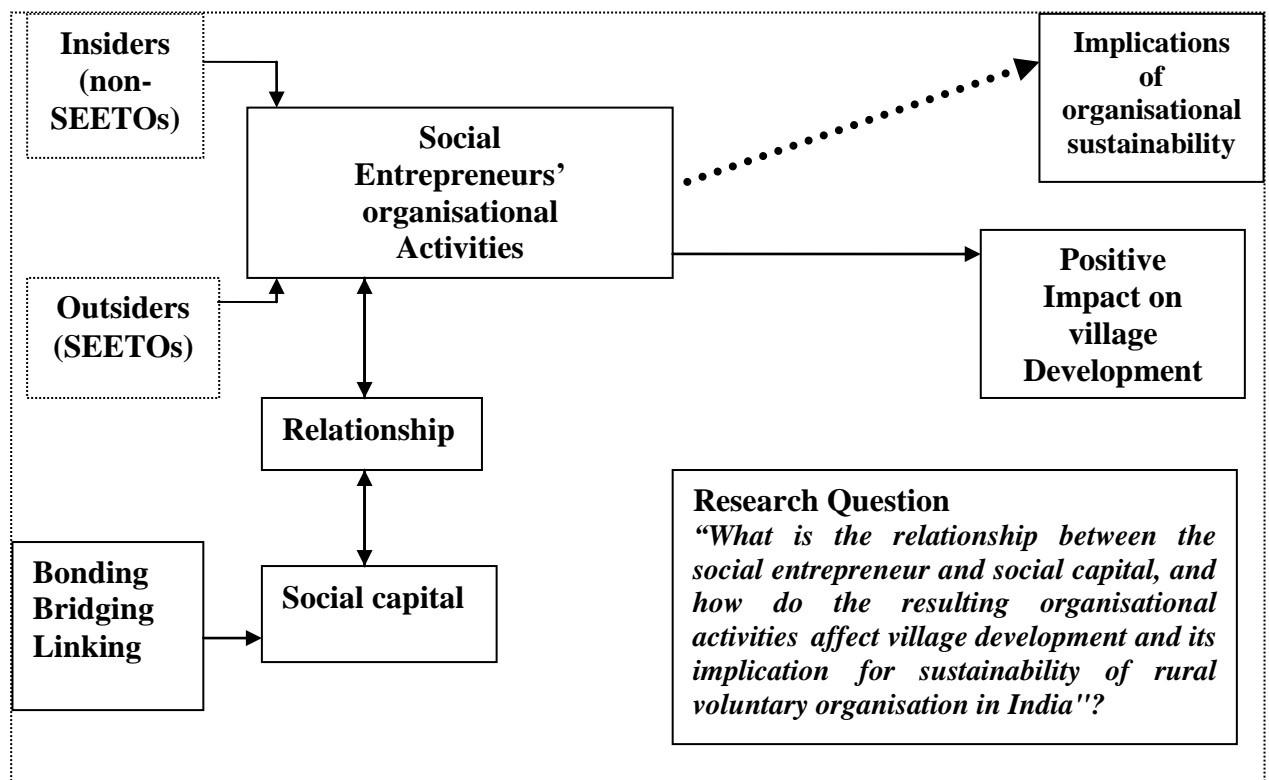
The main research question can be sub-divided into more specific questions that will focus on different aspects of the study. These are:

- 1) What are the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in rural voluntary organisations?
- 2) How do these characteristics affect social capital in the concerned organisations?
- 3) How do the resultant activities affect the development of the poor?
- 4) What are the implications of the characteristics for organisational sustainability?

The study intends to establish links between the social entrepreneur and social capital, and to analyse the organisational characteristics of social entrepreneurs. The impact of their characteristics on the development of the villagers, and finally the implications on organisational sustainability will be analysed. Figure 2.1 explains this conceptual framework. The links between the two main factors will be established in the study. However the literature helped greatly to build the connections and acted as a guide to explore the concept further.

Figure 2.1

Conceptual framework



Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The primary objective of this research is to explain the relationship between social entrepreneurs and social capital, and how social entrepreneurs influence social capital in rural third sector organisations. The research also intends to analyse the implications of the equivalent for organisational sustainability. To pursue these objectives, the study investigates the activities of SEETOs and non-SEETOs through five voluntary organisations in West Bengal, India in order to analyse their patterns and activities.

This chapter discusses the methodology of the research. It includes sections on the research approach, case study methods, ethical protocol, data collection methods, and data analysis and presentation. The research paradigm/approach section provides a justification for using qualitative approaches to collect and analyse data. Multiple case studies are used in this research. The case study method section provides justifications, the organisation of case studies and respondent selection process. The section on data collection instruments discusses the various instruments that have been used and justified in their uses. The section transcribing the data into a case study format describes the rationale behind the titles used in the case study write-ups and the cross-case analysis.

3.2 Research paradigm/approach

The research objective is to investigate the relationship between the activities of social entrepreneurs in rural third sector organisations and social capital reproduction and its implications for organisational sustainability. Thus the main purpose of the research is to understand the behaviour and activities of social entrepreneurs as individuals in a “real life” context, as well as their behaviour and relationships with the workers of community organisations, villagers, donor agencies, other voluntary organisations, and

the government. The relationships have an impact on the collective actions of the villagers. It also proposes an alternative model of theory about the relationships of social capital and social entrepreneurship based on their experience.

The selection of methodology in research depends on the set of assumptions undertaken by the researcher. As methodology is the sum of assumptions and intentions of the researcher about social reality and human nature, researchers take subjective and/or objective views about social reality. The nature of methodology differs with these two approaches. Subjectivists follow the interpretive methodology whereas a positive view is held by the objectivists (Burrell & Morgan 1979).

The subjective view emphasises that social reality is perceived through the perception of the mind. According to subjectivists, knowledge of social reality comes from interpreting sense perceptions, not from an 'uninterpreted grasping at meaning' (Hatch & Yanow 2003, p 67). Study of social reality or knowledge under interpretive philosophies is shaped by the knowledge of the 'knower'. Interpretivists view that knowledge of the social world comes from interpreting sense perceptions, not from an 'uninterpreted grasping' of them. Knowledge comes from perceptions of the mind of the 'knower' who makes meaning, which they do in the context of the event or experience, informed by their prior knowledge. Thus knowledge is subjective and dependant on the interpretation and description of the 'knower'. On the other hand, the objective view states that social reality is perceived through five senses. According to positivists, reality is objective. It is already there to be found, perceived through the five senses, independent of the observer's feelings or mind, perceived uniformly by all and governed by universal laws and based on integration (Donaldson 2003). The present research follows the subjective view and interpretive approach to analysing the research question about the lived experience of social entrepreneurs and the villagers. Their meaning making and meaning is contextualised by their prior knowledge and by history and surrounding elements (Hatch & Yanow 2003).

This study follows a qualitative approach to research as opposed to a quantitative approach. The purpose of qualitative research is to describe a situation whereas the quantitative approach measures the variation (Kumar 1999). The present study seeks to understand the behaviour of social entrepreneurs in a natural context where multiple

variables are operative and cannot be controlled through quantitative techniques. Thus the quantitative data on variation cannot provide an answer. It is difficult to quantify most of the relevant issues related to individual behaviour in the context of this study. A qualitative approach leads to a better understand people's behaviour in a holistic way when it occurs in a natural context (Punch 1998). *“One major feature is that they focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what ‘real life’ is like. Another feature is its richness and holism with strong potential for revealing complexity; such data provide thick descriptions that are vivid, nested in a real context, and have a ring of truth that has strong impact on the reader”* (Punch 1998, p 23). Participant numbers may also be limited, placing further restriction on methodological choice. For these reasons qualitative approaches or methodologies have been considered the most suitable approach for the collection and analysis of data in this research.

There are several types of qualitative research with analytic differences and methodologies. Miles and Huberman (1994) focused on three approaches: interpretivism, social anthropology, and collaborative social research. In interpretivist methodology human activity is seen as text and interpretation comes through the understanding of group actions and interactions. They often work with interview transcripts. The primary methodology of social anthropology *“stays closer to the natural field including extended contact with a given community, concern for mundane, day to day events as well as for unusual ones, direct or indirect participation in local activities, with particular care given to the description of local particularities; focus on individuals perspectives and interpretations of their world; and relatively little pre-structured instrumentation; but often a wider use of audio and videotapes and structured observation”* (Miles & Huberman 1994, p 8). Methodology based on social anthropology is also referred to as ethnography, field research or case studies (Leo 1997). Ethnography is a methodological strategy used to provide descriptions of human societies, and represents a detailed study of the life and activities of a group of people (Veal 2005). In collaborative social research, collective action is undertaken in a social setting. The collaborative social research undertakes various data collecting tools similar to ethnography; however, the forms of investigation in ethnography are different. (Miles & Huberman 1994)

The basic investigation in this research is to better understand how social entrepreneurs interact with other workers, villagers, visitors, donors, and the beneficiaries of the organisational activities in a 'real life' setting. The research also investigates how these interactions help build social capital or relationships based on trust, norms and networks that facilitate a collective action of the villagers for reducing their poverty. The understanding of the local socio-economic context, the villagers' action and interaction with each other and their leader within the organisation, the villagers' beliefs and values, and the language they use to express their experience are significant to the present study. Thus the study used interviews and conversations, participant observation in their usual and unusual events, and local history and story to gather information. These are mostly components of ethnographic study. Thus the ethnographic approach appears to be the most appropriate to ground the observations made and the concepts acquired in the investigation.

The typical ethnography is a document written about people (Miles & Huberman 1994), and so the way of referring data is important. In this study, the researcher described people, and their relationship with each other and with their leaders within a cultural context where she belongs. The researcher is a Bengali woman, born and brought-up in Bengali cultural surroundings. She speaks the villagers' language and wears similar dress, though she lives in a different country at present. These factors positioned the researcher at a similar footing with the people she planned to interview and observe. This footing assisted the researcher in recognizing their issues, to understand and interpret them, and to represent their true meaning in this cultural context. Thus the researcher used the 'emic' version of accounting and representing data.

'Emic' and 'etic' are terms used primarily by anthropologists (Headland 1990) in social and behavioural sciences to refer to two different kinds of data concerning human behaviour. In particular, they are used in cultural anthropology to refer to various types of fieldwork enacted and viewpoints obtained. An emic account comes from within a culture. It is a description of behaviour or a belief that is meaningful to the actor, either consciously or unconsciously (Pike 1990). As a result, almost anything that is derived from within a culture can provide an emic account. Novels, films and journalistic accounts by members of the culture under study are typical examples of emic accounts.

In contrast, an etic account is culturally neutral. It is a description of a behaviour or belief by an observer, in terms that can be applied to other cultures. Etics “*denotes an approach by an outsider to an inside system, in which the outsider brings his own structure — his own emics and partly superimposes his observations on the inside view, interpreting the inside in reference to his outside starting point.*” (Pike 1990, p 13) Typically, etic accounts are empirical in nature and supported by data from one of the five senses (Headland 1990). The emic/etic debate reflects the basic differences between the two philosophical assumptions about social reality: subjective and objective views.

This research followed the subjective view where individuals can create meaning by interpreting one’s own mind. The practice of making meaning creates cultural identities such as values, beliefs and feelings of live experience. At a base level, organisations are comprised of people and the meaning of their interrelationships. These relationships are embedded in the values, beliefs and norms in people’s minds and reflected through various artifacts from architecture to espoused values such as strategy and goals. Thus organisations can be considered cultures (Trice & Beyer 1993), that is, to know individuals and assign meaning under any setting one should consider the cultural context. It is an emic view. The use of the term is spreading in other disciplines with various different interpretations in recent years. However, it primarily refers to insider/outsider dialogues (Headland 1990) which have been used in this research.

This study accepted the emic view in referring to the data and used the villagers’ own words to interpret aspects meaningful to them. The case studies are presented as far as possible from the perspective of the villagers using language appropriate to them; they do not use academic vocabulary to express their problems and concerns, they use their day-to-day language, which is again linked to the local culture. In order to understand them, it is essential to understand their language and culture. For this reason, the use of academic vocabulary has been purposefully avoided while presenting the case studies in this research.

However, while analysing the case study findings and comparing them with one another, the study reverted to an etic form of discussion. At this stage, the researcher intentionally redirected her focus from the source of the data in order to reflect on it at a more abstract level. While not shifting to a positivist stance entirely, the researcher

moved to a more objective, etic position at this point and superimposed her views on the insiders' views. More academic language has been used at this stage to improve understanding.

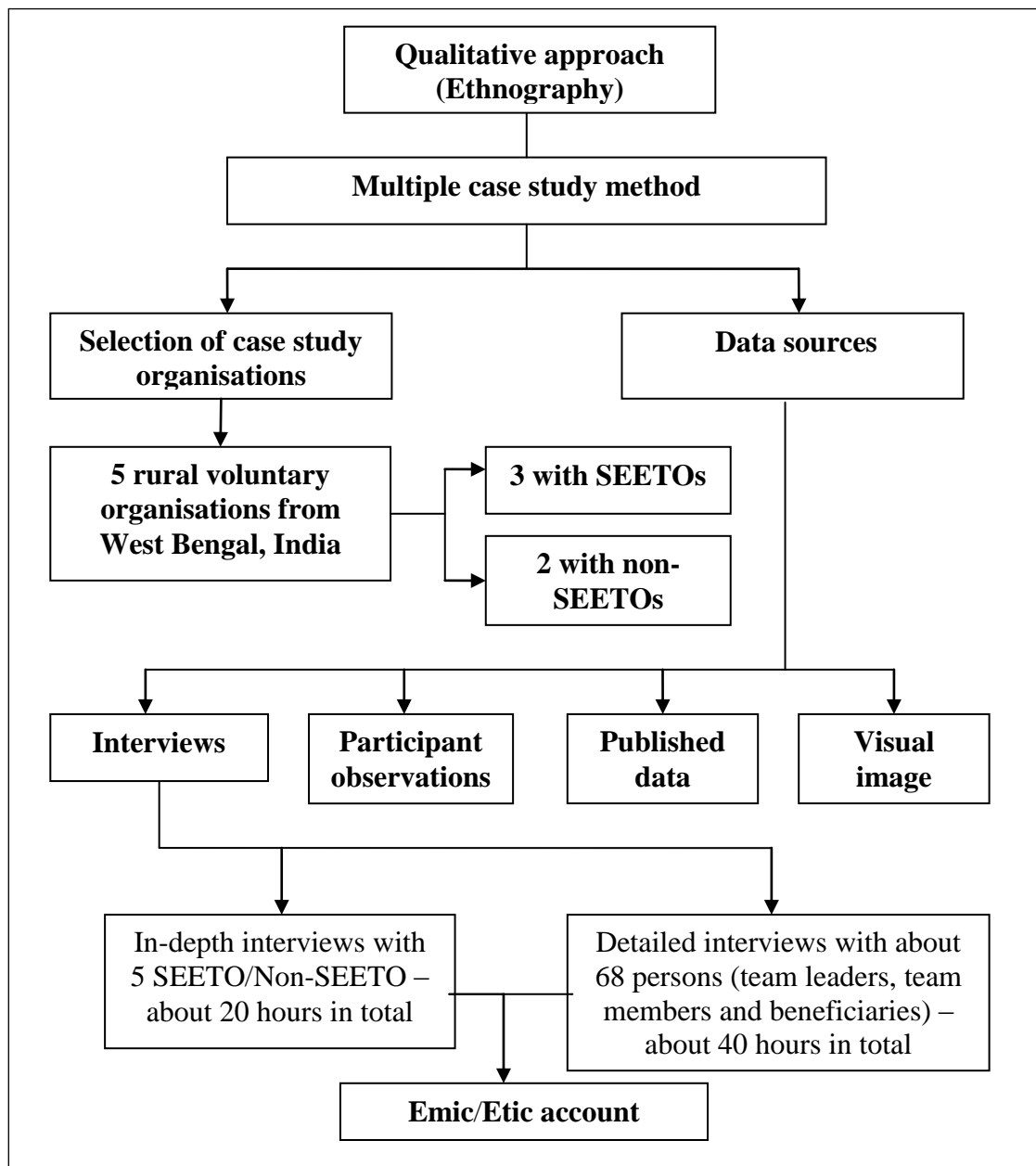
The researcher's objective is to communicate the research outcome and the new knowledge obtained through the research to the wider global community. The study collected knowledge from the remote villages in India. Generally such knowledge is limited to the Western academic world of developed countries. Accordingly, the results of the study have been analysed and presented in a language that is in epic form which is relevant and meaningful to the Western world.

The study undertook case studies, which is a common synonym of ethnography (Miles & Huberman 1994), in order to conduct investigations into the rural third sector in the state of West Bengal, India. The study selected five rural voluntary organisations for case studies — three with social entrepreneurs who are SEETOs and two with social entrepreneurs who are non-SEETOs. A schematic picture on the methodology used is presented in Figure 3.1.

3.3 Multiple case study method

The research used a multiple case study method to conduct the investigation. A case study is taken to be defined as an in-depth multifaceted investigation using both quantitative and qualitative research methods of a single phenomenon. It is a way of making a systematic investigation of an unexplored phenomenon in the social world (Feagin et al. 1991). The study used a qualitative case study method. When researchers have no control over behavioural events and their focus is on contemporary events, case studies serve the research purpose more effectively than other research techniques such as history, surveys or experiments. It permits the grounding of observations and concepts about social action and social structures in natural settings observed at close quarters (Yin 2003).

Figure 3.1
Proposed methodology — schematic presentation



There are varying applications of the case study approach in evaluation research. The present research used descriptive, exploratory and explanatory approaches to analyse the research question. The descriptive approach describes the “real life” context in which an intervention has occurred (Yin 2003). The present study described the socio-economic contexts where the case study organisations are located, the past history and current practices of the organisation. Thus it followed the descriptive case study approach. This study used an explanatory case study method, and deals with operational

links between two factors traced over time (Yin 2003). This study investigates the links between social capital reproduction and a social entrepreneur's activities over a long period of time. It provides understanding of the relationships of the social entrepreneurs and the villagers through application and extension of existing theory. Exploratory case studies are often used in areas where there are few existing theories or a large body of knowledge (Yin 2003). It is conducted to diagnose a situation, to screen wording, to summarize ideas and compare them with past research. The present study is exploratory in this sense as it explored the activities of SEETOs and non-SEETOs where the existing research is limited. The present study also is open enough to allow new emergent findings about their leadership styles. However, it was not completely exploratory. It established operational links between social entrepreneurship and social capital reproduction using a set of well developed questions, where the 'how' question was used which generally belongs to explanatory case studies (Yin 2003). Therefore this study used descriptive, exploratory and explanatory approaches to analyse the research questions which then increase the methodological strength of the study.

The present research analysed different situations such as meetings and conversations; screened different words to extract meaning; collected different views on a single idea; and then compared the results, using triangulation, a method of cross-checking to confirm validity. Triangulation is a term derived from radio direction finding, where two separate tracking stations locate the source of a radio signal. Hence each of the multiple sources of data separately confirms a fact (Yin 2003).

Researchers have argued over the reliability of case study methods. Reliability is usually interpreted as the ability to replicate the original study using the same instruments and to then get the same results (Feagin et al. 1991). The reliability of the case study format can be addressed through adjusting research design, as Feagin et al. (1991) argued and should not be considered an insurmountable barrier given the quality, depth and understanding of more complex social relationships which it offers. Yin (2003) and Eisenhardt (1991) observed that studying multiple cases is generally considered more reliable as it permits replication and extension. The present research undertakes multiple case studies to ensure the reliability of the observations.

Belanger et al. (1994) rated the case study methodology equally with other methodologies if the principle of triangulation is more fully developed and provides validation of observations and analysis based on those observations. Other authors (Feagin et al. 1991) support this view. In using a triangulation approach the researcher can take various sources of data to cross-check the observations as well as the claims based on those observations. The triangulation approach permits the observer to assemble complementary and overlapping measures of the same phenomenon. This study undertakes various sources of data to prove its validity.

3.3.1 Selection of organisations and interviewees

In this research, five voluntary organisations (VOs) have been used as the basis for case studies — three with SEETOs and two with non-SEETOs. Yin (2003) argued that each case must be selected so that it either predicts similar results or contrasting results. Thus, the findings of a multiple case study approach may fall into one of two categories. The present study took the two sets of different type of social entrepreneurs (SEETOs and non-SEETOs) and compared them expecting to produce different types of relationship between social capital reproduction and social entrepreneurship. The final criteria for completing organisation selection rested on the concept of theoretical redundancy, which is the point at which no further theoretical insight will be gained by further case studies (Yin 2003).

These case study VOs are located in two districts (24 Parganas and Birbhum) in the state of West Bengal, India. The state of West Bengal accounts for the highest proportion of rural based VOs in India (Srivastava & Tandon 2005). The proportion of operative VOs is also very large in this state as compared to others. Although agricultural productivity is high in the state, due to an unequal distribution of land ownership more than 28 per cent of rural people are considered poor (GOI online). It is possibly for this reason that a large number of operating VOs exists in rural areas in the state (Srivastava et al. 2002).

The selection of the five case study organisations was based on the following criteria:

- Rural location: The VO must be located in a designated rural area.

- The level of maturity: The VO should be in existence for at least 15 years to obtain an acceptable level of positive outcomes from the development activities they conduct (Uphoff et al. 1998). Development orientation: The VO should be focussed mainly on economic, health and education areas that promote productive capacity and self reliance among the poor through supporting Self-help projects to help them to meet their basic needs (APPC 2006). As poverty is still the primary problem in rural West Bengal, people need education, health and financial assistance for basic human development (UNDP 2003). VOs with more than one development programme play an important role in reducing poverty in village communities (Esman & Uphoff 1984). The study intended to investigate such development in VOs.
- Regional homogeneity: All case study organisations should be selected from a similar geographical region to allow a valid comparison. The National Sample Survey, a central government organisation in India, has divided the state of West Bengal into four regions according to its regional homogeneity. The Central region with five districts was selected as the area for the case study organisations due to the researcher's familiarity with the region.
- Existence of social entrepreneurs: All case study organisations were facilitated by either SEETOs or non-SEETOs.

To define social entrepreneur we used the definition of Alvord et al. (2004) where the basic focus is to create social transformation/change through innovative solutions. LSP, a national voluntary organization actively working in South 24 Parganas district identified some organizations that have been operating well to benefit the poor. We started with LSP's identified organizations and talked to the academics, local government officials, and local seniors about each organisation's role in changing the poor's lives. Then we selected the organizations and classified them according to the existence of SEETO and Non-SEETO. SEETO refers to social entrepreneurs who are non-locals and holding no official position in the managing committee of the voluntary organisation. In contrast, Non-SEETOs are locals and position holders.

VOs with SEETOs have been recruited using a 'snow ball' method (Bornstein 2007), a technique used for collecting information from the first interviewee about the next interviewee. As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the genesis of the research came

from the researcher's previous field study where the existence of SEETOs was noted in a remote and rural voluntary organisation in West Bengal. The same SEETO and his organisation is also included in this research. The researcher then engaged this SEETO to assist in locating other SEETOs. The second SEETO was found in the same district, also satisfying other selection criteria. The first and second SEETOs assisted in identifying the third case study organisation. The researcher generally referred the name of the previous SEETO to the next prospective SEETO before seeking an interview. However SEETOs were found scattered across various districts separated by vast geographical distance. The third SEETO was found in the Birbhum district.

For non-SEETO VOs, the study selected approximately 100 organisations, mostly from the 24 Parganas district. A list of VOs within the region was obtained from the regional office of the Registrar of Society (a central government body that registers voluntary organisations) in Kolkata. Letters were then sent to these selected organisations to identify the existence of non-SEETOs, and follow-up telephone calls and personal visits were made to confirm. Only 39 organisations responded, representing a 39% response rate. A large number of organisations were found to be non-existent. Further contacts and personal visits short-listed 10 organisations which were suitable and willing to take part in the study. Eventually three organisations with non-SEETOs were included from the 24 Parganas district for detailed case study investigation. After analysing the basic characteristics of these three organisations and finding similar patterns, the third VO was discarded (based on the theoretical concept of redundancy) and the research concentrated on two organisations. Table 3.1 presents basic features of the five case study organisations — with and without SEETOs. Locations of the case study organisations in the state of West Bengal in India are shown in Appendix E.

In-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with groups from each of the selected organisations. As Table 3.2 indicates, interview participants included outsiders (SEETOs) and insiders (non-SEETOs) social entrepreneurs and team leaders who played central roles in the programme implementation process. Interviews were also conducted with field staff, group members, beneficiaries, volunteers, and villagers, who were selected at random as their numbers varied from 10 to 100 depending on the size of each organisation. The field staff are the team members who physically implement programmes. Group members who are

members of the organisation form specific activity groups such as a ‘Self-help’ group. Beneficiaries of the programme are those who are the direct recipients of programme benefits but not actively involved with the organisation. They include school students and their parents and borrowers of savings and credit programmes. The other key informants interviewed for this study include staff of donor agencies, former supervisors, as well as academics and knowledgeable people in each village.

Table 3.1
Case study organisations — basic features

Name of the organisation	Year founded	Number of paid full-time staff (2007)	Number of paid part-time staff (2007)	Financial turnover in 2006 (in Indian Rupees)*	Main activities
With SEETO					
Bhubonpur Adibasi Sangha (BAS)	1987	2	11	500,000	Education
Gramonnayan Milan Samity (GMS)	1971	1	10	300,000	Education
Daria Gramonnayan Sangha (DGS)	1977	1	1	1,000,000	Self-help group
With non-SEETO					
Sishu O Mohila Sangho (SMS)	1974	5	45	Not available	Self-help group
Alokananda Nari Sangho (ANS)	1973	Nil	1	200,000	Self-help group

* A\$ 1 = Indian Rs. 34 (March 2007)

Table 3.2
Number of interviews conducted

Organisation	SEETO/non-SEETO	Team leaders	Team members (informants)	Beneficiaries/informants	Villagers/informants	Total
BAS	1	3	4	4	4	16
GMS	1	4	4	4	5	18
DGS	1	4	1	4	2	12
SMS	1	3	2	4	2	12
ANS	1	2	1	7	4	15
Total	5	16	12	23	17	73

3.3.2 Data collection sources

The research follows an ethnographic approach based on qualitative information collected from the case study organisations. Qualitative data is empirical information about the world in the form of words (Punch 1998). Yin (2003) argued case studies rely on multiple sources of evidence which converge in a triangulation manner. Following an ethnographic approach, the study employed four main sources/techniques to collect qualitative data, such as:

- Face-to-face in-depth interviews;
- Participant observations;
- Published data such as annual reports, magazines and notice board information; and
- Visual images or photographs.

Face-to-face in-depth interviews

In-depth interviews are suited to locating the meaning individuals place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives (Sykes 1990); their ‘perceptions’, ‘assumptions’, ‘pre-judgements’, ‘presuppositions’ (van Manen 1977); and for connecting these meanings to the social world around them (Miles & Huberman 1994). This research intends to uncover new concepts centered on social entrepreneurship — a process linked to social capital reproduction. In this process,

the study seeks to explore the nature of social actions taken by social entrepreneurs and their relationships with staff, villagers, donor agencies and government. Hence the study undertook in-depth interviews with social entrepreneurs from selected voluntary organisations. In-depth interviews were conducted with team leaders to complement the data and to ascertain information about their activities. For example, information was collected from respective team leaders on the hard work of social entrepreneurs, personal sacrifices and the cost to their informal relationships with stakeholders and their sense of discipline.

The study conducted individual interviews with the intention that it would eliminate any influence one member of the group may have on another (Palemerino 1999). Such in-depth interviews take longer in time, typically speaking with each subject for at least 30 minutes to a number of hours depending on the nature of interviewees (Punch 1998). Interviews with each social entrepreneur lasted several hours, covering multiple sessions in most cases. The content reached beyond questions of ‘what’ and ‘how many’ to how events occur.

Each interview was centered on a few key areas — the socio economic context of the village(s) where the respective VOs were operative, the story and history of how the organisation was established and by whom, and characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs: their values, beliefs and vision. The organisational activities of SEETOs and non-SEETOs, programme staff and volunteers, and the social and economic changes of the beneficiaries were also discussed in detail.

Throughout the interviews, SEETOs and non-SEETOs explained their activities, the history of the organisation, their values and beliefs, and their formal and informal relationships with the villagers. Questions concerning the nature of the activities of social entrepreneurs have intentionally been kept non-structured. Usually there are no pre-determined and scheduled roles for the key leader within voluntary organisations. It is contextual and depends on the expertise and influence of the key leader concerned. However, following the ‘Total Activities Model’ (Harris 1993), the organisational activities of VOs were divided into three main sections — policy planning, funding and relationships with stakeholders. Since the interview process was informal and questions

were open, it was possible to extract significantly more information beyond these pre-determined sections.

The beneficiaries explained the socio-economic changes resulting out of the development programmes. The team leaders discussed their roles, activities and relationships with the SEETOs and non-SEETOs. The senior villagers explained the history and changes the organisations brought to their villages. The villagers also provided valuable commentary on management. The information was cross-checked by asking similar questions to several interviewees.

The interviews were conducted in a conversational manner with open-ended questions, as suggested by Yin (2003), to intentionally display naivety in order to elicit the interest of the respondent to provide information on their individual knowledge and experience.

After the initial interviews were completed for each organisation, the data was transcribed and roughly coded. A distinct lack of information in any particular area and also lack of clarity in the information taken was identified. The second interview sought clarification and improvement on the previous interview. In a few cases, a third interview was also needed to obtain further clarification. Such a third interview was generally conducted over the telephone or through letters due to a lack of time and resources to visit the organisation in person. In order to fill information gaps I conducted repeat interviews with the leaders of GMS, DMS and SMS. Each of the interviews lasted for about an hour.

Maxwell (1992) discussed the concept of interpretive validity with reference to the accuracy of data. For this reason, case study interviews were audio recorded, which all participants but one agreed to. In the exception case, the respondent agreed to speak informally and the interview was transcribed immediately after interview.

Participant observation

Ethnographers are participant observers. They take part in events they study because it assists with understanding local behaviour and thought (Stack 1997). The strength of ethnographic research lies in the observations of social action in a natural setting. An holistic approach to the complexities of social action and relationships provides

information from a number of sources over a period of time for the study of continuity (Feagin et al. 1991). Thomson (1989) emphasised the importance of studying the actual process of work, the hidden informal work groups and the hidden act of resistance and conflicts through observation.

The researcher spent a few days in two case study villages and interacted with the villagers, participating in various local events and meetings. This helped her obtain additional data from various sources on conflicts, relationships between the villagers and social entrepreneurs, and their participation and attitude towards organisational activities. In addition, this participant observation during the interview process helped support evidence collected from other sources.

Published data

The study used published data to support the information collected in this study. This included annual reports, magazines, newsletters, publications and notice board information. This data was collected in order to build reliability, as suggested by Yin (2003) as a form of triangulation.

Visual images or photographs

Photographs and visual images can sometimes express information more effectively than words and thus in the ethnographic research, video, films and other structured observation method are utilised (Miles & Huberman 1994). The study used images to strengthen the data, particularly in areas of change in the villagers' lives to reflect the performance of individual organisations.

3.3.3 Transcribing the data into a case study format

Interviews were first transcribed on computer and then written up in a case study format using headings. Major areas of analysis for each case study organisation included:

- The socio-economic context of the organisation: This area of the analysis looked at the total population of the village(s), the climate, sources of livelihood, education and health conditions and the culture of the village.
- Overview of the organisation: This included current development activities, the governance system, total staff, future plans, and the overall performance of the organisation. The overall performance of the organisation specifies its achievements

to develop the villages. This section sought to understand the perspective of the activities of the social entrepreneurs.

- Organisational activities and characteristics of social entrepreneurs: This involved the analysis of the activities of SEETOs and non-SEETOs.
- Influences of social entrepreneurs' characteristics on social capital reproduction: This section analysed how the elements of social capital developed in the operational process of social entrepreneurs.
- Development impact of the above characteristics on the villagers' lives: This section analysed how the characteristics or operational processes of social entrepreneurs have a direct and indirect impact on the development process of the villagers.
- Implications on organisational sustainability: This section analysed the implications of the various impacts created by social entrepreneurs for organisational sustainability.

After analysis of each case study findings individually, study findings have been combined to provide a unified picture. The final two chapters of this research explain:

- Cross-case analysis and the findings: Analysed and synthesised the activities of social entrepreneurs across the five case studies.
- Conclusions: Provided the answers to the research questions, analysed the contribution of the study, its implications in different areas, and further research possibilities from this research.

3.4 Ethical protocol

To enforce confidentiality, the identities of individual participants have not been revealed at any stage of analysis. Pseudonyms have been used for organisations, locations and individual persons. Recordings of interviews on audio-cassettes have been marked with associated pseudonyms and kept in a locked filing cabinet. The transcribing process also used pseudonyms. The required ethics clearance was also obtained before initiating any part of the field work (Appendix A).

3.5 Data collection features in rural West Bengal

The research conducted interviews in rural areas of West Bengal, India. Rural communities often treat strangers with suspicion and raise various questions about their identity, their purpose for being in the village and the nature of their research work. Engaging in interviews and research with a local community member yields more effective output. Though the researcher belongs to the same cultural background, she is unknown to the villagers. The researcher thus employed a local man from one of the selected VOs who assisted and acted as an escort to the researcher throughout the interview process. However, the escort was engaged as a social conduit to encourage trust and openness in conversation rather than as a deterrent to violence or bodily harm, as that risk was nominal.

The researcher contacted each VO in advance and set the interview and data collection times through the local escort. The researcher endeavoured to keep the conversation informal and the familiarity of the researcher with the local culture and language aided in this regard. The researcher wore the local women's dress such as *Sari* and *Shankha* (conch bangles worn by the married local women) and spoke the local language, which again encouraged informal conversation.

Voluntary organisations in rural areas suffer from a scarcity of government and other general funding. So a visitor offering donations is a fairly common natural practice in rural voluntary organisations, particularly as it is a 'must do' action for researchers who return after initial visits with the purpose of collecting information. Not all VOs expect donations in a monetary form; some have different norms for visitors, such as assisting with their work.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation

This study is categorised as inductive research. Mintzberg (1979) suggests there are two steps in inductive research to arrive at conclusions: identifying and analysing patterns. The first step is to identify patterns following one lead to another. The second step is creative in nature and can not be easily described. The present research used both steps. It identified different activities of social entrepreneurs which are similar to the ones

mentioned in the existing literature. While analysing data, the research also found new leadership approaches such as the 'responsibility building approach' and its link with social capital reproduction. Thus, it is a creative analysis and falls into the second step of analysis.

For the analysis of data this study used three activities: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Miles and Huberman 1994). "*Data reduction refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying and transforming the data that appears in the field notes*" (Miles & Huberman 1994, p 10). This can be in the form of writing summaries, clustering, and coding. Tesch (1990) considered it as 'data condensation'. The study coded data under different main groups such as social context, characteristics of social entrepreneurs, social capital, development of villagers and organisational sustainability. The main groups are then divided into subgroups. For example, the characteristics of social entrepreneur, one of the main groups, are divided into three subgroups: social position and background, social mission, and organisational activity. The same process is followed for other groups as well. All of the collected data has been classified under the codes.

The study displayed data and findings in tabular form in the discussion section at the end of each case study chapter and in the concluding cross-case analysis chapter. Miles and Huberman (1994) referred to it as matrices. Data display has various advantages in the analysis process. Generally, a display is an organized, compressed assembly of information that permits the drawing of conclusions and actions in a practical sense. Analysing displays assists with understanding what is happening and leads to action — to either analyse further or draw conclusions based on that understanding. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest different displays such as matrices, graphs, charts and networks.

The creation of and use of displays are not separate from analysis, they are parts of analysis. Designing a display — deciding on the rows and columns of a matrix for qualitative data and deciding which data in which form should be entered in the cells — is an analytic activity (Miles & Huberman 1994). The study has used matrices with rows and columns. In each case study the tables have been organized by

variables or concepts such as social context, social position of social entrepreneurs, organisational activities of social entrepreneurs, and implications for organisational sustainability. Miles and Huberman (1994) referred to it as a 'content-analytic summary table'.

In order to derive overall conclusions from the study, the cross-case analysis chapter summarized the discussion of the five case studies in order to focus on their similarities, dissimilarities, strengths and weaknesses. These have been presented in tabular form. Cross-case analysis is a technique that is particularly useful in the analysis of multiple case studies. Such an analysis is generally easier to follow and also more robust (Yin 2003).

Whether the study results can be generalised or not remains a concern when a limited number of organisations is investigated. It has been argued that it is not merely a question of how many units but rather what kind of unit has been studied (Feagin et al. 1991). The quality of units selected is quite representative of its kind and hence the results can be generalized within its scope.

The study is very complex and multidimensional. Thus it is not possible to explore all factors associated with social entrepreneur leadership in this particular context. Also gender issues appeared contextually here – used only to analyse the main research question.

Chapter 4

Case Study 1: Bhuvonpur Adibasi Sangho (BAS)

4.1 Introduction

Bhuvonpur Adibasi Sangho (BAS), the first case study organisation in this research, is located in Birbhum district in the state of West Bengal, India. BAS operates in two small villages where it was established in 1987. The total population of these two villages was 758 persons as of 2000 (BAS 2006). The majority of the villagers are income poor farmers who belong to the lower social strata⁸. BAS has organised many collective actions using social capital.

BAS is well known for its development activities. The founder of BAS, identified as a Social Entrepreneur External to Organisation (SEETO) in the study strengthened the organisation with his various qualities to improve the villager condition. Over the period BAS designed many development programmes in education, income and health areas, and some of them performed better than the others. Among them the primary school of BAS, known as a non-formal school and the coaching centre achieved significant success and obtained fame in the area.

This chapter and the following four chapters present each of the five case studies, which are structured in a uniform manner for the sake of convenience. Each chapter is divided into eight sections. The second section explores the socio-economic features of the district where the respective case study organisation is located. An overview of the organisation and its performance are highlighted in the third section. The fourth section is focussed on SEETOs or non-SEETOs (for each organisation) – his/her social position, qualities and activities. The fifth section critically analyses the influence of SEETO/non-SEETO characteristics on social capital reproduction. The sixth section

⁸ Referred to as ‘Scheduled Tribe’ in the Indian Constitution. These people have been identified as low socio-economic and educational status.

assesses the development impacts of resulting activities on the villagers' lives and the seventh section analyses the implications of organisational sustainability. The final section discusses SEETO/non-SEETO characteristics in the given socio-economic context.

4.2 Socio-economic context

Population and language

BAS operates in *Bhuvonpur* and *Krishnapur* villages in the Birbhum district with a population of 283 and 475 persons respectively. According to the 2001 Census data, the total population of the district is over 3 million (3,015,422 persons) – about 91.4 per cent of them live in villages (GOI 2001).

Almost the entire population of these two villages belongs to *Santal*, one of the largest homogeneous tribal communities in India (Baski & Bhattachariya 2007). They account for 5.5 per cent of the total population in India and are considered as least developed communities (GOI 2007). They are mostly landless wage labourers or marginal farmers who lag behind the district average in regard to the rates of literacy, income, and life expectancy (GOI 2001). They speak their native language *Santali*, which is significantly different from the mainstream *Bengali* language.

Climate and livelihood

The climate within Birbhum district is distinctly divided along eastern and western sides. The climate on the western side is dry and extreme but it is relatively milder on the eastern side where BAS is located. Several rivers flow across the Birbhum district in a west-east direction and narrow creeks and canals are connected with it. The rivers separated the villages from one another. BAS villages are located on the eastern side of the district where the natural conditions are less harsh with occasional prolonged drought and untimely rain. Untimely heavy rain sometimes causes floods that destroy property, crops, cattle and livestock. There is no proper drainage system in these villages that could cope with the extra water during heavy rains.

Agriculture is mostly dependent on monsoonal rains and is rarely supplemented with irrigation. In the two BAS villages, almost the entire population live from agriculture.

Only a few farmers own enough land to make a proper living. Most farmers are share croppers or daily wage earners (BAS 1998). Agricultural work is not easily available in these or neighbouring villages. During the agricultural season which lasts from June to December, the local *Santals* and the migrated *Santals* from other parts of the district and the state compete with each other for limited work, such as planting rice seedlings and harvesting (www.indiadistricts.com). Most of the time, they get only half-day work and earn about 40 to 50 Rupees (1A\$=30 Rupees) a day. Women work in agricultural fields as well. They make disposable plates and similar items out of ‘*Sal*’ tree leaves or knit bags and containers with bamboo and cane for their own consumption (based on observations and interviews). *Santals* are born artists and have natural skill in making various crafts using local resources such as mud, bamboo and simple threads mainly for their own consumption. (Baski 2007)

The villages are separated from the nearby town, Bolpur by a canal (*Kador* in local terminology). The villages were not connected with the electricity grid before the intervention of BAS. The tribals are the most disadvantaged communities in India and have limited facilities regarding electricity, drinking water and proper latrines connected to adequate sewage systems. Of 43,688 tribal households in the Birbhum district, 16 per cent have no proper latrine facilities and 17 per cent had no electricity (GOI 2001). Half of the total tribal households in the district use bore-well as the only source of water and these also are usually far from their dwelling houses. The picture was the same for the tribal population in the two BAS villages.

Education

According to the 2001 Census, Birbhum district had a literacy rate of 62.2 per cent - 71.6 per cent for males and 52.2 per cent for females (GOI 2001). But the picture of literacy rates in these two villages was far lower than the district average prior to the beginning of the BAS’s educational activities (Interviews).

All *Santal* children who attend public schools in the vicinity face enormous problems studying in a different language - Bengali or Hindi from the first grade. The children speak at home in their mother tongue, *Santali*, and can hardly speak Bengali or Hindi when they begin their schooling. Therefore, when a five year-old child enters school, where most of the teachers are *non-Santals*, they cannot communicate with their

teachers for several months, in some cases years. The children remain silent in their classes and slowly their interest in learning ceases (Baski & Bhattachariya 2007). In most cases, teachers fail to understand or appreciate the children's problems. The student-teacher relationship can not develop in this situation. So the majority of these children eventually drop out from school. *“Even if they continue, they remain silent in the class, have been incapable of socialising with the main stream students, made no connection with the teachers and that inhibits development of their personal qualities”*, said one of the Kindergarten teachers during interview.

Santal children are first generation learners. Their parents are mostly incapable of helping or guiding them in their studies. Moreover, the syllabi of the public school system are not suitable to the village environment familiar to *Santals*. The syllabi, text books and methods of teaching are largely geared to accommodate the needs of the middle class urban children who are mostly not first generation learners. They ignore the different life style that the poor and village based tribal children lead. As the head teacher commented during interviews, *“there is a picture of television to teach ‘T’ in the introductory books of the Bengali alphabets. But in a Santal village there is no television and they have no idea what the thing is. All this added up to the Santal village children dropping out of school after two or three years”*.

A few more intelligent and fortunate *Santal* students who are able to reach tertiary education staying in boarding find nothing much to celebrate because they become uprooted from their language and culture. They cannot mix with mainstream society easily due to various social complexities like the hierarchal caste system, so educated *Santals* simply remain indifferent towards their villages and society and their contribution towards their community is nominal (Baski & Bhattachariya 2007). In 1984-85, before BAS began operations *Bhuvonpur* had only one active student (Mona Murmu) – all the others had dropped out - either at primary or high school.

Health

“The agriculture based income-poor Santals suffer from various types of illness and diseases and can be cured if diagnosed in time”, said the health worker of BAS. She added, *“at least one member in every family suffered from Tuberculosis when she joined BAS in 1995”*. Most *Santal* families have more children than they can afford. Being

uneducated, they hardly ever plan their families. Four or five children per couple is common in these villages which is much higher than the national fertility rate in India (2.1 children per couple). By the time the first child is about one to two years old, the next child is usually on the way if not already born. Due to malnutrition the mothers are seldom able to sufficiently breast-feed their infant children. Their poverty, along with their lack of awareness of the nutritious value of different food items that are available in the villages, often culminates in the children becoming malnourished. The percentage of child mortality in the *Santal* community is still a cause of great concern at national level.

When the villagers are sick they usually use herbal medicines which are not always effective or free from side effects. They do not take the ailing person to the nearest health service centre or hospital due to lack of knowledge and awareness. Due to lack of literacy they can not even administer the prescribed dose of the medicine.

Women's position

"In Santal culture the women enjoyed more freedom than the women in a mainstream Bengali family. They work in the crop field with men and contribute economically to the family - they have mobility outside their home. But at the same time they have to do all household activities. Men usually don't do any household work. So the women bear the double burden of work – outside and inside. Their health is poor. They don't speak against this social taboo."

This statement from one of the health workers makes clear the social position of *Santal* women. The literacy rate among the women is far below men. They typically labour in the field (mainly planting), and in the factory when agricultural work is limited. *"Their wages are below the male worker because their work is light-weight. But mainly it is because of the social outlook against the women worker"*, said the secretary of BAS.

It was in this socio-economic context that BAS started its organisational activities to improve the *Santal* people's life in these two villages.

4.3 Overview of BAS

BAS was established in 1987 under the initiative of David, an academic originally from Germany. It started with small scale activities to promote all-round development of the tribal population (*Santals*) in two villages - *Bhuvonpur* and *Krishnapur*. These villages are about 10 km away from the town 'Bolpur' which is internationally known for Viswabharati University⁹.

Now BAS is actively involved in education services and runs a non-formal primary school, '*Santi Nir*' (SN) with residential coaching centres and a kindergarten. Other areas of its activities include medical aid, family health and hygiene, afforestation, fishery, agriculture, vocational training, social forestry, bio-orchard and preservation of *Santal* culture. The life of the villagers has been improved since the establishment of BAS. BAS is comprised of local and outsider volunteers with 13 paid staff (including 5 full-time). A professional local university staff member also volunteers his time for BAS activities.

BAS has established wide networks with local, national and international stakeholders. Most of its funding comes from private donation. It also receives regular donations from the German Consulate office. BAS has a good working relationship with the State Government, but has never received any funding from the Central (federal) Government.

Performance of BAS

The study found that the collective actions of BAS through the self-rule of the villagers brought changes in the organisation and in the community life of the villagers. (see photo D.1 in Appendix D)

"The non-formal primary school introduced revolutionary change in their teaching method and contents and changed the local children's life", said a Viswabharati University academic. "The curriculum and the primers (text book)

⁹ The Viswabharati University was set up by the Nobel laureate poet, Rabindra Nath Thakur in the early 20th century at Bolpur-Santiniketan as a different type of learning institution promoting all-round growth of human faculties and has earned a high international reputation since.

included elements from Santal culture, music, games, story and life style. The tribal children can study in their own language in the first two years, the class room looks like a kiosk which gives the feeling of an open and natural environment that the tribals are used to (see photo D.2 in Appendix D). They find fun in the school which was missing in the government-run primary schools (see photo D.3 in Appendix D). The primary school drop-out rates have decreased", she added.

The school of BAS has been recognised as a model of alternative primary education in the state of West Bengal. Suggestions and practical experiences of the two head teachers of SN have had a deep influence in formulating the State Government's programme on alternative primary education, as claimed by the head teacher. The school was awarded the 'The Telegraph Award of Excellence' in 2000. In March 2006, SN organised a seminar, financed by the Government of West Bengal, on 'The socio-cultural empowerment of Santals', as part of the celebration of 150 Years of the *Santal Hul* (Baski & Bhattachariya 2007). *"The relationship of BAS with the State Government officials has been easy going since SN achieved some of its goals. At the beginning the Central Intelligence Department (CID), the central surveillance unit of the Indian Government suspected David's initiative under BAS as spying and investigated the real purpose of his organisational activities, mainly because he is a foreigner",* said the secretary

"We found our identity and feel successful", said one of the founder teachers during interviews. The regular meals provided by the SN school, the coaching centres and the kindergarten for their students as well as for pregnant mothers have improved their health. The health condition of the villagers has been improved by the services of the health clinic as well. *"We don't find any TB patients in the village any more. Untimely child death is also rare now",* observed one health worker.

Under the initiative of BAS, the villages now have electricity. But the villagers are not allowed to bring TV in to the village. It is David's order. Some of the villagers are not happy with this order, but they are a small fraction of the village. Clean and pure drinking water is now available since deep tube-wells have been installed in the villages. A bridge was constructed with the initiative of BAS and the villages have been

connected with the town, Bolpur. The villagers can now go to town daily for their work. A large brick built road with trees planted alongside saved the villagers from flood waters (see photo D.4 in Appendix D). The weaving centre offered jobs to the village women. However, the weaving centre has not been a great success as the produce of the centre has not yet found a sustainable market.

The study observed that the BAS activities organised many collective actions. David, the founder continued to be associated with the BAS's governing and management activities. *“He motivates and helps to find viable solutions to village needs, and promotes the process of collective decision making”* (BAS 2006). He remained there as facilitator and is known as David'da to the locals ('da' a short form of 'dada' - means elder brother in Bengali language). The study designated David as SEETO.

4.4 Social Entrepreneur External to Organisation (SEETO)

4.4.1 About SEETO

David was born in Germany. After completing his post-graduate degree in Comparative Literature from a German University he joined the 'Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture' in Kolkata¹⁰ as a German language teacher in 1971. His father was a professional and his mother used to be a school teacher in Germany. He is a writer with about a dozen German books to his credit. He has also translated a few novels and philosophical works of Sri Ramakrishna from Bengali to German. He came to India (Kolkata) to teach German language studies and lived here before moving to Bolpur-Santiniketan in Birbhum district in 1979 as a research fellow in Comparative Religion with the Viswabharati University. While living at the University accommodation in Bolpur-Santiniketan, he came across some *Santal* villagers of Bhuvonpur in 1984. This slowly motivated him to start development activities in villages to improve their well-being and finally he took it up as his major activity and started BAS jointly with a *Santal* youth from the village in 1987. David is not holding any position in the BAS's

¹⁰ Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Cultural, a branch of Ramakrishna Mission is well-known for its philanthropic, educational and cultural activities. Based on the philosophy of the unity of human life, the institute endeavors to make people aware of the richness of different cultures all over the world and also of the need for intercultural appreciation and understanding (<http://www.sriramakrishna.org/x-institute.asp?Page=900> – viewed in February 2009)

management committee at present; however he plays an important management role to strengthen the organisation.

David has been identified as a social entrepreneur external to the organisation or SEETO in the study. SEETO is defined in the study as a person who plays an important role in the organisation, is a non resident of the area where the organisation is located and does not hold an official position in the management committee in the organisation concerned.

4.4.2 Characteristics of SEETO

He took a social mission

Vision is one of the major qualities of social entrepreneurs which drive them to change the world. David is no exception. He was driven by the impetus of reducing suffering in the lives of poor people. Since 1971 David has been associated with the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture in Kolkata as a German language teacher. He has always been interested in the concept of 'man-making education' of Swami Vivekananda. The philosophy of this education is focused on overall 'human development' which moves away from fact based education toward liberating man's innate creative potential. David felt a deep attraction to this concept of education which bears positive connection to the betterment of the lives of the poor. This attraction proves that he has a deep concern of the suffering of the poor people in India whom he observed during his stay in Kolkata.

In order to understand the ideology of 'man-making education' properly he began to learn the Bengali language. He started to socialise with Bengali people and during his off days he used to spend his time at *Lokshiksha Parisad*¹¹, a large national voluntary organisation of Ramakrishna Mission with a range of village development programmes. He developed friendships with some of the young social workers of the *Lokshiksha Parisad*. At the same time, he visited and lived in villages in West Bengal, learned their

¹¹ The *Lokshiksha Parishad* (LSP) is a specialised institute for the social welfare and integrated rural development programmes under the management of the Ramakrishna Mission¹¹. It operates as a national training centre for different vocations and is recognized by the Ministry of Human Resources Department (Chakroborty et al., 1993) and opened its links with the government.. It is one of the largest national NGOs working in different states in India. In West Bengal, it has the largest base spreading over many districts.

language and culture, and experienced their happiness in life even though they had very little means. He took a vow of celibacy, pledging that he would devote his life to the services of rural people in India. (Kemchem 1999)

Meanwhile his study of Swami Vivekananda's philosophical ideas and values continued. He was a member of the Indo-German Collaboration committee and gave several lectures in Germany about India. Subsequently, he received a fellowship at the Viswabharati University at Santiniketan to conduct research into comparative religion and began to live in Bolpur-Santiniketan, a commercial town in Birbhum district. The name, *Santiniketan* (The Home of Peace) was assigned to a village by Rabindra Nath Thakur, a Nobel Laureate in literature. He established a non-formal residential school for children at Santiniketan in early 20th century. In Thakur's non-formal school, the basic principles of Swami Vivekananda's philosophy of 'Man-making education' were introduced. The children are taught in an open, free and joyful environment under the shade of trees that help to liberate their creative qualities. In 1923, Thakur also started his village reconstruction programme through a voluntary organisation called 'Karmakutir' at an adjacent village, Sriniketan. Although the programme was not successful in improving the income of the villagers it provided some important ideas about village development in India. Thakur emphasised that building 'village workers' was a precondition to reconstruct villages (Alliband 1983). Village workers were trained in craft skills and were educated with social values such as cooperative attitude. Thakur's goal was to create self-reliant villages with the help of village workers (Alliband 1983). Thakur initiated the non-formal education at Santiniketan to build human qualities and a skill training programme at Sriniketan to build the village worker. Underlying philosophies and activities of Santiniketan and Sriniketan provided David with a clear idea about his future mission and aided him to frame his vision of helping villagers to reduce their poverty, through building the capacity of village workers.

David had befriended a boy of *Santal* background during his stay in Santiniketan. The boy lived in Bhuvonpur, a village inhabited by the *Santal* tribe only. Following his usual habit, David went to visit this village and his friend's house to experience their life style. This was the first time he came in close contact with the family life of tribal people. David noticed the multifaceted poverty in their life. In spite of the language barrier, the family readily accepted him and this became a turning point in his life. At

this point of time, David decided his major mission - to initiate development activities to improve villagers' lives in Bhuvonpur.

He earned trust and became a leader

David's goal at the very beginning was to build village workers with values and qualities such as hard work, cooperative, responsible, disciplined, and with the spirit of service to the needy. To train the villagers with all these values, first he wanted to prove himself as a man of these qualities. David started to work hard. He visited *Bhuvonpur* three times a week with the vision to alleviate the poverty of *Santal* people.

In his own words, "that was in 1984 - the village was surrounded and separated by the canal from the nearest market town of Bolpur where all basic necessities such as market, health centre, electricity, bus and train connections, schools and universities were situated. The main livelihood of the villagers came from agriculture based activities. Most of the villagers were landless and worked as day labourers in others' fields. Women were forced to work in the market town at construction sites, brick-kilns and rice mills to survive. Hard work took a heavy toll on their health. Men, women and children were continually suffering from various ailments. They did not have any information about the free public health service facilities available in the town. I thought I must help them in the areas of health and education, to start with".

After visiting the village a number of times, David found that it was not easy to start any development work for the *Santal* because by nature, they do not trust outsiders. They have their own village administration committee and its position holders manage all aspects of their life. Outsiders organising any activities who choose to bypass the village administration committee, even with the best of intentions might undermine the importance and relevance of the same and may be considered as interference in their rights. "*Outsiders should be trustworthy to the villagers to be able to start any development work*", said David.

David made friendships with *Mona*, the only high school student in grade eleven in the village at that point of time and came to know of *Mona's* financial problems in continuing his school education. David offered him money to continue his study in

return for giving free tuition to the village children. He used to visit the village every weekend and had long discussions about the villagers' needs with Mona and his friends.

"David'da emphasized cooperative action as the possible solutions to develop the villagers' life. He would come to the village riding his bicycle every weekend without exception and even carried the bicycle on his shoulder during the monsoon to cross the canal's chest-deep water. It proved his concerns for the local people, his consistent behaviour and hardworking nature", said Mona.

"Gradually the young villagers joined David'da in his weekend discussions of village needs and solutions, the benefit of education, the spirit of service to the needy, benefits of cooperation for collective goals and benefits of being healthy, equality of human beings and particularly the dignity of work. David'da also practised all these values in his own life. He lived in my house in Bhuvonpur during his week-end visits. To experience our hardship in life David'da slept in makeshift huts that we use as shelters to guard our harvest. It is built in the agricultural fields. Within two years he became friendly with the village people and increased socialisation with us by attending our festivals enthusiastically. The group meetings and discussions become a regular weekly event where he used to sit on the ground with the other villagers", Mona added.

David then began his development activities in health areas and used to take ill villagers to the nearby hospital with the help of younger villagers. He used to talk to the doctors personally on behalf of the sick and sometimes remained awake by the side of the patient at night if required. *"This behaviour revealed his true concern for us and his sense of responsibility. We began to rely on him and his young group for solving various problems in our life",* said one of the senior villagers.

David recollected, *"one day the Shordar (head of the Santal village administrative committee) came to me to discuss the necessity of repairing the village main road. It was mud built and made it impassable during the rainy season. I asked him to come to the group meeting. I said that there are other villagers in the meeting - you should come and discuss the problem with them as well."* One of the villagers added, *"in the meeting David'da suggested various*

alternatives on how to prevent the village main road from decay during rains and emphasised his view on planting trees on sidewalks. Everybody liked this suggestion. David'da is a man of system and discipline. Thus to get a clear picture of the whole tree planting programme he formulated a clear work plan”.

“In each area, David'da provided his suggestions but emphasised the villagers to take decision. The villagers reached a consensus. David'da took notes of the whole discussion, and asked me and Doro to take notes as well. The tree planting began in the rainy season of 1985 and was completed successfully according to the plan drawn in the meeting, indicating his efficiency in managing collective works. The tree planting activities and health activities proved his qualities of hard work, discipline, responsibility, and the spirit of service to the villagers. The old and young villagers started trusting David'da”, said Mona.

The study found that slowly he became ‘David’dada’ or ‘David’da’ in short.

David started living in Krishnapur village in the winter months in a mud built Santal-type house and kept himself engaged with his usual work and writing. This helped the villagers to understand his life style. *"It assured the villagers that I lead a simple and honest life. In the process I gained their trust"*, said David. Subsequently a group of young *Santal* villagers along with Mona, Doro, Lakshmi and Ratan became his followers (they are referred as ‘the Four’ in this study). In other words, he assumed leadership by being trustworthy in the eyes of the villagers and this helped persuade them to commit to the values required for being a responsible village worker. David persuaded the villagers to follow the values that he himself believed and practiced in his personal life. He was able to achieve this by setting an example through his own life.

He maintained informal relationship and discipline

Concerns for people remain at the heart of social entrepreneurs' activities. Their emotional attachment and concern for individual persons and for their associates make this an important quality. At the same time they are men of discipline.

The study observed that David maintained emotional and informal relationships with the villagers like an elder brother in the Indian family context. The researcher first met David at his *Santiniketan* house in a relaxed mood - sitting with some villagers and BAS staff talking about the quality of life at *Kalimpong* (a popular hill resort) and the cheese he bought there for the afternoon tea during one of his recent visits. One of the team members of BAS (a civil engineer employed at the Viswabharati University) had taken the researcher to David's home to make an appointment for an interview with him. As soon as we arrived, David started to scold the team member for not looking as energetic as he should be in a mid working day. The researcher said quite apologetically that "*maybe he missed his lunch while waiting at the train station for my arrival from Kolkata*". "*We also have not had our lunches yet*", David replied impatiently. Then pointing to the *Santal* villagers present there, he said, "*we are not looking sick. It shows your unwillingness and lack of interest in the task you are engaged in. It never gives you a good result.*" The team member, aged in his mid thirties, with a very sought after engineering degree and university job remains silent for a few minutes like a child who committed a big mistake and then revealed his concern about his sick relative who got admitted in the hospital a few hours ago in the morning. (Personal observation)

Quite naturally the conversation of David with the team member was a shock to the researcher. His behaviour was considered to be very rude in the first instance. But it proved to be quite the opposite later in the afternoon when the researcher saw the team member was carrying David in front of his bicycle to the hospital (where his relative was admitted) in a very friendly and energetic mood.

"David'da is always of that type. He is always full of energy and works in a very systematic way and expects the same from us", said the civil engineer afterwards. *"But David'da is concerned and empathetic with everyone's problems and tries his best to solve those problems",* he continued. A teacher of the non-formal school said, *"I always come to him when I have a problem whether it is work related or my family. David'da inspires me and his advice gives me a direction. But at the same time he is a much disciplined man and rebukes us very badly for our shortfalls. We have to remain careful about that".*

David had taken 'the Four' to his home in Germany and introduced them to his mother and other family members. His mother has become an active member of 'Friends of Bhuvonpur' in Germany and she remains updated with all BAS information from 'the Four'. The villagers refer to David's mother as their 'Ma' (mother). David also considers the villagers as his family members. He loves them and helps them in every area of their lives and scolds them when required. All these events demonstrate that he is a man concerned with work as well as the family life of his staff. David acts like a *guru* in helping to solve their problems whether they are personal, psychological, family or work related. He is a master as well as their friend.

However he is a tough disciplinarian. He believes in discipline and systems. He follows a strict discipline in his own life. "*He never missed his daily routine since we saw him first*", said one of the BAS staff. "*He used to come here in the weekends before the establishment of BAS and he followed the routine over these years and never failed. He even came through the chest deep water when the village roads were inundated with flood water. So we try to follow him when he suggests us to be disciplined*".

The study observed that David expected strong discipline from the villagers but took no drastic action for violation of discipline. "*His scolding is enough for us*", said a BAS worker. He taught them to be cooperative and to resolve differences through discussion. "*On one occasion, the villagers were engaged in hot arguments that made a sick villager unconscious for a week. In protest, David declared closure of BAS activities in the village for indefinite periods. BAS was inoperative for months and reopened only when the repentant villagers begged forgiveness from David'da. This type of thing never happened again. That was an exception*", said one of the BAS workers.

On another occasion, he took even stronger action. David was against the idea of bringing television into the village. He feared that it would destroy the unique culture of the village. But unfortunately a television set was discovered in the village and "*it made me furious and (I) said to the villagers that you need to decide whom you like most - television or me? The incident never happened again*" (said David). He added, "*it was a very awkward situation that I brought myself into a dispute like that. But sometimes you have to be very rude to manage things*". "*Some of the villagers are unhappy because they can't watch TV. But they are not many*", said the secretary. David said, "*I never*

extract my power as a leader. It came naturally through my activities". Maybe all these values and their practices in personal life made him a leader. He sets these values as the standard behaviour expected of the villagers.

He facilitated self-rule

The study found David facilitated an environment of self-rule where the villagers could take part in the collective decision making process to become a responsible village worker. He introduced the routine of weekly meetings ('School', as referred by the villagers) which helped the villagers to meet him weekly in a common place to discuss common problems.

A professional volunteer of BAS explained David's cooperative attitude with an example:

"David'da believed in consensus and helped the locals to take the right decisions. The German Consul visited BAS and expressed his willingness to provide funding for BAS's development activities. He asked David'da to decide the items for funding. David'da told the Consul his inability to take a decision without consulting the villagers. He raised this issue in the village weekly meeting and explained to the villagers the current needs of the organisation such as, another class room, fencing around the vegetable garden of the school, to employ an extra teacher, a van rickshaw to carry the goods around the centres of the two villages. The villagers also offered the list of the needs that they thought important. Most of the villagers emphasised fencing of the vegetable garden which provides vegetables and fruits to the school children. The consensus was reached and the fencing has been constructed with funding from the German consulate. He facilitated the self-rule this way".

The study observed that the policies and solutions actually originated from the village meetings. In the meetings he used to teach the villagers how to take decisions and he inspired, informed, encouraged and motivated uneducated village youth, farmers and elders to participate in the village construction activities for the benefit of the whole village. He introduced the system of collective decision making by the villagers from the very beginning to ensure their ability to assume control of their own tasks or self-rule. Initially he used to help in the process of decision making by suggesting alternative

solutions. Afterwards, the villagers were taking decisions in groups and found out alternative solutions and reached consensus in the presence of BAS workers. However, it was David's idea of introducing weekly meetings that facilitated the process of self-rule.

He built a Team

The study found that BAS works through a four tier system. The first tier is the School or the weekly village meeting where the villagers meet together to discuss their problems and their solutions through consensus. The second tier is the Managing Committee, the place where the policy and planning gets approval by the elected members of the committee. The implementing group is called the Team. The Team is the third tier which implements the development programmes. David, along with educated persons from the two villages and his friends from *Santiniketan*, *Bolpur* and *Kolkata* built a Team that helped the villagers to implement all the programmes. The fourth tier is a trust known as 'Friends of BAS' comprised of the villagers and some academics to manage the fund.

The Team members were responsible for implementing various development tasks. Each member of this Team is actively involved in developmental, educational, medical and recreational programmes of the BAS, mostly as a volunteer (BAS 2006). Each Team leader leads a sub-group or team with a few workers to manage a particular programme. The selection of sub-group leaders are decided through discussions based on the concerned team members' aptitude and expertise. Along with others, 'the Four' became leaders of the team. The team members make decisions as a group and resolve their conflicts by longer discussions and friendly interactions, and all members are bound to each other through friendship. Together they generate and evaluate alternatives and attempt to reach a solution. Failing to reach a consensus is considered a lack of concentration and communication. "*David'da encouraged more concentration and more insight in the discussion to reach a solution*", said a Team leader.

"Conformity is not our goal but we focus on concentration in the issue that helps to reach consensus. All members are bonded by cooperative values and love that helped them to sacrifice their ego, if any, to resolve differences in opinions", commented David. Doro, one of the Team members once mishandled David's computer and it

stopped working. Mona, another team member gave his computer to Doro and travelled everyday to Doro's place, far from his house to do his computer work. Doro broke that too after a few days! Mona was then desperately looking for another computer for BAS – but not Doro, because Doro was busy with other works! The behaviour pattern shows their bond for each other and for BAS. Mona said, *“David'da showed us his deep love and sacrifice for the villagers and the organisation. Love begets love. Certainly we love our village. But David'da showed us how to sacrifice for our loving staff as well”*. David built a team of committed workers by his own example and created an environment of love, cooperation, and sacrifice around the village and the organisation.

He monitored through the villagers and third parties

Control is more commonly found among business entrepreneurs. The study observed that David monitored the progress of the organisation mainly through the team leaders. The team leaders discussed their periodical progress during team meetings. In weekly village meetings, the villagers also monitored the progress. They reviewed the progress and discussed the correctives and made their suggestions in weekly meetings. So the villagers also undertook a monitoring role. David invited some academics from the local Viswabharati University to evaluate the progress of the *Santal* children in its non-formal school. Every year hundreds of visitors visit the organisation. David took the opportunity to take feedback from some of the more knowledgeable visitors. He said, *“it is better to know from others how they are faring - not from me. But I took all information about the progress and took the initiative with the other villagers to correct deficiencies by them”*. The technique of monitoring through on other party supports the fact that David never took control into his own hand. He monitored the organisation collectively with the villagers that facilitated the villagers' self-rule.

So the study found that David introduced leadership at different levels and distributed power to the villagers.

He networked and encouraged networking

Social entrepreneurs often establish multiple networks crossing sector boundaries such as the government, business and academics to mobilise support within those constituencies. Networking is a critical activity of social entrepreneurs.

David believed in the deep impact of development activities and did not plan to extend its work beyond these two villages. He hoped to provide a holistic development in this limited area, i.e. to promote development in all aspects of moral, economic and cultural life, and enable people to lead an economically dignified and culturally rich life. "*Quality - not quantity is my concern*", David announced clearly. But he believes that connections with the wider world can enhance the quality of life of the villagers. Following this direction of thought, he emphasised the villagers to be connected and proceed in a careful and guarded manner in this direction (BAS 2006).

To pursue this goal David networked with the neighbouring villages and communities to stimulate fellowship and integration by constantly interacting with them. David maintains his relationship with *Lokshiksha Parisad*, the voluntary organisation of Ramakrishna Mission and other voluntary organisations through Mona and also by visiting them personally. David corresponded with friends in his academic circle in India, Germany, the UK and Austria explaining his mission and invited them to visit BAS. He also checked the Indian government's various funding programmes to support voluntary organisations. To pursue sources of funding David went to Delhi to attend a forum organised by the Konrad Adventure Mission, Germany for the cross country government and non-government collaboration programme for development activities. In the forum David met a representative from a German based Catholic Mission, *Kindermissionwerk* located in Aachen and talked about BAS. He also invited him to visit BAS. The representative came to visit BAS after the end of the forum session.

David built his networks and helped the staff and volunteers to be connected in the network. David introduced the representative of *Kindermissionwerk* to the young villagers and took him to visit the villages along with 'the Four'. David purposefully maintained his conversation with the German representative in English to allow the Four to follow. The representative promised funding for the village reconstruction activities of BAS. David took the initiative to obtain the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act Certificate for BAS. The certificate is mandatory if an organisation intends to receive foreign funds. "*David'da asked me to do the job and assured his help in the process*", said a volunteer. In 1999 BAS received the certificate and also obtained the promised German funding.

Kindermisionwerk provided funding and invited David to visit their organisation in Europe. David asked Mona to arrange passports and visas for the Four although Mona had little idea of how to do this. David asked one of his friends to help Mona to complete the paperwork. The Four and David together went to the German and British consulate offices with their visa applications. They were interviewed by the German consulate individually. Although half of them were not quite fluent in English, the whole process was completed without major problems. At the British Consulate, the Four faced communication problems due to the officer's strong British accent. Doro tried first to talk on behalf of all three but failed. David was present there and sorted out the problem eventually when the Four failed. Finally the Four travelled to Germany and the UK, and lived in separate places without David. In these places the *Kindermisionwerk* arranged seminars and asked the four to talk about BAS and *Santal* culture. In Germany, David interpreted their talks into German. The local German paper covered their stories with their photos. A non-resident Indian living in Germany happened to be from the same district (Birbhum) where BAS operates. After reading this media report in Germany, this person showed a keen interest in helping BAS and established contacts with David. He founded a group in Germany, 'Friends of Bhuvonpur' with this purpose. *"All members of the group visited the villages and observed BAS activities personally at least once. The group included medical practitioners, academics and students of universities"*, said David. The study learned that the group offered regular financial and conceptual support to BAS. *"David'da asked us to maintain correspondence with all these foreign links independent of him"*, said Mona. David is a member of the Indo-German Collaboration Committee and maintains close connections with the German Consulate in Kolkata. The study found that the German Consulate is a regular donor to BAS.

A few BAS staff mentioned they have connections with hundreds of organisations and individuals who in some way have relations with BAS activities. *"I myself initiate new relationships with new organisations and individuals and of course maintain relationships with the organisations where David'da introduced me"*, said one of the staff. The study observed that one staff member obtained funds to establish a hostel for needy students through his individual efforts. *"I did it. David'da helped me only by correcting English in my application"*, he said proudly. The study also observed that a

full time teacher at the BAS coaching centre started a similar centre at another *Santal* village, *Bartijol*.

All these activities demonstrate that David encouraged the villagers to be self-dependent and to maintain new relationships. He established his network through his higher social position as a government committee member, writer, academic and good communicator. He introduced the BAS workers into his networks so that they can network independently. He encouraged them to establish their own network.

He learned and promoted learning

Learning by doing and listening and through other formal and informal ways are qualities of a successful social entrepreneur. David encouraged formal learning and training from academic institutions and informal learning by doing, observing other organisations' practices and talking to people to obtain knowledge so that the staff of BAS could obtain enough knowledge to solve their problems in existing and changed situations.

The study found that from the very beginning David asked Mona and Doro to maintain a diary of daily events in the villages and in the organisation to make them aware of what was going on in the villages. He also kept notes of every activity that occurred around the organisation and the villages. It helped him to identify the intensity of problems from the frequency of occurrences of an event such as the increasing number of children dropping out of school and the decreasing number of TB patients.

In the very first meeting, David encouraged Mona to continue his studies with the help of money he paid him for teaching the village children. Subsequently he sent Mona to take First Aid training in Kolkata. He sent Doro to learn English from a university in England and sent many villagers to *Lokshiksha Parishad* to undertake training in various activities such as, weaving, horticulture and pisciculture.

The *Santal*-medium non-formal school was established in 1996 by two young *Santals* who had postgraduate degrees in Social Work. Two years before it was set up, one of them, Ratan, currently the head teacher, agreed to take up the responsibility and started learning about non-formal education by studying books by national and

international authors, mostly suggested by David. The head teacher and the other founder began to prepare themselves for their ensuing tasks well ahead of the actual start of the school. As advised by David, both spent several weeks at Jane's Sita non-formal School in Silvepura, in the Karnataka state to learn the model. The head teacher used this experience to prepare his masters degree thesis paper on non-formal teaching methods. David and 'the Four' (two of them being the founder teachers) visited many other non-formal schools in different parts of India as well to gain practical experience.

One of the BAS workers said:

"In order to find out the best model for primary education for us we started reading and studying alternate models by renowned reformists and educationists such as Rabindranath, Krishnamurthy, Vivekananda, Rudolf Steiner, with the help of David'da. He suggested for us to visit non-formal schools in different parts of India. We went to Bangalore (for one and half months), Pondicherry (for two months) and Goodalure. We also went to Loreto School in Kolkata to take training from the Barefoot Training School (a welfare wing of Calcutta Loreto School) and gained a clearer vision. After six months, we were more confident that non-formal education was possible – the non-formal school was established in 1995."

Even before starting the organisation BAS, David travelled to various places to gain experience on how a voluntary organisation should run. He asked Mona to organise trips for him and others. Mona arranged visits by contacting village workers from various villages of Medinipur and South 24 Parganas districts in West Bengal. During the whole year of 1987, 'the Four' visited various voluntary organisations at regular intervals and talked to their management, villagers and local government leaders to gather experiences on what they expect or what they do not from a voluntary organisation. David and 'the Four' learned that villagers' participation in management, working relationships with the government and other voluntary organisations and networking are key factors to the success of a voluntary organisation.

David encouraged institutional learning such as meetings, workshops and seminars and training by bringing in knowledgeable persons through his contacts. Non-formal

teachers from Germany also occasionally visited BAS and offered their skills. David encouraged learning from dialogue and conversation. He participated in the weekly meetings to learn from the villagers. Most of the ideas of the development programme and its implementing plan have been sourced from the weekly meetings. In addition, he corresponded with government, non-government organisations, academics, professional persons and students to exchange ideas, information, services and resources to strengthen BAS. He also encouraged the BAS staff and villagers to communicate with other groups.

4.5 Influence of SEETO's characteristics on social capital

4.5.1 Bonding social capital

He earned the trust of the villagers that helped them to form groups based on trust

To build trust among the villagers David made himself trustworthy by practising consistent and predictable behaviour. His regular weekend visits to the villages even during natural calamities, his consistent help for the villagers during their needs and illnesses proved his concern for the local people, his consistent behaviour and hardworking nature and his sense of responsibility. His consistent and predictable behaviour made him a trustworthy person (Lewicki & Bunker 1996) to the villagers whose confidence in him grew because they came to believe what he said and followed what he prescribed or practised. Thus David increased the generalized trust of the community (Newton 1997) which developed the base of a much larger range of interactions among the villagers.

David represented BAS to outsiders although he was a foreigner. The event proved that he was taken by the villagers as a most trustworthy person and obtained his identification. He was taken by the villagers as their '*dada*'. This identification allows one to act as an agent for the other and to substitute for that person in interpersonal transactions. Thus David achieved identification-based trust from the villagers. It is the highest level of trust and is achieved when there is an emotional connection between the parties (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). Trust exists because the parties understand each other's intentions and appreciate the other's wants and desires. The intention of David was clear to the villagers and David also showed his real concern for their desires and

wants. This mutual understanding is developed to the point that each can effectively act for the other. Controls are minimal at this level. There is no need to monitor the other party as unquestioned loyalty exists (Shapiro et al. 1992; Lewicki & Bunker 1996). The villagers never monitored David's activities or raised questions about his honesty.

He also built the villagers' knowledge based trust in him. David's consistent behaviour over the years earned this trust (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). Trust breeds trust (Cox & Caldwell 2000). Researchers argued that placing trust in others may cause them to act in more trustworthy ways, and may make them more willing to trust in return. By being a trustworthy person, David increased generalized trust to the strangers among the villagers. It was proved when the villagers first joined his weekly meetings. *“People who join are people who trust the activities. The causation flows mainly from joining to trusting”* (Putnam 1995, p 666). That was the beginning when the villagers accepted him as their leader. The villagers joined David and participated in the weekly meetings. This proved that he increased generalized trust among the villagers in him. They associated with David for various occasions and became organised around him. David also had trust that the villagers had the ability to solve their problems. The study found that David never controlled the villagers but facilitated the villagers to take action and power. They participated in the collective action and took responsibility in the collective action as a group to solve their various problems. This fact proved that they trusted each other to perform their organisational activities. In the process of taking responsibility in the organisational activities the villagers developed thick trust among themselves (Newton 1997).

He created shared values and norms

Shared values and norms have been considered as one of the common elements of Bonding social capital (Putnam 1993; Newton 1997; Simmel 1950). There was strong evidence that David created various norms and values in the villages.

David explained the benefits of cooperative values for community benefits to the villagers during his informal weekend visits in the villages. He not only explained the merit of values, he also organised the villagers for tree planting alongside the mud built village road to resist its annual decay during monsoons. The villagers participated with David in implementing the tree plantation programme. David worked hard with the

villagers to establish the norm of cooperative action for community benefits. The villagers cooperated with their time, labour, skill and ideas. The tree plantation reduced the road decay and suffering of the villagers during the monsoon season. The tree plantation proved the benefits of cooperative action, hard work, discipline, organisation, and responsible collective behaviour. Afterwards, during the monsoon periods villagers suffered less than in previous years.

In the same way David repeated his efforts and initiated other collective actions by organising the villager's time, skills, ideas and labour together with selecting what development works should be undertaken, how it should be implemented, and from where the resources would come. It established the practice that the villagers should provide their time, ideas, and hard work for solving their own problems in the community. Thus David set the norms of cooperative action through repetition (Svendsen & Svendsen 2000, 20001; Pettigrow 1979). '*They learnt to participate by participating*' (Pateman 1970) and built norms of participation in collective action for village development. David taught them to participate.

The social position of the tribal people is considered very low in the class/caste divided mainstream society in India (Baski & Bhattachariya 2007). David explained the values of equality of human beings and practised these values in his personal life. He shared with the villagers their emotions by actively attending their festivals of joy and ceremonies of grief. He dined with them sitting in the same place and with the same food. He slept on the ground with them. He shared their difficult life by sitting in a makeshift shelter built in the crop field for guarding crops at night. During the monsoon period when village roads were flooded, he used to come to the village carrying his bicycle on his shoulder. All of these events carried the message to the villagers that he was one of them and he was a man similar to them. It built the norm of equality among the villagers and David, and helped cooperative actions.

The study found that David never controlled the villagers but facilitated the villagers to take power. There was no financial punishment or reward for the BAS staff for not doing the right thing or indeed for doing the right thing. However the norms of discipline are followed strictly and scolding and rebuking are frequently used by David for violation of discipline.

Ratan, one of the founder teachers of the non-formal school of BAS said:

“David'da believed in certain values such as dignity of work, and equality of a human being and his practice of these values in his own life changed my life extensively. He worked with us everywhere from tree planting to carrying patients to hospital and lived with us, shared our joys and sorrows by being one of us. Again he maintained his relationship with the visitors of higher social positions from Europe, government agencies and other places. These practices prove his belief in equality. It is overwhelming. David'da is not just a person to me. He is an institution to me and I follow his values in my own life. He is an inspiration to us.”

“Though my salary is poor I have no intention of leaving the organisation for higher financial benefits. I am doing it for my mental satisfaction just as David'da is doing. I do work to serve my people”, said a worker.

Another worker added, *“David'da is not after fame and name. He could easily become a salaried academic in a good university. But he worked with us for his satisfaction. I followed his path. I earn less than what I could have earned as a government employee. My wife earns more than me. But I enjoy my work which liberates my creative qualities and gives me an opportunity to serve our villagers as well. It helps me to be happy and successful.”*

David is a believer in values such as selflessness and spirit of service to the needy. He tried to motivate the villagers with these values which he also practised in his personal life. David is not a salaried staff member of BAS. He never claimed any power or position or benefit from BAS. He never took a seat reserved for the people of higher position during the cultural or other types of functions. One of the staff said, *“I like David'da because he never snatched power from us. He strengthened our power as our friend.”* David helped and worked for the villagers selflessly. He lived in villages and sacrificed his family life in Germany to pursue the values in which he believed. His simple life-style, his sacrifice, his values set an example to the villagers. The villagers trusted him and approved and shared his voluntary spirit as norms of their own behaviour.

David helped the villagers to be self-reliant village workers and expected no material benefit in return. He expected that his act of helping would be repaid by the villagers by practicing in real life all the social norms he initiated. David did not force them to repay his help directly. But he expected that the villagers would act cooperatively, would take charge to solve their problems, be responsible and hard working and would help the needy when they needed it. It is the norm of generalised reciprocity that David set. The villagers approved of it. The villagers helped their sick fellow villagers for journeys to hospitals. They knew that the help would be repaid sometime in the future when they would be in need. David strengthened this practice. "*You should be patient to make them what you expect from them - may be it will take more time to achieve my goal*", David commented.

David emphasised formal and informal learning in order for them to become responsible villager workers. David encouraged formal education and training. Most of the BAS workers are High School graduates, and at least three workers hold post-graduate degrees. He sent one of the workers to England to learn English. He encouraged them to visit other organisations for experience, to attend awareness-enhancing camps, to maintain a diary, and to use computers and the internet to gather information. David learns from the villagers by attending weekly meetings, and through informal conversation with the villagers. It created the norm of learning.

The study observed that the villagers shared various values which David believed and practiced in his life. The villagers also practiced those values and accepted those values as their standard behaviour or norms. Shared values and norms or common faith has an important role to bind a group together for a common purpose (Lin 2007). Thus it is an important element of the Bonding social capital (Lin 2005; Onyx & Leonard 2007; Cote & Healy 2001).

Norms which are behaviourally based can be generated from the example or practice set by the leader (Shein 1991) and by repetition of events (Svendsen & Svendsen 2000; Pettigrow 1979). David played a significant role in influencing shared values and norms that helped collective action and thereby influenced Bonding social capital.

He created the norms of taking responsibility

David believed in self-reliant villages and the worker's role in village development. David set the norms of responsibility among the villagers by creating various opportunities around BAS. He repeatedly explained the values of responsibility to the villagers. By responsibility he meant that *'the villagers should take control over their own tasks to solve their problems'*. Through establishing the social norms of participating in the weekly village meetings, in the implementing team and in the managing committee, he created opportunities for the villagers to make their own decisions to solve their own problems. The villagers discussed their problems, identified the priorities, possible solutions and sources of resources to implement collective action. In all cases he remained a facilitator. In his own words, *"I help them in making decisions"*.

Ability of taking collective responsibility

Observing the norms over a long period of time developed the villagers' ability to take part in the collective decision making activities and be responsible to implement the decision. The villagers thus organised various collective actions. The villagers found themselves in various leadership activities such as, implementing development activities of BAS in the Team, working as teachers in BAS non-formal Schools and the coaching centre, and monitoring the progress of BAS activities.

In the weekly meetings, the villagers identified their needs and solutions and reviewed the progress of development plans they had undertaken. David initially helped them to make decisions by suggesting alternatives. *"Now we divide ourselves into groups and discuss different 'mats' (opinions) to get 'samadhans' (solutions)"*, said one of the villagers. The villagers gathered together and worked hard to build their roads, health centre building, weaving training centre, non-formal school, and coaching centre. All these activities proved the villagers' abilities to take responsibility in collective action.

Dense networks

The abilities of the villagers created various roles for the villagers and close networks. *"I work as a daily labourer on another person's land and teach at the coaching centre at night. It is our duty to run the coaching centre. I studied up to class VII and decided to do something for my own people"*, said one of the village farmers.

These regular meetings over various roles increased the villagers' interaction or dense networks. This led to, increased daily interactions and familiarity in the dense networks based on common faith around BAS activities and learning programmes as well as building multi-function based relationships and friendships, which resulted in thick trust (Williams 2000) or particularised trust (Onyx & Bullen 2000) or cohesive order based trust ((Misztral 1996) among the villagers and strengthened Bonding social capital.

All this evidence showed that David played an important role as a trustworthy person in influencing shared norms and values such as the norms of hard work, maintaining discipline, participating and taking responsibility in the collective action, and norms of learning among the villagers. These norms helped to develop their abilities of taking responsibility in collective actions and resulted in dense networks forming among the villagers. He strengthened his bond with the villagers and strengthened horizontal bonds among the villagers that facilitated collective action and reproduced Bonding social capital.

4.5.2 Bridging social capital

Networking by using his personal contacts and offering the villagers access to networks

David developed a relationship with other similar social structures at local and international levels by using his personal contacts to get additional and better quality resources. These are considered bridging relationships or Bridging social capital (Portes 1998; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Gittel & Vidal 1998; Lin 2005). He corresponds with his friends, known family members, and firms through letter, telephone, e-mail or in person. He explains the goals and activities of the BAS to everybody and tries to appeal to their heart. He is an academic and scholar and he has very good verbal and writing communication skills which result in successfully establishing new relationships.

The 'Friends of Bhuvonpur' group in Germany provides valuable service to BAS by way of raising funds and selling artefacts and calendars made by the BAS school children. The group is one of the major sources of BAS funding. The group members include professionals, medical practitioners, nurses and agriculturists. BAS obtains

various benefits from this relationship. A paediatrician from the group has treated the BAS villagers during her annual month long stay in the village over the last few years. She has also trained some local health workers in homeopathic and allopathic basic treatment and medicine. The group which has been built through David's networking worked as the fund raising wing of BAS.

Although BAS is a secular organisation and has no particular religious belief, David has established and maintained good relationships with various churches in India and overseas, who share common values such as the spirit of service to people in need. English speaking missionaries from the Indian churches came to BAS to teach in its primary school and the coaching centres. The relationship crossed the bar of religion and produced Bridging social capital.

The villagers developed Bridging social capital

One of the BAS workers mentioned:

"David'da introduced us to his friends with national and international backgrounds. They visited BAS several times. David'da initially escorted them and explained every thing related to BAS and school, and we used to accompany them. Now we represent our organisation and explain to them what they would like to know about BAS and us. I have relationships with hundreds of organisations and persons through the school and it surprises me as well".

The study found 'the Four' visited overseas and local voluntary organisations to strengthen their networks. They set up relationships with David's networks overseas and obtained resources such as funding, medical services, teaching skills and better agricultural practices. One of David's friends organised all the travel related paper work for BAS staff for their first visit to Germany. David introduced the BAS staff to his family members and friends in Germany who later became active fund raisers for BAS. The social status of David's circle overseas is much higher than the BAS villagers. The overseas churches also work at an international level. In this sense the social status of BAS and the people of David's network are quite different and the relationship should be called Linking social capital. They are friends of David's who consider the BAS people as their friends. The difference of social status has not been maintained here, and these organisations are considered to be similar to organisations situated overseas. The

difference is only geographic distance (Burt 1998) and is considered as Bridging social capital. So the study found the BAS worker developed the capacity to create their Bridging social capital.

4.5.3 Linking social capital

By using his social position and offering access

David, as a German born person, has been able to establish relationships with the German Government and also with non-government organisations in India and overseas and obtained a regular flow of funding and other resources from these sources. The German Consulate in India has been one of the patrons of BAS. The study found that many State level Parliamentary Members and Ministers were among the regular visitors and they offered moral and physical support to BAS. David encouraged the BAS workers to establish networks with these visitors.

By virtue of his social position he has been able to be a link between BAS and other German organisations. David linked BAS with his writers' network and obtained resources. School teachers using non-formal teaching methods from Germany visit BAS quite regularly through David's relationship. They offer new ideas of teaching methods and children's games. David allowed BAS workers to learn from them and establish networks.

He maintains a good relationship with scholars from Viswabharati University and obtains their help in many areas. The academics from the University reviewed the progress of BAS and provided valuable suggestions. Some of the non-academic staff of the University, such as one civil engineer, worked in BAS as a volunteer. The civil engineer said, "*I came to build the bridge that connected the villages with the town. I could not leave after finishing my job here. Davidda's personality and work method kept me here*". The BAS workers established working relationships with Viswabharati University through this volunteer.

David helped BAS to obtain funding from various government organisations. The German Consulate helps with regular funding. The villagers get various vocational training and awareness on health and social issues from experts and knowledgeable

persons where David acted as a link between the villagers and experts. David maintains contacts with knowledgeable persons in Germany in various trades such as weaving, horticulture and pisciculture to help BAS villagers in training. Hundreds of visitors visit BAS regularly for various purposes. One of the major works of David is to maintain the relationship or network with them and offer the villagers access to the network.

David established a relationship with a German Catholic Mission, *Kindermisionwerk*, and developed a relationship with *Lokshiksha Parishad* (LP), the voluntary organisation of Ramakrishna Mission, a Hindu socio-religious organisation in India. Through his contacts, one of the BAS staff obtained a job at LP for a few years. The staff obtained experience in managing voluntary organisations and establish relationship with LP. Thus David used his personal contacts to collect resources for BAS - it is David's network that helped the BAS workers to link with other groups.

The villagers developed Linking social capital

The BAS staff visited various organisations and people from David's network in Germany, Austria, and England where David worked, as a link to set up relationships between them. The BAS staff gathered overseas experience, funding and training through these visits where David had established links and thus created Linking social capital. Linking social capital is a relationship of a lower status group with a higher status group (Aldridge et al. 2002).

4.6 Development impacts of SEETO's activities

The study found David created various norms such as the norms of learning, the norms of cooperation in the collective actions, the norms of generalised reciprocity, the norms of hard work and discipline, and the norms of taking responsibility in collective action. These norms developed the villager's ability to take responsibility in collective action. The ability had enormous developmental impacts on the villagers' lives. Firstly these abilities helped the villagers to be empowered. Secondly these empowered villagers helped to bring social changes to the life of the villagers.

4.6.1 Empowerment of the villagers

The study found David created various norms which developed the ability of the villagers to take responsibility in collective actions. It is the quality of the self-reliant village worker, as David defined it. They became self-reliant village workers which was one of the basic social missions of David. By creating the ability to take responsibility, David first enhanced their ability of taking control of their own life or empowerment (Chambers 1997). The other norms changed the various social practices and attitudes of the villagers. Both these aspects suggest that these norms influenced the empowerment process of the villagers.

The empowerment process of the poor individuals is influenced by:

- a) a change in the capacity of the poor to take purposeful actions collectively; and
- b) a change of opportunity structure in the social, political, and economic lives where the poor pursue their interests. (Narayan 2005)

The first one implies the organisational ability of making collective decisions. The opportunity structure mentioned as the second factor consists of various formal rules, roles, and rights, precedents in the existing social structure as well as informal things such as norms, attitudes, and values of the social, economic and political life of the poor. These opportunity structure factors have blocking or augmenting effects on the development process of the villagers (Narayan 2005). BAS workers showed their increased capacity to take purposeful collective actions such as in the health clinic, in the non-formal school, and in the coaching centre.

The study also showed that the other norms which David created have changed the existing informal social and economic practices of the villagers that blocked their development. The villagers were lazy, uneducated, undisciplined, non-cooperative which possibly can be considered some of the blocking factors in their way to take collective development initiatives. David changed the villagers' attitudes towards collective action. Thus all the norms David created satisfied the two factors of the empowerment process.

4.6.2 Empowered workers and development in the villagers' lives

David created norms and abilities which made the villagers empowered. Empowerment is one of the factors of development (Chambers 1997). Empowered persons are considered as one of the powerful factors in reducing poverty (World Bank 2001). Empowered villagers helped to bring changes in various cultural and economic practices in their lives and helped in reducing their poverty. The study found under the leadership of David the villagers have brought changes or development to their lives.

BAS took various development programmes in health, education, and income. These included a non formal primary school with lessons in the indigenous language; two evening coaching classes for primary and secondary school students; boarding facilities for secondary students; two kindergarten schools with full meals; medical aids; economic programmes; environmental programmes; a vocational training centre; and preservation and promotion of *Santal* culture. The study found the villagers participated, cooperated, and took responsibility as a group in these development activities.

One of the BAS health workers stated,

"I work for the health centre with other villagers. We have an one-bed health centre where we keep all types of basic medicine for treating emergency cases. We do everything as a group to run the health centre. We organise meetings on health issues such as family planning, caring for pregnant mothers, nutrition for babies, tuberculosis, cold and cough etc. for the villagers. We do everything relating to organising the meeting. We select the topic of the meeting, invite the local doctor to speak, fix the time and date of the meeting. We decided in the group to treat the locals with herbal medicine. Nobody instructed me to do that. I started it because I have an interest in this treatment. I took training in herbal medicine. Now I am training a girl of the neighbouring village who helps me in the health centre and also in her village to help them with their health problems".

In the above example we identified the health worker and her group as self-reliant or empowered village workers. They took the responsibility of making decisions in the health programme, and achieved the goal of the health development programme by bringing change to their health. The villagers also changed their social practice of not

visiting the health centre during their illness. In the past, women suffered from chronic back pain and men from tuberculosis. The health clinic provides herbal medicine to the village women. The villagers visit the centre when they suffer from colds and coughs. The early check up, diagnosis and availability of medicine helped the villagers. The health worker said, “*we hardly find any TB patient in the villages now*”.

The annual visit of the German doctors also helped the villagers in detecting their disease at the early stage. The doctors helped to train the village health workers. Pregnant women from the village now regularly visit the centre. Child mortality rate was high in the villages before the health clinic was set up by BAS. Now the rate has decreased.

The study found that the non-formal school has been running well in the villages. The children are happy to attend the school where the classrooms are without walls and look like a kiosk. It helped the children by providing an open environment. They attended various activities inside and outside the school. Their handmade products such as calendars and handicrafts are sold locally and overseas. It has created a joyful environment in the school. The founding teacher of the non-formal school in BAS said:

“I wrote text books and primers for the School which included the cultures and lifestyle of the Santal people. The Santal children have good fun to see their familiar things in the text book contents. There are teachers who teach them to draw, to make handicrafts, to dance, to sing. Music and dance are parts of their life which they can enjoy in the school. So the drop out rate from the primary school decreased. We run the school and do everything independently of David'd, though we see him monthly to inform him how the school is going. Another teacher and I represent the School on the Government Policy making Committee on Non-formal Teaching method and the Tribe Development. Our suggestions and experience helped to develop policies and programmes for the child education of the West Bengal State Government. Our school became a model school for non-formal schools in the State. I have networks with hundreds of voluntary organisations. I'm a hard worker and fully involved in BAS. I feel proud of what I'm doing now”.

He is the head teacher of the non-formal school now. The school helped the children to enjoy their school life. He taught in the BAS coaching centre for high school students. He toured different schools with the Santal children to show the *Santal* dance and other cultural activities. He visited Europe a number of times with his cultural group to perform *Santal* dances and to talk about *Santal* culture. All these activities demonstrate that he and his group of self-reliant workers have the ability to make decisions in the school programme. These village workers have changed the village children's social life around the school. Now they attend the school, participate in various activities and enjoy their school life and childhood. This is evidence which proves a change in the BAS workers' life, social practice of the village children, as well as a change in their parent's attitude.

The study found that these two teachers influenced State Government policy on child development and non-formal education with their experiences. The government is now introducing government non-formal schools at primary level for *Santals* along with mainstream Bengali. They have developed their political role which influenced the government policies and indicated the changed political context.

One of the BAS workers used the computer and online networks. David motivated him to learn the computer for setting relationships with various persons and organisations that could be valuable to BAS. He worked hard and collected funds from an overseas donor organisation to establish a residential hostel for the needy school children in the village. He chose the donor, communicated with them, submitted a project proposal for the funds and secured it. He, with the other workers selected the needy boys in the village. The hostel is now under construction. The worker hoped that the hostel would help the needy students to continue their study and would develop their lives.

The evidence shows that this village worker and his group have the capacity to use modern technology and also to collect funds independently of David which has changed the existing practices of depending on the leaders for collecting funds. This picture is evidence that these village workers changed the social context for their betterment. It is also evidence that the poor *Santal* villagers have changed their attitude regarding their children's education. They are now sending their children to live in hostels to help study. This is evidence of their changed social attitude.

All this evidence showed that the BAS workers are empowered and can increase the well being of the villagers by changing their health condition, by providing quality education to the local children and by changing the political context. Well-being is one of the development factors, as Chambers (1997) argued.

Along with BAS workers the villagers took decisions in the weekly meetings to solve their problems. They discussed their pressing needs and formulated an implementing plan. They participated with their resources in planting trees, building roads and water drains and brought development. They contributed to building a bridge in order to connect the villages from the main road. This is evidence of the villagers' empowerment. They have the ability to take purposeful decisions in collective action. They have changed their attitude towards collective actions. Both factors brought changes to their lives for betterment.

The economic development of the villagers is tangible. The impacts of all the infrastructure developments helped the villagers in many ways. Since the villages have been connected to the cities the villagers developed the practice of going to town to seek work which helped them to find employment when they have no agricultural work in the village. It indicated the changed economic context.

BAS has a weaving training centre where the villagers, particularly women, can work at an hourly rate. The village women have been working in the non-formal school as paid teachers, and cooks which has increased their income earning ability. The changed values and norms of participating in various development activities of BAS indicated their changed attitudes and developed their economic productivity.

Thus the study found the norms and ability which David created empowered the villagers and workers of BAS and changed various social, economic and political behaviours of the villagers. Both factors brought changes in wellbeing of the villagers (Chambers 1997) which have development impacts on their lives.

The study observed that David had created unhappiness among a section of the villagers for not supporting an urban life style. He loved *Santal* culture and its traditional life

style. So BAS has opted to remain village based only. There is no office of BAS in Kolkata or in any other town. BAS has no motor vehicles and its workers use bicycles, van-rickshaw or public buses for transport. Television is also a prohibited item in these villages as David does not like it. The whole thing demonstrates his social entrepreneurship impact on the lives of the villagers. His qualities and activities set a standard of behaviour in the villages which helped collective action but created unhappiness among a small portion of the villagers.

4.7 Implications of SEETO characteristics on organisational sustainability

The study observed that David reproduced social capital and through the process he organised economic and human resources and ensured the organisation's development. So it is an important question whether the villagers' have the potential to continue '*the ongoing dynamic process of the valued results of development activities*' (Viswanath 1995) once David withdraws. In other words the question is whether the workers can maintain and strengthen the existing social capital in the absence of David to sustain the organisation.

When an outside leader takes an important role in an organisation then organisational sustainability depends on the local ability to manage the organisation. It includes engagement of the locals in the management task, the mass participation of locals in the decision making process (Rahman 1990), and the contribution of local resources (Uphoff et al. 1998). In addition, it should be a learning organisation (Korten 1980). Organisational sustainability requires continuous learning (Uphoff et al. 1998). Smillie and Hailey (2001) argued that learning voluntary organisations collect information formally and informally. Formal training, education, research results, and publications provide formal information. Informal information comes from conversations, experiences, institutional meetings, and consensus of the village meetings. Uphoff et al. (1998) argue that computers are sources of data collection for learning in sustainable voluntary organisations.

After analysing David's activities, the study found that he encouraged the villagers to be responsible village workers who can take charge of their own tasks, or in other words, who can solve their own problems. To pursue this goal he promoted learning in the

organisation and among the villagers, he taught them to be village workers and worked as a social worker. *"The learning process can make the villagers responsible social workers and can substitute his role for strengthening social capital"*, David contemplated. Thus he encouraged the learning process in the organisation to ensure that the villagers would be responsible in taking their own tasks without depending on him and could sustain the organisation in his absence.

The health worker at BAS needs to organise meetings to raise awareness of the villagers' health issues. Before organising each meeting she normally makes door-to-door visits and motivates the villagers to join the meeting to improve the attendance. Initially she was not used to making door-to-door visits. She learned from the experience that it was a lengthy but effective process to collect more villagers for the meeting. She got the new idea that personal contact can improve the meeting attendance and the larger attendance could help to fulfill the meeting objective. It is their mutual trust based relationship that makes a programme successful. So she tried hard to attract more villagers to the meeting to increase interaction and familiarity among them in order to develop trust.

In this example, the health worker was engaged in the learning process. The hallmark of the learning process is continuous rethinking and adjustment (Viswanath 1995). She was rethinking and adjusting her ideas of how to gather women to the meeting. She gathered data from her personal experience, analysed it and diagnosed the cause of poor attendance in family planning meetings. She found out that the villagers had no idea about the benefits of attending meetings. She changed the method of informing the villagers about meetings. She started to motivate them by visiting and talking personally about the meeting's objectives and its benefits. It improved meeting attendance afterwards. She worked with other workers and shared her ideas with them. *"We have full freedom in performing tasks which we think give us better results. We analyse, we think continuously to get new ideas and we apply those in practice. David'da initiated the practice"*, said the health worker. In the process she delivered the service to more women in the neighborhood by training another girl. All this showed her ability to maintain and extend the network of relationships or social capital. She admitted that the environment of learning freely has been created by David.

She learnt from practical experiences as well as from formal and informal training. She took personal initiative and interest to learn about administering homeopathic medicine from the visiting German doctors. She has now become quite knowledgeable and capable to run the health service in a better way. She recruited a village girl to assist her in administering medicine. *"I'm training her so that we can serve more people. I go to the next village to treat other people and plan to expand my activities"*.

She has an interest in herbal medicine as well and with David's initiative, she took formal training in this area to increase her knowledge and to serve more people. *"I went to David'da and wanted his help to obtain formal training. He took initiatives and I got the training. Now I can make herbal medicine and help women with back pains who work in rice fields"*, she said.

The evidence clearly showed that the health worker had been engaged in the learning process. She established new relationships with other villagers through collecting information and found new ideas that would be appropriate to apply her service to other villagers. It indicates that the health worker maintained the existing network of relationships around the health service and extended it further.

David helped them to learn from life experiences. He accompanied BAS workers overseas. He never helped them in their conversations with immigration and customs officials in English. They talked and learnt English conversation through experience. While overseas, David never stayed in the same place with them and did not guide all the time. The workers had to organize their 'what to do' and 'how to do'. *"We learnt a lot in the process - gained experience and confidence which we applied later to make new relationships"*, said one of the workers.

David learnt through experience by travelling around the country and visiting various voluntary organisations and non-formal schools with the villagers. The villagers utilized that experience in managing their organisation and maintained those relationships to get funding and resources.

Most of the BAS staff and villagers remained engaged in the learning process to maintain and extend social capital. Group leaders of the Team, the implementing unit of

BAS remained engaged in implementing particular development programmes for which they were responsible. They had to design their team's rules and regulations and identify the most efficient way of implementing programmes by discussing this amongst the group members. In the process they remained engaged in learning, which helped them to maintain a network of relationships.

David facilitated Self-rule of the villagers through weekly meetings. In the weekly meetings, the villagers remained engaged in the learning process when they identified their needs and solutions and reviewed progress of development plans they undertook. David initially helped them to take decisions by suggesting alternatives. Later they developed their ability to make responsibility. These regular meetings enhanced the villagers' interaction and group discussion to enhance knowledge. The evidence proves that the villagers can make their own decisions to solve their problems and have the ability to maintain their network of relationships.

David encouraged formal education as well. One of the workers learnt English in England, as organised by David. Some of the school teachers completed postgraduate courses with David's encouragement. The art teacher completed a postgraduate education then helped the village and school children to make various types of artifacts, handicrafts and drawings. He travels around India and overseas with these handicrafts to sell in order to raise funds and to talk about the *Santal* children. BAS children handicrafts have now earned a reputation, funding and support from the other groups and thus created Bridging social capital.

After completing his Masters degree in Social Work, the non-formal school's head teacher started research in non-formal teaching methods, as suggested by David. "*It helped me to get a wider perspective*", he said. The BAS School has become a model in *Santal* education and alternative primary education in West Bengal. The head teacher has been appointed in different State Government bodies to offer suggestions in designing a non-formal school model. The two founding teachers of the school are frequently called on for meetings and seminars by government agencies (e.g. by the Tribal Welfare Ministry of the State Government), by large non-government organisations, and foundations from India and overseas (Baski & Bhattachariya 2007) to share their practical ideas and experiences. These relationships with other

organisations with higher social status and power proved that the villagers learned to link with higher social groups. *"Now we have an identity and we can organize funds and resources by using this identity without David'da"*, said the teacher. *"We have taken all responsibilities and we have stepped forward further and have now started to think about what type of programme we should undertake to improve the school, how we should plan and whom we should contact to join us to improve the school"*, he added. The fact proved his involvement in the learning process to get new ideas to improve the school and the network of relationships around it. This is part of the evidence on how the BAS workers maintained and extended links established with David's help. The facts ensure organisational sustainability.

The BAS workers remained engaged in networking - locally, nationally and internationally with funding agencies and other voluntary organisations. The study found that the workers learned networking independently which ensured organisational sustainability. One of the workers said, *"I spent most of my time maintaining relationships with our friends. Some of them are contacts of David'da, but most of them are my own contacts. I established relationships with them. Some of them are overseas and others are Indians. Visiting overseas friends is an easy task for me now. I can manage all the paper work"*.

David encouraged institutional learning by inviting well known experts of various trades to train the villagers, and academics to talk in meetings, workshops and seminars which encouraged shared learning in the villages. David introduced all of these scholars to the workers. *"Now I invite expert trainers from these organisations to train our villagers"*, said the current secretary of BAS which proves his ability to maintain the relationship through learning.

Research findings and publications are two common sources of learning (Smillie & Hailey 2001). The study found that David worked with BAS workers to maintain the diary of daily events. He collected information on daily events in the organisation and the villages by talking and observing. The staff remains engaged in the same job to monitor the progress of the organisation. The information helps to find out the pattern and problems of the villagers as well as the organisation which requires immediate attention. One of the staff said, *"David'da, Mona and I collect and keep records of all*

activities around the villages and BAS. Every month we sit together and match the collected information. If anybody misses any information we correct it. We publish that information in our monthly report or newsletter. The information helps us to detect and solve problems.” The newsletter is distributed within the village and to the visitors to communicate with them. The villagers' engagement in the newsletter proves engagement in the learning process and their ability to maintain and extend the networks of relationships through the visitors.

Some of the workers learned computer operations at the urging of David. It is a tool used by the effective voluntary organisations for collecting information. One of the staff had recently obtained a fund by searching Internet and making an application for setting up a hostel for needy village school students. He found out from BAS monthly newsletters that the drop-out rates of High School students was not decreasing. According to him, *“I went to talk to the students and found out that they cannot study at night due to poverty stricken conditions. They have no light or no spare room to study. I collected information about the donors from the Internet, wrote a proposal and applied for the fund to establish a college free of cost for the needy boys. I got the fund to start the work”*. All of these events suggest that he is engaged in the learning process and has the ability to network independently with donor agencies for collecting funds ensuring the sustainability of BAS.

David encouraged responsibility and the villagers learned from various formal and informal sources as mentioned above. These are the characteristics of a learning organisation as the authors argued (Smillie and Hailey 2001). So David created a learning organisation to achieve the goal of responsibility. The villagers developed the ability to take responsibility in collective action ensuring that the villagers were engaged in the task of taking a management role, and taking mass participation in the decision making process.

One of the organisational sustainability conditions is that there should be a local contribution to funding. Locals should contribute to funding in order to retain a level of ownership feelings. The study found BAS collected most of their funding from overseas. This aspect did not act as an impeding factor to many organisations for organisational sustainability where the locals contributed at least a token amount of

money to the organisation as the studies (Uphoff et al. 1998) found. The present study found locals also contributing to BAS by paying student fees in the non-formal school, and the training fees in the training centre. More importantly, the villagers learned to collect funds from different sources.

David thus took a central role to create a learning organization where the villagers learned and developed their ability to continue the result of the development activities. They strengthened their Bonding social capital within the village and created Bridging and Linking social capitals by extending relationship beyond the village through learning. Bridging and Linking capital has helped in the acquisition of other capital such as human and economic capital for organisational development, so David's learning organisation is ensured of organisational sustainability should David withdraw.

4.8 Discussion

The study found that David, as a social entrepreneur bonded the villagers together for collective action and reproduced social capital. It was his leadership style that helped the villagers to be bonded among themselves and to bridge and link with other groups independent of him and sustain social capital.

David is a social entrepreneur who established a non-profit voluntary organisation with a social purpose to develop the village through self-reliant village workers. He established his trust-based relationship with the villagers who were idle, poor and without social status. The entire climate of the village was completely unfamiliar to him. He was a foreigner, an academic and a city dweller. He had no idea of managing voluntary organisations in rural areas with uneducated people. He overcame all of these difficulties by his activities and changed the villagers into responsible village workers. He changed the behaviour and norms of the villagers and developed their ability to take responsibility in collective action. This ability changed the villagers' economic, cultural and political lives and brought social change. Thus he is a social entrepreneur (Alvord et al. 2004). The ability strengthened their bonding relationship among themselves, created bridge and link with other groups which helped their collective action. Thus David reproduced social capital. He is a change maker which is an important characteristic of social entrepreneurs (Drucker 1993).

It is true that the villagers, the *Santal* people already had a village committee which proved the villagers' knowledge of cooperative behaviour and the existence of social capital, however when David started his village development activities the committee was almost ineffective. There were no effective leaders or workers and no initiative was taken to improve their lives. The villagers were disorganized and poor. It was David who started the initiative. He organized people and their resources together for collective action. David did not have sufficient money at that point in time. He earned trust and attracted the villagers towards him securing a common bond. The villagers associated themselves with David. So it was David who acted as a common bond for the villagers and organised them for collective action. In the process David reproduced social capital.

David believed that village workers could develop their life and thereby the community life. He also believed that the values of cooperation, knowledge, and spirit of service to the needy along with the qualities of as hard work, discipline and responsibility could make an ideal village worker. David himself practiced those values and became a leader. He educated the villagers with those values and created norms of cooperation, learning, caring, and taking responsibility. These shared norms and values acted as a binding element among the villagers. The villagers developed their ability to take responsibility in collective action. In other words the villagers developed their social agency which is an important element of social capital. They became engaged in various organisational activities and roles and developed their multifunctional networks which also developed their trust based relationship to each other. David enabled the villagers to strengthen their bond among themselves which was necessary for collective action to occur and developed Bonding social capital.

David believed in connecting and relating the villagers with the rest of the world to get new ideas and resources. David's networking with other social structures or Bridging social capital helped the organisation with various services, skills, expertise, funding and information from national and international sources (mostly from Germany, his country of birth). David used his social position and personal network as a writer, and an academic to build new relationships with other groups. He used his communication skills to convey the message rightly to the visitors creating Bridging social capital.

David not only used his personal networks and skills to connect with other groups for resources and information, he offered free access for the villagers to his networks. By using David's networks the villagers developed their own overseas relationships and networks. They became confident in the process to extend their networks further. For example, the health worker used her knowledge of homeopathic treatment to serve other villagers. The knowledge came from one of the German physicians who visit BAS regularly through David's contact. The health worker developed her network with the physician independent of David, and the villagers developed their own Bridging social capital.

David used his personal position as a member of the Indo-German Committee to obtain funds from the German consulate. David became a link between the villagers and the German consulate. BAS is not a member of any large group and cannot collect funds as a member or part of a large organisation. It was David's position that helped to collect funds.

Not only did David offer access to the BAS workers to all his network links but he facilitated the villagers to learn responsibility to set up social networks, independent of himself. In this way David created Bridging and Linking social capital. The study found that to pursue this goal David encouraged formal and informal learning in the organisation.

In the process the villagers developed their ability to make purposeful decisions through collective actions. The study also found there is a change in the existing social and economic practices of the villagers which originally acted as blocking factors to participate in the collective action, but now don't. Both these factors indicated that the self-reliant village workers achieved the qualities of empowerment.

The study observed the characteristics of David in three different parts covering his background and social position, social mission, and personal characteristics. He is an academic and writer. He also has political connections as a member of the Indo-German Collaboration Committee. He took a social mission driven by his own belief. He believed that village development is possible through self-reliant men with qualities

such as hard work, cooperation, knowledge, responsibility, discipline, and caring. His personal qualities indicate that he is a trustworthy village worker with the qualities he believed in. He loved and cared for the villagers and, at the same time, he maintained discipline. He facilitated the villagers to take responsibility in managing their organisation and introduced collective leadership. After analyzing David's characteristics, the study found that David taught the villagers to be responsible village workers. He worked as a village worker, and he enabled them to learn. It is found David himself worked with the villagers in village development activities. Thus he worked as a coworker, learned from the villagers of their cultural practices by living with them, shared their joys by participating in their festivals and cultural activities and sufferings by taking the ill to the hospital, and guarding the crop fields at night. He travelled with the villagers to learn and helped them to learn from personal experiences. He developed contacts with people at national and international level and offered the villagers access to his contacts and to develop new contacts on their own. David taught the villagers to do hard work, to maintain disciplines, to take decision as a group, and also practiced those values in his life. The major aspect of his leadership was 'to do and enable them to do'. Thus he took a 'responsibility building' leadership style. He influenced social capital reproduction.

The implication of David's leadership approach has positive impacts on organisational sustainability. He promoted learning and inspired the villagers to learn to be responsible for making their own decisions. He created a learning organisation. In the learning organisation the workers remained engaged in the learning process which included collecting information, analysing, applying, and sharing new ideas to solve problems. The BAS workers remained engaged in the learning process to learn responsibility. BAS, therefore became a learning organisation, they took on management tasks of the organisation, they took part in the decision making process in the weekly meeting, and they paid student fees in the non-formal school, training fees for taking on various training organized in BAS and contributing to the fund. In other words, the BAS workers learned formally and informally. All these are characteristics of sustainable organisations which require social capital, financial capital and human capital (Dale 2001). David created a learning organisation and ensured the development of all these capitals. The interdependence of two types of capital is noteworthy here. David focused on the importance of learning through formal and informal sources. This learning or

generation of human capital helped the villagers to be engaged with various activities of BAS which, in turn, helped them to establish close daily networks with villagers and strengthened their informal knowledge and relationship to organize collective actions or social capital in their village. The formal learning such as various vocational training obtained through LSP, a German physician and herbal institute helped them to expand their networks. The research found these networks provided training, information and funding with BAS and developed their Bridging and Linking social capital which further developed human capital of the villagers. David took the central role in initiating learning in BAS. The BAS workers proved that they have the ability or human capital to develop and strengthen further all these three capitals. This aspect ensured organisational sustainability. Table 4.1 summarises the characteristics of David as SEETO.

Figure 4.1
Characteristics and outcomes of social entrepreneurs
SEETO – BAS

<i>Characteristics</i>	
Social mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village development through self-reliant, responsible, hard working, caring, and knowledgeable villagers
Background and social position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEETO, academic and writer
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Earned trust by practicing values and qualities • Loved and cared for the villagers • Remained open and casual • Facilitated self-rule to make them responsible village workers • Networked using his personal and social position and encouraged collective networking • Learned and promoted learning
Leadership style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility building
<i>Outcome</i>	
Impact on social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Established various norms such as cooperation, hard work, caring, learning and taking responsibility in collective action • Developed an ability to take responsibility in collective action • Reproduced Bonding, Bridging, and Linking social capital
Impact on development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowered the villagers
Implication for organisational sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created a learning organisation • Ensured sustainability

Chapter 5

Case Study 2: Gramunnayan Milan Samity

5.1 Introduction

Gramunnayan Milan Samity (GMS), the second case study organisation in this research, is located in South 24 Parganas district in the state of West Bengal, India. It operates in two small villages, *Kadamtala* and *Gurugir Chawk* since 1971. The total population of these two villages was 875 persons in 2000. It was made up of 380 adult men and 261 adult women, 115 boys and 119 girls (under 18 years) (GMS 2001). The majority of the villagers are poor farmers who belong to lower social strata¹². Their language is Bengali. The study found GMS changed the villagers' lives for the better through its organisational activities.

Since its inception, GMS has suffered major setbacks. The founder of GMS, identified as a Social Entrepreneur External to Organisation (SEETO) strengthened the organisation with his various qualities to improve the villager's condition. Over the period he designed various development programmes in areas of education, income and health, and some of them performed better than the others. The primary school of GMS, known as *Vivekananda Sishushiksha Kendra* (VSK) and the coaching centre achieved significant success and obtained fame in the area. The villagers enjoy GMS organised cultural activities.

5.2 Socio-economic context

Climate and livelihood

Kadamtala and *Gurugir Chawk* villages are located in the saline clay based soil area of southern West Bengal. The region is often flooded by saline water from the Bay of Bengal and sometimes suffers from heavy rains or drought. The harshness of the local

¹² Referred as 'Scheduled Caste' in the Indian Constitution, these people have been identified as low socio-economic and educational status.

environment has been worsened by the uncertainty of the climate, which includes untimely and insufficient rains and high temperatures, often ranging over 40 degrees centigrade. Parts of the *Sundarban* forest (renowned for the Bengal tiger and innumerable creeks covered with dense mangroves) belong to this district¹³.

The region remains dry in winter which aggravates the villagers' problems and compels them to undertake mono-crop farming practices. Only about 10 per cent of the total cultivated land is irrigated, primarily by tube wells and ponds. Cultivation of rice and vegetables is the main source of income for farmers. The soil and climate favour the growth of plum trees in this area. Thus some villagers are engaged in making sweet cake (*Gur* in local terminology) using plum juice. Recently sunflower has been added to the list.

Land ownership is highly skewed; the majority of farmers own less than five acres of land. The average land holding of cultivators is below 0.33 acres. Only a few villagers own large plots of land though the maximum size is limited by the State Land Reforms Acts of 1956.

The large majority of the population in these villages is dependent on agricultural activities with more than 48 per cent of the workforce classified as cultivators or agricultural labourers (GOI 2001). Others are dependent on non-agricultural activities such as local government services, self-employment and household chores, and also in small businesses such as mat weaving (using *hogla* grass), country cigar (*Bidi*) rolling, handicrafts (made from *shola* - thick stem of one type of tall grass), making earthen pots and utensils (GMS 2008). Average, small and marginal farmers work in their own plots with their own labours where women join with their male family members. So the proportion of landless agricultural labourers is relatively small in these villages. However the villagers' average income is very low. Off-farm employment opportunities are limited in these villages because of inadequate basic infrastructure such as roads, transport and electricity. The villagers cannot send their products to other markets due to these infrastructural problems and produce on a small scale earning small incomes. Most of them live on food grown in their small plots of land.

¹³ The other part of the same forest falls in Bangladesh.

Civic amenities

Dakshin Barasat, the small market town close to these villages, is well connected with Kolkata city by bus and train services. Besides *Dakshin Barasat*, there are several small market towns providing services and trading outlets for neighboring rural areas. Villages are often up to 5 km apart and connected to market towns by unsealed roads. The common means of transport that connect these villages with small market towns are auto-rickshaw (motorized) or uncovered van rickshaw (either motorised or man powered). A van rickshaw is used for carrying passengers and goods and is cheaper than auto rickshaws. The villagers take at least half an hour, one way, to reach any of the small market towns (interview with SEETO).

The problem of clean drinking water is acute in these villages. Small dug-out ponds adjacent to some houses are the only source of water for cultivation, and household use. The villagers, particularly women and children suffer from various water borne diseases and infections, as mentioned by the doctor at the GMS health clinic during an interview. Drinking water comes from deep tube-wells usually funded by the local government. Building a tube well is expensive – each costs approximately 1,000,000 Indian Rupees or about AUD 30,350. Local political leaders often use these items of basic need (e.g. construction of village roads and tube wells, digging out of big ponds or connecting villages with electricity) as election issues. This makes it difficult for villagers' not to get involved in politics (interview with the Secretary of GMS)

These villages are not connected to the electricity grid. Villagers use kerosene as the main fuel to light lamps at night. The Government provides 400 ml. of kerosene per person weekly at a subsidized rate through its rationing system. In the open market, kerosene costs much more – about Rs. 30 per litre. A small local-made lamp needs 400 ml. of kerosene for two hours. Thus the villagers try to complete their work in day light and use the lamp only for very urgent business, as mentioned by a villager while rolling county cigars under the dim lamp light at night (interviews with villagers).

Sanitation is a major issue in the villages. These villages have hardly any sanitary toilets and only a few well-off villagers have constructed some in recent years. In fact, my accommodation in these villages was selected primarily on the basis of this criterion.

Most of the villagers use bushes or the road side for this purpose (interviews with villagers).

Women's position

Women's participation rate is high in the total labour force in these villages. Eighty-five adult women (32.5 per cent of all adult women) are directly engaged as wage labourers in non-farming activities in small business or run their own small business such as rolling country cigars or farming livestock, particularly hens and goats. Five women are employed in local government offices. Another 119 adult women are engaged as part-time agricultural labourers in other villager's fields along with their household activities. However the traditional concept of the division of labour between men and women is also practiced here. Women are mostly engaged in household activities even if they work in the fields or in other non-farming activities. So the norm is that women are responsible for maintaining the household and child rearing. *"The opposite concepts where men are engaged in the household activities are considered as an amusing idea and have mostly been used in the local cultural events to entertain the villagers. But we don't like that type of entertainment"*, as stated by a non-resident local girl studying a post-graduate course at Calcutta University (Interview with villagers).

Education

The villagers speak Bengali, the common language of West Bengal. Education is usually delivered in Bengali in government primary and high schools. The proportion of children aged between 6 and 14 without a primary education has been increasing in West Bengal compared to other states in India (GOI 2008). A lack of qualified teachers, poor student-teacher ratios, lack of infrastructure, and a lack of students in schools combine to create problems in primary education in West Bengal. The government earlier launched the Scheme *Sarvo Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) for providing elementary education to all children - the goal was to enrol all 6-14 age children in primary school by 2005. One of the features of the programme was to provide a cooked meal to school children (Mid-day Meal) to encourage higher enrolments. Research suggests that the mid-day meal system has been mismanaged in most primary schools threatening the quality of education in most cases (Datta 2008). It also indicates a poor picture of government primary schools in West Bengal in terms of teaching quality, poor teacher-student ratio, and the lack of an enjoyable environment suitable for children with basic

sports facilities and cultural activities (Datta 2008). Another study by *Pratichi Trust*¹⁴ also found alarmingly large scale absence of students and teachers in primary schools in West Bengal. (Sen 2002)

A similar problem exists in the government primary schools in the villages where GMS operates. The children find no interest in attending the government primary schools. Moreover in these two villages there is no government primary or high schools. Children are required to walk at least 5 to 6 kilometers daily to attend schools in other villages. Thus the rate of primary enrolment is quite low in these villages. The study found the GMS primary school has been able to change the situation for the better.

In West Bengal, the government provides free school education up to Grade 12. The rate of children attending high schools has been increasing with the spread of government supported education programmes (GOI 2001). However getting a higher education does not necessarily provide any guarantee of employment in a village. The numbers of graduates unemployed are increasing in these villages, particularly among women who face more problems migrating to cities. Of twenty-nine unemployed graduates living in these villages in 2000 (GMS 2008) five were women. The presence of unemployed educated youth sometimes acts as a disincentive for parents to send their children to school.

Entertainment

Sources of entertainment are limited in these villages. Due to the absence of electricity the villages use diesel or kerosene generators for light and sound systems and for organizing local cultural activities such as *Kirton*¹⁵ and *Gajon*¹⁶. Solar power has been used in a couple of the houses of those who could afford it. GMS uses generators for light. For obvious reasons there are no electric fans, fridges or any electrical appliances in these villages except battery-operated radios. Mobile phones are used by some young people and they are considered a luxury item by most elders. GMS secretaries own

¹⁴ The Pratichi Trust was established in 1999. It was set up by Professor Amartya Sen, one of the world's leading authorities on welfare economics, who had won the Nobel Prize in 1998 and who had used a large part of the prize money to set up two trusts – one in India and one in Bangladesh. The research team of the trust has been carrying out studies on primary education, basic health, gender equality, child undernourishment and classroom hunger in West Bengal and Jharkhand.

¹⁵ Religious songs.

¹⁶ Local cultural drama.

mobile phones. They also use SEETO's mobile phone while he is there. They did use the mobile phone of the researcher as well while she was there (Personal observation).

There are no TVs or movie theatres within a 15 kilometer radius of these villages. Rich villagers hire *kirton* parties for two/three days at a time to observe auspicious days in the Hindu calendar and invite all the villagers to enjoy the events and have meals twice a day. Well known *kirton* singer groups may charge up to Rs. 3,000 to 4,000 for each session. *Gajon*, the local drama, basically comic also satisfies local demands. "*Gajon is not a very healthy type of entertainment in general – It starts with a mythological story but it ends with comic and caricature. The theme of Gajon could be anything including foolishness of the office boss to the story of a very dominating type of wife and a timid husband. Sometimes the words used there are coarse and not suitable for children*", said the founder of GMS. Most of the entertainments in these villages are religion based. Religious activities serve the purpose for a social gathering and entertainment. Some of them are personal and home based and some of them are of a social nature observed in a common place in the village or in one of the auspicious places (e.g. *Sodaltala* in the name of local deity *Banbibi*) (Interview with SEETO).

5.3 Overview of GMS

The study found GMS has brought a change to the life of local people particularly children's lives through its organisational activities. The main objective of GMS is to promote the overall development of villagers, including their physical and moral health. To achieve this primary goal the organisation has undertaken different initiatives and activities to improve education, health, village civic amenities and income levels. Education and cultural activities are the main focus of GMS. The organisation has been recognised for providing quality primary education through a school named *Vivekananda Sisushiksha Kendra* (VSK) (GMS 2006 & 2008).

Along with academic curriculum, the school provides other diversified activities including drama, sports, debating and the celebration of various important national and international events. Its goal is to provide an ideal standard of primary education; to implement the Primary School Board prescribed curriculum; to make education

enjoyable through *Brotochari*¹⁷ sports and social service activities as stated in the mission statement of VSK (GMS 2006).

“Setting up of a high school with boarding facilities is one of the main objectives in GMS’ future plan. GMS has already purchased four bighas (about 1.33 Acres) of land for the purpose”, said the founder during interviews. GMS is also well known for organising various cultural functions in these villages.

GMS employs twelve paid staff (including six women) most of whom are teachers in its primary school and coaching centre. Several volunteers from these villages and outside also work on GMS programmes as per their availabilities on an ad hoc basis (GMS 2008).

The main funding source is private donations from individuals, voluntary organisations and businessmen. Some of the sources are national and international. VSK charges students fees from its students and maintains most of its operational costs. The members of GMS also pay a small amount as membership fees. So far GMS has not received any government funding (GMS 2008).

Performance of GMS

The activities of GMS impacted very significantly on the two villages it operates in. In summary, GMS transformed the villagers’ life through its development activities. VSK, the primary school of GMS is very well known in this area for providing quality education. The owner of the tea shop located in the rail station 15 km away from these villages asked the researcher, *“Samity (local name of GMS) runs a good school. Are you going to visit that school?”*¹⁸

“Many additional services and programmes are offered in the curriculum of the school such as Brotochari (physical exercise with songs), sports, drawing, educational and cultural tours which the government primary school can't even imagine”, commented a

¹⁷ Brotochari is a form of physical exercise through rhythm and dance innovated by a well-known social worker from the last century, Gurusaday Dutta.

¹⁸ He considered me as an ordinary outsider who was visiting the village and not particularly aware of its facilities.

parent (see photo D.5 & D.6 in Appendix D). Earlier there were lots of students who dropped-out of school in these villages. Girls who drop-out help their mothers in household activities and the boys remain engaged in agricultural work. They had no childhood activities and enjoyment. "*Now they enjoy the school activities*", said one of the villagers. "*Absenteeism and drop-out rates are much less in the school*", said another villager.

The music school, spring festival, drama and other cultural functions organised by GMS now draw crowds from distant villages (see photo D.7 and D.8 in Appendix D). The villagers perform in these events. "*GMS is able to provide healthy entertainment to the villagers. It has a tremendous positive impact on building the confidence of the children*", said one of the villagers.

Employment conditions in remote villages like *Kadamtala* and *Gurujgir Chawk* are difficult particularly for women. Educated youth essentially have to leave the village in order to find jobs. The primary school of GMS offered employment positions to graduates unemployed in these villages. It enabled them to live in the village rather than migrating to cities. At present VSK employs 12 teachers, including 6 women. "Some of them have now found jobs at VSK – this prevents skill migration from these villages", said one of the villagers. Under the initiative of GMS two tube-wells were constructed for providing clean drinking water for the villagers. It has also made a brick-built road connecting the villages to the nearest market town.

Arjun, the founder of GMS, played an important role in the management of GMS. "*From formulation of policies to designing programmes and work plans, staff recruitment, and fund collection all needs his direct involvement*", commented the secretary of GMS. He further mentioned, "*it is impossible to run the organisation without him. He is like a banyan tree and we work under his shade and support. We are not strong enough to stand on our own. We need his support. If we destroy the tree we will not survive*".

5.4 Social Entrepreneur External to Organisation (SEETO)

5.4.1 About SEETO

The study identified Arjun as a SEETO. He played a very important role in establishing and managing the organisation. He is a non-resident, holding no formal position in the managing committee and receives no economic benefit from his activities. He also comes from a different socio-economic background. He was a local resident in one of the villages managed by GMS and founded GMS in 1968 on a small scale with the help of other villagers. But he left the village in 1971 for higher education and subsequently secured a government job with a good salary in 1975 in Kolkata, the capital city of West Bengal. Since then he has been living in Kolkata permanently. His connection with GMS was flimsy when he was posted to another district far away from Kolkata. He returned to Kolkata in 1986. Since 1986 he visited the village regularly on weekends and became more involved in GMS activities.

His socio-economic background changed when he left the village. He studied in one of the well known residential colleges in West Bengal where he got the opportunity to experience the activities of various enlightened personalities in the field of education, culture and voluntary activities. *“These people have left a great impact on me which has changed my outlook towards life”*, said Arjun. His transferable government job enabled him to visit and stay in different parts of the state of West Bengal, often far away from his village. At the same time, his experience of life in Kolkata city extended his exposure to the greater world. He wrote a few books and became known to a smaller extent in the writers’ circle of Kolkata which was helpful in refining his intellectual abilities. Subsequently he got promoted to a high position in his office with a lucrative salary. That has created an even wider socio-economic difference with the villagers where he spent his early life.

5.4.2 Characteristics of SEETO

He took a social mission

The study found Arjun as a visionary man. His vision was to make the villagers knowledgeable so that they could understand their potential in order to be a self-confident man. *“My vision was to offer the villagers news and information of the world*

outside their village which was unknown to them”, said Arjun during the interview. In an attempt to explain the concept more clearly he told the researcher a “story of the Third Man”¹⁹:

“One day three village men were passing by a field fenced with a high boundary wall when they listened to a huge sound of amusement and fun from the other side of the wall. The sound was so alluring that one of the villagers could not resist but to jump on the wall to see what actually was happening on the other side. After watching for a while the villager became so much amused that he jumped inside the wall and did not come back. The second man did the same thing as the first one. But the third man stood on the wall and watched the fun and felt joyful. He returned to the village and persuaded the villagers to go to the other side of the wall to have a great fun.”

Arjun said:

“I am like the third villager of the story. I wanted to share with the villagers the news and joys of the other side of the wall or news of another world different from their known world. So that they can enjoy and use the knowledge and information to become a confident person”.

He observed and experienced throughout his life that the poor villagers are less confident, ignorant, and timid. They are submissive to the stronger and richer and never speak out against their exploitation. He said:

“It is due to their ignorance, I should say. So I used to nurture a vision of happy village life where the villagers are self-confident and knowledgeable about their condition. But I have no concrete idea on how to achieve the goal. Though it was quite clear to me that education should be the primary focus through which the villagers would get the news of the wider world and become a self-confident man”.

With his preliminary vision Arjun started a library in 1971 by collecting used text books from well-off villagers so that the poor village students need not discontinue their studies due to un-availability of text books. Arjun’s vision became clearer when he went

¹⁹ The story was originally narrated by Sri Ramakrishna, a renowned 19th century saint and philosopher from Bengal.

to study in a well-known residential college in Kolkata. He observed that the students were confident in their behaviour and while talking. They were knowledgeable on various issues in different countries. He was served with good meals in the college, would see movies on a big projector screen, could study in a library with thousands of books, and would study in a well equipped classroom with globes, charts, maps, and pictures. None of these were available in his village. He was the type of man who wanted to share with the villagers the good things that he enjoyed. So his vision turned towards establishing a village where the villagers could have access to these facilities. He believed that a good quality school with all these facilities was the key for them to enter this visionary world.

He had already established his library in the village. Then, with a modified vision, he wanted to improve the villagers' economic and physical life. So Arjun established GMS with the help of other villagers and launched a series of programmes in subsequent years. These programmes related to health and sanitation services, a night school for adults, sports and culture, coaching centres for high and primary school students, a mobile library, environmental improvement, a palm candy industry, and savings and credit activities. "*He started programmes while living in the residential college and the local villagers were quite active in following instructions from him*", said one of the GMS workers.

His contacts with GMS were very weak during his absence and the development programmes were practically discontinued for almost eight years. During that period, GMS came under the control of local political leaders. The GMS leaders used their resources to gain political benefits in order to win elections in the local government. They were more interested in their political careers than the wellbeing of the villagers. GMS remained inoperative in development areas for eight years until Arjun returned to Kolkata to his job and reestablished regular contact with GMS. He started regular visits during weekends (interview with GMS workers).

He earned trust and became a leader

Returning to the villages after eight years, Arjun found that the environment of trust was lost from the village life. GMS's activities were very different from what he had started. The villagers were skeptical about the GMS leaders' motive behind village development

activities. Arjun then commenced to re-motivate them to join again in the GMS development activities by organising them in the discarded GMS campus. He again started regular visits to the villages every weekend. He did it consistently over the next two years with the purpose of persuading them to join again. He avoided the company of local political leaders who lured him with lump-sum funding for GMS activities and offered him a position in the party's executive committee. In Arjun's words:

“It was a life risk to avoid the local political leaders. But I took the risk knowing that the villagers were against these leaders. If I took the funding at that time, GMS would have again gone under the clutch of political parties which the villagers hated. So I took the villagers' side. I knew GMS would survive only with villagers' support. So I turned down the offer. The villagers started to trust me following the incident and I got some villagers with me.”

Arjun was involved in a major dispute in the villages over the use of the local pond by the villagers. The pond is located adjacent to the GMS campus. For some reason, the owner of the pond, a local landlord banned villagers from using its water. Arjun fought against the ban and the incident went to the court. The restriction was finally lifted after a long court hearing. Arjun was involved in the entire process in person and used his time, energy and money to win the case for the villagers. The incident demonstrated his concern over the villagers' interest and helped Arjun to establish himself as a trustworthy person which allowed him to start village development activities gradually.

He innovated

Arjun was never content with the existing development practices and products. He tried to find out new practices for providing existing services or found out new development programmes. He always embraced new ideas though he did fail many times to attain the required goals. But failure never stopped him and he was always willing to try new directions. This is one of the most important aspects of his nature which helps him to be innovative.

His Text Book Library was an innovative idea because the villagers were poor and nobody had thought of a library run by the villagers themselves. Arjun proved that it was possible. Subsequently he found that text books alone could not solve the problem of low high school participation rates. High school students needed proper guidance to

continue their studies. He used his innovative ideas and solved the problem to a limited extent by providing free morning and evening coaching in his own house in the village. Afterwards the village school teachers followed his way and joined Arjun in his house.

He always tried to look at issues from a new perspective in order to be efficient and more effective. The villagers are income poor. Most of them are agricultural labourers and the village does not have sufficient agricultural land to accommodate them for the whole year. Thus they remained unemployed for a good part of the year. Arjun assessed village resources and tried to find out ways to utilise the local resources for providing jobs to the unemployed villagers during non-agricultural periods. He made a business plan for producing palm candy by using locally available palm juice as the raw material which he had tested by experienced professionals in this area. He explained to the villagers the benefits of the project. Palm juice is in abundant supply in the villages. He made the necessary arrangements for equipment as well. The initiative operated for a number years. But Arjun's government job was transferable and this time he was again transferred to a place far from his villages. As a result, his connection with GMS weakened.

Arjun returned to GMS again at the end of 1986 and assumed its responsibilities. He could not revive the palm candy project. Instead he focused on women's economic conditions. Arjun started organizing training programmes for women to teach them tailoring skills in *Zari* stitching. Both of these initiatives failed due to a lack of marketing opportunities and an inadequate supply of sewing machines (GMS 1992). The unwillingness of the village women in this venture was due to the more dependable and traditional country cigar (*bidi*) rolling business.

Arjun motivated village women to save a small amount of money, deposit it with GMS and to take it back when needed. When he found the village women had developed the habit of saving he started a savings and credit programme which was very successful and improved the village women's role in the economic development of their family (Basu 2001). The programme was to be stopped due to a government ban on voluntary organisation's banking activities which are not associated with a nationalised bank. The villagers, particularly the women were not willing to deposit their money into a bank because of the complications involved in withdrawing and depositing.

But Arjun did not stop thinking of new ideas. The coaching centres were running well. Arjun himself used to teach the students along with other teachers. He found the government primary school students were not getting any help in their study from the school teachers, therefore students developed no interest in attending the school and most of the time they did not attend. Arjun got the idea of establishing a primary school of better quality than the government-run schools. *“But I was unsure on how to materialise the idea. It became clear when I was preparing my son for the entrance test of a well known school in South 24 Parganas district”*, said Arjun.

To get his son admitted to a well known school, Arjun talked to the principal about their teaching methods and the principal explained to him the methods and their qualities. He also collected their past exam questions to understand the process as well.

Arjun said "I realized that with quality teaching methods the students are taught to solve problems and also to design new problems. The study becomes enjoyable to them as they learn to apply their creativity and study knowledge to developing new problems. In the process of developing new problems the students understand the concepts of the study materials and become confident. The idea clicked inside me instantly and I decided that I should establish a quality school which would provide quality teaching so that they can enjoy their study as well as understand the concepts and become confident”.

In 1992 Arjun established *Vivekananda Sishushiksha Kendra* (VKS), a private primary school with the same curriculum as that of government-run schools. He was innovative by nature and asked the teachers to be innovative in their teaching. He wrote the mission statement of VSK and added additional co-curriculum activities in the school programme which is mostly uncommon in a government primary school. His dream was to establish a residential school, of the type where he graduated. He was still not certain how to get resources for such a project. He only hoped that *“somehow it would be done”*.

Besides projects directly linked to academic activities, Arjun played an important role in designing innovative programmes for the cultural inspiration of the villagers and students. As a former student of a very well-known and high quality residential college

in West Bengal, he developed a refined taste for cultural activities. He tried to create a healthy and aesthetic cultural climate around the villages and the school. He knew that the villagers had few opportunities to enjoy healthy entertainment. He said,

“I wanted a cultural diversion which would detract their attention from unhealthy and vulgar types of entertainment such as Gajon to some healthy cultural entertainments based on better literary works (such as Tagore) and other classic writers.”

To achieve this objective, Arjun organised annual festivals such as *Basantotsav* (spring festival) – a type of dance drama to welcome the spring. He composed scripts for such dramas himself and added Tagore songs. He searched for singers and asked his daughters (classical dance students) to teach dance to the village children. He planned the annual events, writing scripts, preparing the budget and arranging for funds, and coordinating the whole event. Mostly VSK students, other village children, GMS workers, VSK women teachers and other interested persons took part in such performances. The villagers, GMS managing committee members and teachers of the school joined the celebration with great interest offering their ideas, physical labour, skills and resources to make the event a success.

After the successful organisation of *Basantotsav* in the first year, Arjun observed, *“some changes in the students’ behaviour. They became more confident. They have performed on the stage, repeated the dialogues, got cheers and claps from thousands of audiences. All these have enormous impacts on their level of confidence”*. From this successful experience he got another new idea. He started a music teaching school under GMS. He employed the spring festival singers as permanent part time teachers of the music school for the weekend after a long negotiation. *“They were already engaged in other jobs and not quite interested to join. However I won eventually and they accepted GMS offer”*, said Arjun.

Finding a large interest in the ‘Spring Festival’ among the villagers Arjun started writing dramas and teaching villagers to perform. More recently due to a lack of time he invited well known commercial drama groups from Kolkata, using his personal connections, to stage dramas in the village every year. Admission is free for all such

performances. *“I need time to do my office job. Otherwise I could have spent more time for GMS”*, said Arjun.

He promoted local participation in collective action

Arjun repeatedly mentioned that building the self-confidence of the villagers is one of the aims of his village development activities. *“I believe participation in collective actions or in any group activities may help build self-confidence. When a person discovers that his actions are considered valuable to other persons then he feels confident. So I try hard to motivate villagers to participate in GMS activities”*, said Arjun. He tries hard to motivate villagers, staff, students and their parents to participate in organisational activities. He always chanted his mantra to everybody - *“if others can do something why can't you? Try, try and try again. You'll achieve the goal”*.

Regular bi-monthly parent-teacher meetings were held at VKS after every term examination and the Head Teacher presided at the meeting. In one such bi-monthly meeting the Head Teacher was absent. Arjun tried hard to motivate other teachers to preside over the meeting in the absence of the Head Teacher. He asked another senior teacher to start the meeting. The teacher started unwillingly and unconvincingly as he was a poor public speaker. After a few minutes the teacher lost the control of the meeting. There was complete chaos. Then Arjun came forward and restored order in the room. He finished the meeting properly and the parents made complaints and suggestions. Arjun pledged to consider their suggestions such as, to organise the next meeting in a bigger room with microphone facilities and to rectify some mismanagement in the exam hall regarding the distribution of question papers.

Arjun even scolded a teacher for his mistakes as identified by the parents. The concerned teacher apologised to the parents in the meeting (Personal observation). *“The meeting ended with Kaku's (Arjun) interference when a teacher is seen incapable to manage the meeting”* said a teacher. *“But Kaku expects that we, the teachers manage such meetings ourselves. We try but our quality is not good”*, said one of the women teachers of the School. According to Arjun,

“it is very hard to motivate them to participate in a new job – I can't motivate them just in a day. I think one whole generation will be needed to accomplish the job. Their lazy nature (sleepiness), negative concepts about their own

abilities, attitude such as 'I can't do' or 'I have no ability to do' – are the major obstacle in their progress. I'm trying to remove these barriers”.

The study found that Arjun motivated the staff to find out new networks so that GMS could get some funds and other resources in terms of skilled and unskilled volunteers. In order to extend the network, the Head Teacher of VKS organised a meeting of all voluntary organisations of South 24 Parganas at the GMS campus. But the attendance was poor and the Head Teacher became dispirited as a result. *“I found it very difficult to organise and bring together all local organisations to exchange our ideas and resources. I could not collect anything. So we have to depend on Kaku. Kaku criticised me first but consoled and inspired me afterwards and advised me not to lose the spirit”*, said the Head Teacher.

Arjun's spirits always remained high. He sent the Art teacher of VSK to gain practical experience in large event management at *Bethuadohori*, another village in South 24 Parganas, where villagers organise an annual religious event for 10 days and manage food and accommodation for approximately one hundred thousand people. Arjun expected that by observing the management of this event the teacher would gather experience and knowledge which he could apply to organizing food preparation and distribution for lunch at *Saraswati Puja* celebration, one of the major events in the School's calendar. All the villagers attended the *Saraswati Puja* lunch at VSK (Personal observation).

Arjun included various non-academic activities in the school curriculum to enhance the children's self-confidence. Sports, dance, *Brotochari* (physical exercise with songs), music, recitation, debate and essay writing were some of the activities. He persuaded students to participate in competitions at different villages, blocks, schools and districts. Arjun himself wrote a drama and staged it with the help of the village children to enhance their participation. VSK publishes an annual school magazine where school children have the opportunity to publish their writings.

The study found that Arjun took the initiative to start a music school for girls in these villages. He started celebration of a 'Spring Festival' in the village to perform dance, music and other performing arts to welcome the spring season. The music school

students primarily take part in it. But Arjun assigned each and every active villager some tasks so that they could participate. *“The lady teachers of VSK perform in the spring festival to make their presence acknowledged”*, said Arjun.

On the day of the Spring Festival, the villagers were seen actively involved in stitching/preparing screen, constructing the stage, fitting lights and sound systems, cooking meals for performers, decorating the GMS campus with flowers and organizing the seating arrangements. A huge sense of enthusiasm was clearly visible amongst the participants (personal observation). Thus Arjun motivated the villagers to participate in organisational activities and created environments that helped them to achieve the collective goals.

He loved and cared for the villagers

The study revealed that Arjun had a sense of deep love and respect for his fellow villagers. Because of this sense he never severed his relationship with the villagers. In the process, he earned the trust of the villagers with his sincerity. *“He will not leave us like other educated young villagers”*, said one of the senior villagers. Arjun considered all villagers to be his own family members and assumed the entire responsibility for developing their lives as a senior member of the family. He was either *Kaku* (father’s younger brother) or *Jethu* (father’s elder brother) or *Dada* (elder brother) to the villagers.

Arjun also had great respect for the villagers. He never allowed young and active villagers to receive charities in kind without doing work in return. In West Bengal, the *Marwari Relief Society*, a large and well known charitable organisation donates various goods to smaller voluntary organisations for distribution among the poor. But Arjun never allowed any other items to be donated to individual persons. He said:

“It goes against my values - individual donations sound like alms as its availability is not linked to performance or work. It may affect their self confidence and ability to do work. I can’t stand the sight of my mother or sister or brother queuing for food, clothing and blankets. If they have the capacity to work, they should utilise it and earn money. Whatever small be the amount, they should earn it and never beg. We are trying to create employment opportunities. They should work.”

“Without having a personal relationship one can’t achieve any development goal in rural Bengal. Personal relationship works in a much better way to motivate a person to attain goals here. Visiting and talking to villagers and staff informally and getting updated about their problems help to motivate them to work rather than increasing their monthly salary”, Arjun observed.

He admitted that he had implemented a formula to link staff performance with their monthly salary, but the system did not work. Quality and quantity of work did not improve after increasing a staff monetary incentive. Arjun said, *“my verbal appreciation and encouragement about their performances in public meetings proved to be much more effective”*.

The study found that Arjun remained aware of each staff member and volunteers' family problems and often helped them to resolve their problems. The music teacher needed an amount of money all of sudden for her mother’s treatment. Arjun lent her the amount as soon as she approached him and without charging any interest. A teaching couple at VSK (husband and wife both work there) had doubts over an important family issue - whether it was the right time to have a baby. Arjun resolved the issue by employing a relief teacher and granting the wife maternity leave. The lady teacher is still working in the school and she is considered as one of the most motivated teachers at VSK.

He maintained discipline

The study found that GMS maintained the strict discipline that Arjun introduced. He is a man of discipline. He established the organisation and promised to develop it. He visits the organisation every weekend without exception. One of the staff of GMS commented, *“he never failed any deadline to perform any task, never forgot any promise and never missed the weekend to visit the village. He expects the same type of discipline from us”*.

An example will make it clear:

GMS has a 1.33 acre plot of unused land. A local panchayet (council) member, who is also a GMS management committee member, had given permission to a local club to use that plot of land for Gajon (local entertainment) performance without consulting the GMS management committee. Arjun, on hearing the news

rushed to the spot and threatened the organisers to close the function for using the land without GMS permission in a proper way. The local panchayet member (who had given them the permission) confronted Arjun as his authority had been questioned publicly. But Arjun remained firm to his principle and clearly said that “the member should consult the managing committee first to allow anybody to use the land for non-GMS activities. As it was not done the function should be closed immediately”. Arjun knew that he was risking his reputation and if he forbade the local club to stage Gagon some villagers might go against him, Gajon being a popular type of cultural event in the village. Still he remained firm to his principle and eventually won. The panchayet member had to get the managing committee’s permission officially for allowing the use of that land for Gajon (personal observation).

The researcher was received by a person in *Dakshin Barasat* railway station with a board bearing her name when she went to visit the GMS for the first time. The person was on time and drove her to GMS (15 km distance) in his auto-rickshaw. The person remarked:

“villagers are generally lazy and laid back in nature. Kaku (Arjun) is an exception. He is active and strict in discipline. Everybody is scared of him as he is a man of discipline and works hard for the organisation. He scolds hard for our mistakes. I think he is right. Otherwise he could not build this organisation. I drive auto-rickshaw and also work for GMS visitors when Kaku asks me to do so. I maintain punctuality all the time while driving visitors to the villages. Though sometimes I find it difficult, I try my best. If Kaku can keep his word every time for the organisation, we should do it”.

The study observed that Arjun’s relationship with the staff and volunteers of GMS is a mix of love, respect and fear. He forced a married male teacher to quit VSK for chatting regularly with a widowed staff member after school hours in the GMS campus. Though the sacked teacher apologised to the managing committee Arjun never compromised his principle and did not give him a second chance. *“It will work as an example to other staff in GMS. Violating rules means the end of their relationship with GMS”*, said Arjun.

He promoted cooperative values

GMS ran its development activities through teams led by team leaders. Arjun played important roles in building teams, setting general rules, selecting team leaders and assigning tasks to each team under strict time schedules and also assessing their progress in a timely fashion. The most important role he played in the process was to promote a cooperative attitude.

One of the female teachers remarked:

“Meshomosai (uncle – Aunt’s husband in Bengali) sets the general rules for teams. It is the principle of cooperation that he emphasizes. We help weaker team members in our team and also members of other teams for completing our tasks by deadlines. This is a general rule and we all observe it. We decide our own way of completing the task where Meshomosai has no role. We resolve minor conflicts among ourselves. But for resolving major conflicts we have to call him. However, major conflicts are rare and we don't want it to arise”.

The GMS managing committee members help villagers resolve family disputes within the village. Villagers usually live in joint (extended) families where family disputes are fairly common. In such cases, family members involved in a dispute usually invite GMS managing committee members to mediate. The GMS secretary said:

“We, the GMS workers hardly get involved in any major conflict among ourselves - involving staff, members and teachers. I already told you that villagers call us to resolve their conflicts and disputes. So we cannot afford to have fights among ourselves while we act as mediators in others. We sit and discuss after school hours and resolve our disputes. We don't carry forward our disputes”.

While responding to the question of whether he has any freedom to work independently in the school, one of the school teachers who reside next to the school premises said:

“We work in teams. We have the freedom to teach in our own style. But we have to consult Kaku regarding the style and major problems. We ask for his suggestions over the telephone in weekdays and in person on weekends when he is here. We have a telephone at our home and we use it to contact Kaku in his office.”

Arjun promoted cooperative values among GMS workers. He played a major role in the staff selection and induction process. *"Selecting staff for a voluntary organisation's school where monthly salary is lower than the government and other private schools, is a totally different thing"*, said Arjun. *"Voluntary nature and cooperative spirit are the main criteria that I follow to select a worker"*, he added. Arjun assesses the background and character of an applicant to determine whether he/she possesses these values and would therefore fit into the GMS environment. Once a new person is selected, Arjun helps in the induction process of new staff. He works with them at the beginning to inspire them with cooperative values. Afterwards they respond to it and do the work.

He controlled and made final decisions

Arjun is a man of perfection and quality and expects the same from GMS workers. His mission is to offer quality services and teaching to the villagers. To ensure VSK's teaching quality he selected text books, set exam questions, recruited teachers and taught them about the meaning of quality teaching. He remained present in every meeting of the school. He consulted villagers and workers but took the final decision

Selecting textbooks

He selected textbooks for every subject. Since it is a private school there is no compulsion to follow the government prescribed text books. Publishers sent 20 to 25 text books to VSK for consideration. There is a text book selection committee with four teacher members including Arjun, though he is not a teacher. The committee evaluates these books according to a prescribed criterion. Arjun himself identified and constructed the selection criteria which indicate his control over the process. *"Kaku's selection always gets preference"*, said one of the selection committee members.

Writing quality questions

Setting quality questions has been the basis of quality teaching in VSK. *"Setting varieties of questions in the examination from different viewpoints is one of the criteria of providing quality teaching. Government-run primary schools usually repeat the same exam questions every year"*, said Arjun. He encourages teachers to set new types of questions. *"We set questions for our main subjects. But Meshomoshai modifies each and every question, sometimes omits and adds new questions"*, said one of the teachers.

The researcher gathered that Arjun was in the process of preparing question banks in all subjects for grade 1 to 4 students using questions developed by the best schools in the state. He plans to publish them as a book for each different subject which would act as a model for setting questions.

Teaching the teachers about quality teaching

Arjun himself taught students and monitored teachers' performances every weekend. He asked teachers to sit together and discussed with them a topic to be taught in the class next week. He listened to their explanations, identified weaknesses and suggested corrective measures and at the same time, he criticised and scolded them heavily, as the researcher observed during one such monitoring session.

He suggested various reference books for teachers to improve their knowledge of the subject. He monitored each and every teacher's performance in the class in every subject. As one of the teachers said, "*he examines and checks our teaching process and asks questions to test our knowledge in the subject we are teaching. It is hard to give him a wrong impression*".

In the process of controlling teaching quality Arjun played the role of stern critic. To measure the progress and assess the teaching quality he collected information himself in other ways. He used to wait outside the class room without the teachers' knowledge and listened to their teaching in order to assess how the teacher was performing. Whenever he found any problem it was immediately raised at the next meeting and he openly scolded the respective teacher.

Arjun scolded them vigorously in the monitoring session for various reasons. One common reason was for failing to complete scheduled tasks assigned to them in the previous week (personal observation). "*I prescribe works for everybody for the coming week and check the progress in the following week*", Arjun said.

Arjun emphasised that a quality teacher is the basis of all good teaching. He played a major role in the teacher induction process. "*I teach them the values of GMS in informal ways by helping them in completing his work by the deadlines, by being punctual, by*

being cooperative, by showing respects to seniors, and so many things which we do just by habit or subconsciously”, said Arjun.

Bi-monthly meetings were held regularly to assess the progress of students and the overall performance of GMS and to obtain suggestions from villagers and parents. Villagers and parents were free to express their opinions. *"But Arjun accepts their opinions only if he likes",* said one of the villagers. *"If any parent complains against any teacher Arjun scolds them publicly in the meeting. We don't like it. But we know he will not listen to our opinion",* he added.

The study observed that some of the GMS workers did not like Arjun's extreme emphasis on cooperative attitude and developed a passive attitude towards GMS activities. For example Arjun selected the leader for every team and expected a cooperative (as opposed to authoritarian) attitude from them. The former secretary of GMS and a team leader said, *"Kaku told us to work together. But I observed that it does not work well always. If we depend on everybody's cooperation then nobody comes forward to take the responsibilities and it causes delays".* He cited an example where he took sole initiative for organising an event and being scolded by Arjun for being non-cooperative. *"After that incident I never take any initiative and just follow what the majority says. I'm a follower now, not a team leader",* he remarked.

The study found that he controlled each and every aspect of the GMS activities in the same manner. For example, when a carpenter completed his works his payments would not be made unless Arjun checked that it was done properly. For GMS's annual 'Spring Festival' generally a dance drama is staged. Even two weeks before the performance day the music teacher was not quite sure about the title of the drama to be staged. She said, *"I proposed one, but it actually depends on Kaku"* (personal observation).

His control is often too strong on everything and his criticism is often rude and unconstructive, failing to achieve its aim. Arjun was not unaware of it, *"I admit that I criticize them too much and be rude to them for their faults. But I can't help. It is my experience that only rudeness can break their laziness".*

He networked by using his personal contacts

The study revealed that Arjun networked well to connect with people and improved the stock of resources for GMS. He is a man with good communication skills with people from higher as well as lower socio-economic backgrounds (personal observation).

During this period of his undergraduate education he established a close relationship with the management body of a voluntary organisation, *Lokshiksha Parishad* (LP). Afterwards, Arjun sent GMS workers regularly to undertake various types of training courses from LP. He also invited various experts in the area of agricultural practice from LP to enhance the awareness of the villagers.

As Arjun worked at the state government tax office, he had professional connections with a large number of traders and businessmen. He communicated with some of them clearly about the goals of GMS and its development activities. He invited them to visit GMS at weekends and to spend time with visitors as a spokesperson of GMS. He collected resources from these sources. The study observed that, through one of his contacts, he contacted the founder of the *Kolkata Foundation*, a voluntary organisation which provides funds for development projects for the rural poor. He prepared a project proposal and kept networking over a long period of time by visiting and writing and eventually inviting him to GMS. He eventually received a large amount of funding from this source. Arjun maintained good relationships with the Kolkata Foundation. The researcher found that his English speaking skills made his presence essential during visits by foreign donors. He established and maintained correspondence with these foreign visitors.

He maintained relationships with other voluntary organisations through letters and has established effective working relationships with them. He regularly prepares project proposals for funding and applies to different organisations using his personal computer and Internet. Providing regular evaluation reports to them has been one of his main jobs. He is a literary writer in Bengali and has a few publications of collections of small stories. Therefore he has developed a circle of friends of writers and publishers and obtained a regular flow of funds from them as well. He has developed a good relationship with *Sewa Sadan*, a voluntary organisation in another district in West

Bengal (*Medinipur*) and received regular funds from them. The founder of *Sewa Sadan* is also a writer and a friend of Arjun.

The study also found that some of Arjun's friends (old classmates) who live overseas now provide regular funds to GMS for its different activities. His office colleagues are also sources of various resources. One of his office colleagues runs a professional drama group which performs drama at the villages under GMS's organisation. Villagers watch such performances free.

Arjun lives in a big commercial town near Kolkata and continuously tries to improve his network with the people he meets while working at the office, shopping, banking, traveling, takes every opportunity to explain GMS goals to them. He often invites new contacts to visit GMS if he thinks the person has a philanthropic attitude.

He learned

Arjun is an active learner and has a deep interest for learning. From the very beginning he started his collective action by organizing a text book library. This was his first step for encouraging the villagers in formal education. He was the first university graduate in his village. In addition to reading he learned informally by doing, by dialogue, and by gathering experience from other organisations. He encouraged GMS workers to visit other organisations and the study observed that he enthusiastically gathered information from them when they returned. He applied all his knowledge in managing the organisation. Almost all development activities of GMS came from his ideas. Successful programmes such as the school and the coaching centre were derived from his ideas.

He controlled every aspect of GMS that required learning. He learned from the workers' experience when he set a particular task. During weekends he took a walk round the village to find out how they were keeping. He continuously kept himself busy by networking in order to collect resources for GMS. Liaison with the stakeholders, particularly with donors was an important job. Arjun managed all these activities single-handedly. The study found that Arjun performed his role well and proved to be a man of learning.

5.5 Influence of SEETO's characteristics on social capital

The study found that Arjun's characteristics helped collective actions in several ways. He became a leader formed a bonded relationship with the villagers, and developed the norms of the villagers to follow his instructions that resulted in the dependency of the villagers on him in collective action.

5.5.1 Bonding relationship

By becoming a leader

Arjun earned the generalised trust of the villagers. In the absence of Arjun for about a decade the GMS was almost non-functional – its development activities were stopped. The local leaders were using the GMS and the villagers' resources for their own personal interests, particularly to win political positions. The villagers were against it and stopped supporting GMS activities. Arjun's return to the village made a big difference. He motivated the villagers to restore trust in him. He visited the villages every weekend without exception. He worked hard for the villagers to win the court case so that they could use the pond water. This incident and his refusal to accept money from local political leaders to revive GMS activities added to the trust that the villagers placed in him. The villagers trusted that Arjun would never leave the village.

His consistent and predictable behaviour over the period of two years during the GMS transition made him a trustworthy person to the villagers (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). Thus Arjun increased knowledge based trust in the villagers about him. In knowledge based trust people trust a person based on the knowledge about her/him. Arjun provided that knowledge for over two years. They started having more confidence in him by believing in what he said and following what he prescribed or practiced. He became *Dada* (elder brother), *Kaku* (father's younger brother) or *Jethu* (father's elder brother) to the villagers. They started coming back to the discarded GMS rooms to talk about the organisation and its activities. *“People who join are people who trust the activities. The causation flows mainly from joining to trusting”* (Putnam 1995, p 666). Thus the villagers trusted him by joining him.

But Arjun never trusted the villagers' ability to manage their own organisation. The study found he controlled the organisation single handedly. He encouraged the villagers to participate but took the final decision. The villagers as a group never trusted their potentiality for organizing collective action and depended on Arjun.

He became a leader. The villagers associated with him and approved the values of collective work in which Arjun believed in and supported him with his development activities. He showed his respect for the villagers but never trusted their organisational ability. Thus Arjun could not develop the villagers' trust to each other that help collective action.

By creating norms of following

Evidence emerged from this study that the villagers developed the norms of participation and cooperation in collective action following Arjun's instruction. He took part in every collective action, but Arjun created the norm of making the final decision himself. He controlled every aspect of GMS activities. Most of the villagers followed his ideas and decisions and did not question his credibility. Thus he created norms of following his ideas and instructions.

Arjun encouraged everybody to express their opinions in different meetings such as the meetings of the managing committee of GMS, teachers, parents and villagers' meetings. The environment was free and everybody expressed their views freely (Personal observation). Suggestions were made in the meeting. But it was Arjun's decision which got the final approval and the villagers had to follow this. This practice of following has become the norm or standard of behaviour in GMS.

Arjun encouraged the villagers to take part in every GMS activity, such as constructing the tube-well, organising the spring festival and drama, constructing of the local temple, cleaning the pond, teaching in the primary school and in the coaching centre. Through repetition of annual events Arjun instilled the norm of taking part in collective action. GMS workers, VSK students and teachers (including female teachers), village children, and other interested villagers took part in such performances regularly following his instructions. The villagers, managing committee members and teachers of the school joined the GMS activities with utmost interest and also offered their physical labour,

skills and resources to make each event successful. The children of the primary school cleaned the school campus, took care of the garden and took part in cultural functions. Everything occurred under the instruction of Arjun.

In particular, Arjun created the norm of women's participation in the GMS activities. One woman said, "*In the next year I'll perform in a drama in the primary school*". Thus it has become a norm in the village where even married women take part in the cultural activities - this is not a common practice in the rural context of West Bengal. But the women also said, "*kaku asked us to participate*". So they followed Arjun's instructions.

He instilled the norm of hard work. Arjun worked hard for the GMS and its school to provide quality services. He identified ideas, formulated policies and plans, networked to collect funds and other resources, recruited staff he believed possessed voluntary attitudes and motivated them to adopt the norms and values of GMS therefore taking a major role in providing quality activities. The study found he monitored, became rude, and took action in organisational activities, though not all the villagers were happy with this approach.

He built teams, selected team leaders and formulated general rules for building teams. The team members followed his instruction and the study found they resolved their minor problems and depended on Arjun for resolving major problems. The study found the team leaders developed a passive attitude to make a decision for his team and depended on Arjun to initiate a task. Arjun identified the criteria for the selection of school text books and took the final decision in selecting the text book. He moderated questions and wrote the model questions to be followed by the teachers. He monitored the teacher's progress, and guided the teachers on teaching techniques. He rudely scolded them for not meeting the scheduled work that he had prepared for them. He was always available for GMS workers – either in person or over the telephone. GMS workers and the villagers followed his practice. The practice of working hard to produce quality work, mostly on a voluntary basis has become a norm. The secretary of GMS commented, "*I almost live in the GMS office and work all the time for it except for a few hours for sleeping*". One of the volunteers said, "*I come every day after my office work and do whatever is needed. I love to do it*". As they trusted Arjun and respected his ability to work hard for the villagers, they followed his instructions.

Arjun has introduced norms of discipline and punctuality in GMS by being a man of discipline himself. He scolds GMS workers for failing their time schedules. "*We maintain our deadline of work because it is our rule here*", commented a worker. The researcher herself experienced the punctuality of the auto-rickshaw driver who picked her up from the railway station. "*If Kaku can keep his word for the organisation, we can do it*", was his remark. Thus they followed Arjun.

All these things Arjun did with good intentions. He was quite aware of his rude controlling behaviour. But he believed he needed to follow these behaviours for two reasons - firstly to remove the laziness of the villagers, and secondly to get quality work out of them.

By creating vertical networks

Arjun set up GMS based on his own vision, selected its mission and with his innovative ideas designed development activities which in turn, have increased the villagers' interactions and networks. The villagers found themselves in various activities and thereby in different roles, such as participating in the management committee meetings to discuss problems and to offer suggestions, implementing various development activities of GMS, teaching at VSK and the coaching centre, participating in music/dance school (village girls learn dance and songs in this school), performing in spring festival celebrations, organising sports events, drama performances, religious and social events and trying to resolve village disputes. All these activities and roles have increased interactions among the villagers and increased their networks, but the network is centred on Arjun. It is like one way traffic. As the villagers depend on Arjun for every activity, they do not depend on each other to make decisions; they just have a vertical relationship with Arjun, the leader.

By not sharing the power

Arjun is a believer in the value of sharing good things with others. He tried to motivate the villagers with the values that he practiced in his personal life. Arjun was never a salaried staff member of GMS. He never forgot the villagers while living in the city with a comfortable lifestyle. He has always spent his weekends with the villagers over the last two decades. His sharing attitude motivated the villagers. One of the staff said,

"I have spent most of my working time here in GMS. I can draw and paint. I am a teacher at VSK on a small salary. I want to share my skill with these children like Kaku". But Arjun never shared his power with the villagers; he encouraged the villagers to cooperate. The GMS workers helped the weaker members of their team without any direct or immediate material benefits. They spent time resolving disputes among the villagers without any material gain and said, *"it is our norm, we learned it from Kaku"*. But it is one of the most interesting findings in the study that the GMS workers depended on Arjun to resolve major disputes on GMS activities. In the area of GMS, Arjun remains an undisputable leader. He became their master not a fellow co-worker retaining his control over the GMS workers and villagers. This aspect created a dependent relationship between the villagers and Arjun.

Teachers of VSK depended on him for everything. The selection of text books, exam questions and everything else depended on him. Other activities such as cultural functions were also planned and implemented entirely by Arjun. The teachers of the music school, the study found had no idea which drama was going to be staged, because they depended on Arjun to select it. The GMS workers also said that they took help from Arjun over the telephone during weekdays when Arjun was out of the village. The workers waited to make their comments over the carpenter's finished job until Arjun was reached. The GMS workers did not protest over the local government leader's decision to offer the GMS land to the local *Gajon* group. It was Arjun who came and took the steps to protest the decision. The GMS female teachers expressed that they tried hard to teach in better ways but their quality of teaching was not as good as their *Kaku*. The Head Teacher said, *"Kaku is like our banyan tree. We are working under his shade"*. This statement helped us to identify the workers dependency on Arjun in organising GMS activities.

Thus Arjun could not create social agency or develop the ability of the villagers to act willingly and proactively as a group in collective action. Social agency is an important element of social capital (Onyx & Bullen 2000). Arjun created norms of cooperation and participation with his qualities of hard work, and caring for the needy, but his controlling leadership style has made the villagers dependent on him. He created blind followers which helped the collective action in the GMS villages.

5.5.2 Leader dependent Bridging social capital

Networking by using his personal contacts

Arjun developed relationships with other similar social organisations at the local, national and international levels to obtain additional and better resources. These were bridging relationship or intercommunity ties that have crossed geographical distance and social class. Granovetter (1973), Lin (2005), and Burt (1997) labeled relationships that cross class, ethnicity, religion, gender and social status and as Bridging social capital which bring better resources and economic development of the community. He corresponded with his friends, known families, and organisations through letters, telephone and e-mail or even visits them in person. Where ever he went he explained the goals and activities of the organisation and tried to appeal to their heart. He is a good scholar and has excellent verbal and writing communication skills which help in achieving success in setting new relationships.

To collect resources he maintained his relationship with similar organisations and organised training and information for GMS workers. One of the organisations helped him to organise the annual drama performance in the village, so it was Arjun's network which helped GMS to maintain its development activities. It has been revealed during interviews that attempts of the secretary of GMS to organise a meeting with another organisation using his own contacts, actually failed. The secretary clearly told him that he lacked the capacity to collect resources in the same way that Arjun had. The workers were always dependent on Arjun's network. They could not build relationships with the members of Arjun's network. Thus, Arjun reproduced dependent Bridging social capital.

Though Arjun encouraged the villagers to take the initiative, the villagers never took it upon themselves to do this. They remained passive and dependent on Arjun. The villagers hardly linked or bridged independently with the other groups for a working relationship, or for getting resources.

5.5.3 Leader dependent Linking social capital

Networking by using his social position

Arjun developed contacts with national level organisations such as *Lokshiksha Parisad* in order to obtain free training and resources for GMS. He used his official contacts as well for collecting funds for GMS. Many of his office colleagues supported his activities. *Sewa Sadan*, which is a contact of Arjun's in Medinipur provided regular funding from overseas to GMS. His overseas classmates provided regular funding to GMS. These relationships with other organisations with higher social status and power are called Linking social capital (Woolcock 2001) and proved that Arjun reproduced the Linking social capital. The GMS staff lacked good communication skills, English language skills, and skills of talking knowledgeably with the members of Arjun's network. The villagers depended on him to be linked with the groups of higher social status. Thus Arjun reproduced Linking social capital.

The study provides evidence that Arjun reproduced dependency. The villagers had a limited role to strengthen their independent bonding relationship among themselves and the villagers also depended on Arjun to bridge and link with other groups.

5.6 Development impacts of SEETO's activities

The study found Arjun created the various norms such as cooperation in collective action, generalised reciprocity, hard work and discipline and the norms of controlling the organisation. It was found that these norms have had an enormous developmental impact on the villagers' lives. Firstly, these norms have helped the villagers to become more cooperative, hard working and disciplined social workers and the blind followers of Arjun. Secondly, these norms have helped to change the villagers' lives, or in other words these norms have helped to bring social change in the villages.

5.6.1 Disempowerment of the villagers

The study found Arjun developed the norms of controlling the organisation and making final decisions in the collective actions, so the villagers became blind village workers. But the social mission of Arjun was to make them more self-confident or self-reliant social workers who could make decisions as a group, independent of their leaders.

However, the intellectual and other qualities of Arjun are mentionable. He is hard working, knowledgeable, disciplined, and caring. The villagers also followed some of those qualities; so Arjun changed the various social practices and attitudes of the villagers. Arjun changed the villagers' passive attitude in the collective actions and made them cooperative, but he remained in a controlling position and never shared his power with the villagers. This aspect made the villagers dependent on him and they never developed the skills and confidence which is necessary for making decisions as a group. The downside of this aspect was the villagers felt disempowered and dependent. The study found on various occasions the villagers expressed their inability to achieve any goal without the support of Arjun. They always followed the instruction of Arjun and never made any decision as a group independent of him.

Self-reliance is the source of power as Rahman (1990) argues, so the dependent villagers became a powerless group. They hesitated in making decisions. The present study found Arjun punished a villager for making a decision without consulting others, or being un-cooperative on one occasion. The punishment made the villagers passive in the decision-making process, even collectively. The fact remained as a precedent in the organisation and as a result nobody made any decision on their own. Arjun created the environment and never clarified with them that they could make decisions collectively. The study found Arjun followed this attitude and hardly accepted other's opinions.

The upside of becoming blind followers of Arjun was that the villagers developed other norms which helped to perform collective actions. The villagers were lazy, uneducated, undisciplined, and un-cooperative which possibly could be considered as some of the blocking factors in their ability to take development initiatives. Arjun made these villagers active, hard working, cooperative, disciplined and dependent. These norms helped Arjun to develop an environment where he could take and implement his innovative ideas without any challenge, changing the villagers' lives for the better. The villagers followed him blindly which disempowered them. Empowered persons are considered one of the important factors in reducing poverty according to the World Bank (2001) report. However the study found these disempowered villagers helped Arjun to bring about change in their lives and helped in reducing their poverty.

5.6.2 Village development under the leader's control

The study found the socio-economic conditions of the villages were poor when Arjun initiated development activities. There was a scarcity of basic services in the area of health, education and income. Arjun took on various village development programmes in health, education, and income generation as his social mission. His main goal was to achieve the mission related impacts of what Dees (1998) believed is a common characteristic of a social entrepreneur, but all of his programmes were not successful. One of the successful programmes was the savings and credit scheme where the rules and regulations were simple and without any paperwork. The villagers could withdraw their money during an emergency at any time of the day or night. It developed the villager's life to some great extent as told by the accountant of GMS, but the State government regulation in 2000 prohibited the voluntary organisation from running any banking activities without being associated with a registered banking institution. GMS was not linked to any such bank, so Arjun discontinued the programme.

At present GMS runs a quality formal primary school and evening coaching classes - each for primary and secondary school students. It has earned local fame for providing quality primary education. It runs other economic and environmental programmes, preservation and promotion of local culture, health programmes, a music school and a small scale library.

The study found that Arjun worked hard and controlled every aspect of these programmes single handedly. The villagers participated, cooperated, and followed the instructions of Arjun in these development activities and brought development to the villagers' lives.

Provision of Quality Education

The children found no interest in attending the government primary school in the village where GMS operates; therefore Thus the rate of primary enrolment was quite low in these villages. Since its inception in 1992 in VSK, the primary school of GMS, the number of students has increased from 12 to 276 in 2005. This is the result of children enjoying their school work and its activities.

Various services and programmes have been offered under the banner of the school such as *Brotochari* (physical exercise with songs), sports, drawing, educational and cultural tours, and coaching centres for primary and secondary students. All students receive a free uniform and free books and for the better students scholarships to cover admission and tuition fees. The study found it has changed their social lives.

The students of VSK are academically better than their counterparts from public primary schools.

“A student of grade 1 of VSK can read the Bengali script of any sort and can reproduce it verbally and in written form which is beyond the capacity of a public school student of that grade said a parent of a VSK student” said one of the parents. *“VSK primary students can answer any question from their texts and their success in the entrance test of well known high schools is almost assured”*, said another parent.

They have been taught to work for the school community by cleaning the premises, planting trees, caring for the school garden and cleaning roads around the school.

“It has a good impact on their life style. They are spending more time in school related activities than their counterparts from public schools. Initially they were dropped out students and the girls used to help their mother in household activities and the boys remained engaged in the agricultural field. They had no childhood activities and enjoyments. Now they enjoy the school activities”, said one of the villagers.

After the ‘Spring Festival’ the VSK students cleaned the compound very enthusiastically. *“These activities express their feelings about school. They love their school”*, said a villager. These activities are very uncommon among public school students. The absenteeism and dropout rates are low in this school.

VSK students attend dance, drama, art and sports classes, taking part in educational tours to other village schools. The educational tour has widened their mobility and exposure to different sources of knowledge. In the last educational tour a student from grade three went to visit an art exhibition organised by Ramakrishna Mission. *“I know red and white colour makes pink”*, said a student of grade three. *“I drew a pink flower”*

- he gathered this knowledge from this art exhibition. *“I like touring other places than school study and wait for the next”*, said a girl student of grade 2. *“An educational tour is not a common thing in the government school. So our children are lucky that they got opportunities to make a tour”*, said a parent.

The students of VSK never returned without success in academic, cultural or sports competitions organized among the schools in the region. *“They are proud of their school and work hard in the contest to win”*, said the art teacher of VSK.

Decrease in the numbers of students dropping out of high school

“Although VSK students generally perform well at the beginning of their high school studies, many of them had to discontinue their studies subsequently due to the lack of financial and other study-related resources”, said one of the villagers. In addition to classroom teaching, most of the students from these villages need coaching and guidance to continue their studies. They are mostly first generation formal students from their respective families and there is no one at home capable of providing further support. There is no coaching centre in the villages. The high school students have to travel 15 km to attend a coaching centre incurring coaching centre’s fees and travelling costs. Being unable to afford these costs students discontinue their high school studies. In order to reduce the drop-out rate GMS has subsequently started morning and night free coaching centres for high school and primary students. As a direct consequence, the number of school drop-outs has come down in recent years.

One of the parents of the coaching centre students mentioned, *“high school students from these villages can now avoid the travelling to the sub-divisional town (Dakshin Barasat) to attend coaching classes”*. The GMS coaching centre has particularly benefited the female students. *Dakshin Barasat* is about 15 km distance from these two villages. One can travel by bicycle if he/she has one. Otherwise, even for this distance they have to use two modes of transport – ‘van rickshaw’ and ‘auto rickshaw’ – which takes about 30 minutes in the dry season (much more during the monsoon months due to unsealed and muddy roads). The return journey costs about Rs. 24. It was equally difficult for a student from these villages either to afford Rs. 24 a day or to buy a bicycle. *“The GMS coaching centre has saved time and money for my daughter”*, said the parent of another coaching centre student.

Provision of quality entertainment

The spring festival, drama and other cultural functions of GMS draws crowds from distant villages. During the cultural function all transport from the adjacent rail station, *Dakshin Barasat* to surrounding villages remains closed as all the drivers attend the function. The villagers, thousands in number, enjoy the events immensely. They remain awake the whole night to view the GMS drama although they know they have to start work early the next morning. Being a daily labourer they could not afford a few hours sleep in the early morning. “*Here lies our success*”, said one of the GMS volunteers who cook for the performers of GMS. GMS has been able to provide healthy entertainment to the villagers.

The school, the coaching centre, and the entertainment have increased the positive feelings of the village children and their parents. In other words it has increased the well being of the villagers which is an important factor for development as Chambers (1997) argues.

Creation of quality local employment

The VSK has offered 11 employment positions to graduates who were living in the village and unemployed. It has helped the graduates to live in the village rather than migrating to the cities. At present VSK employs 12 teachers including 6 women. Employment conditions in remote villages like *Khejurtala* and *Bapulir Chawk* are difficult, particularly for women. The school graduates were required to move out of the village in order to find work. “*Some of them have now found jobs at VSK – this prevents skill migration from these villages*”, said one of the villagers. So the school has increased its economic productivity of the villagers and brought development (Chambers 1997).

Thus the study found Arjun created norms of hard working, disciplined, cooperative village workers who are blind followers of Arjun. Arjun controlled the organisation, initiated and implemented various development programmes and with the help of village workers changed their social and economic lives for the better.

The negative side of Arjun's activities is that he has disempowered the villagers which have some negative impact on the sustainability of the organisation.

5.7 Implications of SEETO's characteristics on organisational sustainability

The study observed that Arjun developed bonding relationships with the villagers and instilled the norms of following his instructions in a collective action that created dependency. Thus he created dependent Bridging social capital by connecting other voluntary organisations and philanthropic individuals using his personal contacts and communication skills. The Bridging social capital provided resources such as entertainment and skill to the GMS workers and funding to the organisation ensuring the development of human and economic capital. As a writer he acted as a link to a writers' group, his overseas friends, and organised a regular flow of funds – thus, ensuring economic capital and development on Linking social capital. The study found his contacts were the only sources of funding for GMS. This raised the question as to whether the workers of GMS would be able to maintain and strengthen the existing social capital that Arjun has initiated, in order to sustain the organisation after his withdrawal. In other words, it is important to assess whether the GMS workers have the ability to sustain the organisation without Arjun.

The sustainability requires the GMS's workers to learn organisational activities. In other words the GMS workers need to take part in management tasks, and the villagers need to be engaged in the decision making process (Rahman 1990). A sustainable organisation requires local contributions to funding (Uphoff et al. 1998) and should be a learning organisation (Korten 1980).

The study found the workers of GMS hardly took part in the management of GMS independent of Arjun. The villagers also had a limited voice in making decisions about collective actions because Arjun made the final decisions. The study found he had consulted with the villagers and other managing committee members to make decisions, but most of the time he made his own decisions. It might be that the quality of his decisions was better than the villagers as he was a better qualified person, but these aspects put the organisation at risk of becoming unsustainable.

It was found the primary school VSK was earning money from student fees in order to meet operational costs, but for other costs it has to depend on the general fund where GMS depend on Arjun. Therefore regarding the local's contribution to the organisation it will also be at risk if Arjun withdraws.

Analysis is required to see whether GMS is a learning organisation, as this is one of the requirements of a sustainable organisation. Learning organisations remain engaged in the learning process. The process offers innovation by gathering and analyzing data, finding corrective measures which are contextual, applying the corrective measures to practice and then sharing this knowledge. Continual innovation helps organisations to be sustainable (Uphoff et al. 1998). Data collecting sources can be formal and informal (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Formal education and training, institutional learning such as consensus in meetings, dialogue and personal experience, research and evaluation systems, published data and documentation can be the sources of formal and informal information. The present study found that Arjun is engaged in a continuous learning process in order to be innovative. Most of the staff and volunteers just follow Arjun's instructions. They are engaged in the learning process only when they are instructed by Arjun.

Collecting data to identify a problem is the beginning of the learning process. It can be found from personal experience as well (Smillie & Hailey 2001). The study provided evidence that Arjun innovated most of the ideas in GMS. This kept him engaged in learning. He innovated the idea of a quality school when he was preparing his son for an entrance test at a well known school. He studied the school's text books and study materials, past question papers, co-curriculum activities in detail, and talked to the principal to find out what made the school so good. He then applied the idea of establishing a quality primary school in his village.

The selection committee members assessed the text books according to certain criteria. He is a learned man with a higher level of knowledge than the other selection committee members. The members of the selection committee assigned high importance to Arjun's selection. The whole selection process implied that he remained engaged in the learning process by collecting information about availability of text books, and analysing their qualities using his self-prepared criteria. Other members were acting as his support

only. Arjun played the main role in connecting with the publishers. Here again the other members had little connection with the publishers.

He also prepared quality exam questions. He set model questions and asked other teachers to follow. In the process of setting questions, he contacted and personally visited several well known schools establishing networks with these schools. Here also the others in the organisation did not play a role.

One of Arjun's important jobs was to organise funding. It can be hard job to motivate people to make donations. Therefore before approaching a prospective donor he must collect information about the person's attitude towards philanthropy, his financial abilities, and then only after carrying out this research should he make an approach. During the approach he continuously judged the prospective donors their nature and decided whether to continue with the approach or not. Thus he remained engaged in a learning process to network with potential donors. No other person in GMS other than he has collected any funds so far. The Head Teacher said, "*I do not have the ability to convince a person to donate. I tried many times, but failed*".

This passive attitude of the other GMS workers may have been the result of Arjun's single handed control over its activities. He identifies problems and weaknesses of teachers and suggests corrective measures. He has recruited staff by judging their voluntary attitudes and cooperative spirit. In meetings with villagers he always makes the final decision. He selects potential donors, networks with them, and then explains and convinces them of the merits of GMS activities. He writes funding applications and evaluation reports (if funds were used). No other GMS worker has the ability to successfully undertake these tasks. The controlling environment has also shown his deep engagement in the learning process, but at the same time, has created a passive attitude among the GMS workers and prevented them from engaging in the learning process and taking the initiative to acquire new ideas and establish relationships. Thus, Arjun could not create a learning organisation.

As it appears, most of the staff blindly follows Arjun. The managing committee has become a sort of 'rubber-stamp' for Arjun's actions. He does consult with other members of the managing committee, but it is his decision only whether to accept their

suggestions or not. This is one of the reasons why most of the staff just follow him and take no separate initiatives. His strict controlling style of management and leadership along with his less than constructive criticism have created an environment where nobody expresses their opinion freely. The study found that some of the villagers do not like his controlling approach, although these were small in number.

Arjun's strong control over all organisational activities, his inability to accept opinions except his own, his solo effort to collect funds have made all of the other workers merely followers, not learners. Staff of GMS and the villagers seldom apply their curiosity and powers of analysis to solve problems. GMS workers commented, "*We consult him over the telephone when we face a problem*" or "*We wait till he comes during the weekend*". All these comments proved that Arjun hardly created a learning environment in the organisation where most of them remained curious and engaged in the learning process to be innovative. This aspect has hindered the ability of the workers to develop new Bridging and Linking relationships.

Arjun has established an organisation which is not a learning organisation. Here the locals are not taking part in management tasks, there is no mass participation in decision making processes and they depend on him alone to make decisions in collective action.

The GMS workers have cooperated with each other, resolved their major disputes, participated in GMS activities and taught in the school under the instruction of their leader. They have limited ability or social agency or social capital to take part in the collective action without their leader. This aspect also implies they have limited skill or intelligence or human capital. Again they need economic capital or funding to run GMS. To get economic capital they need to bridge with other new groups which in turn, need knowledge or human capital which is not abundant among the GMS workers. Social capital, human capital, and economic capital are all needed to sustain any development (Dale 2001). Thus, the GMS workers are not in a position to sustain their current development activities.

5.8 Discussion

The study found that the SEETO (Arjun) produced dependency in the villagers. His social position, beliefs, qualities and organisational activities made him a leader and bonded the villagers with him. His social position and personal networks acted as 'social oil' to obtain resources and funds from other similar and higher status groups to maintain GMS activities. The villagers were relatively inactive. The villagers depended on him for bridging and linking with other groups. These villagers had no connection with these groups; therefore, he reproduced *dependent* Bridging and Linking social capital. Arjun developed the villagers' lives for the better; however he controlled every aspect of GMS activities. His leadership style as a controller risked the sustainability of the organisation.

It has been found the socio-economic context of the villages was plagued by multidimensional poverty when Arjun started GMS. Sole dependence on the agricultural activities with tiny plots of land made the villagers income poor. Lower levels of literacy and non-availability of basic civic amenities such as schools, electricity, roads and transportation made non-agricultural activities unsustainable in the villages. This resulted in a lack of employment opportunities in non-agricultural areas. The GMS villagers were trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty without taking the required initiatives to change their situation.

Arjun came forward as a rescuer and over time he changed the villagers' lives for the better. He possessed several characteristics of social entrepreneurs such as vision for a better world (Bornstein 2007), innovative ideas, motivation for sharing good things with others (Mawson 2007), hard work (Swami 1990), a caring nature (Mawson 2007), discipline (Thompson et al. 2000), and an aptitude for learning (Dees 1998). In addition to these characteristics, he is a man of strong belief who underwent personal hardships and incurred personal costs to see his vision become a reality. He believed that only cooperative, hard working, disciplined and caring village workers, or self-confident village workers can develop a community.

The most important characteristic of Arjun is his 'sharing with the villagers' attitude that acted as a driver for his social mission. He was a good student and the first high school

graduate in his village. After his high school graduation he started a small text book library for young village students to help them in their studies. This incident highlights his sharing attitude. While studying in a boarding college he tasted the life of affluence far from his village. Being motivated by his vision of sharing good things with the villagers he established a non-profit organisation, GMS with a social purpose - to develop the villagers' physical, economic and moral life. This is also an attitude of sharing and identified him as a social entrepreneur. The organisation continued its activities until Arjun was directly managing it.

Arjun came back to the village after almost a decade and re-established his trust based relationship with the villagers who had lost their trust in other local leaders. He revived the trust of the villagers in himself and GMS. He changed the situation and proved his capacity to solve some problems in the village by his innovative ideas and quality.

Arjun developed a strong or thick trust but, at the same time, controlled GMS's activities single handedly. In other words he earned the trust of the villagers, but in turn he was not able to place that trust back into the villagers. There is a wide difference in the quality of the relationship between him and the other workers. Arjun is a writer and a knowledgeable person with exposure to the outside world, where other workers have limited knowledge, exposure and experience of the outside world. To achieve the goal of providing quality services Arjun believed that he needed to take firm control of the workers. He took a controlling leadership style.

The study observed that Arjun's control did not undermine his relationship with the villagers in general, except in a few cases. The villagers supported him and Arjun always made the final decision. The villagers depended on him for all major decisions, therefore Arjun created dependency rather than organisational ability or social agency in the villagers. He made the villagers powerless with his controlling management and leadership style.

Arjun created dependent Bridging and Linking social capital. It was his personal connection and contact that collected resources and funds for GMS. He used his personal networks as a writer to build new relationships with other groups and used his communication skills to convey the message correctly to visitors, creating Bridging

social capital. Thus, it was Arjun's personal contact with the various groups that provided resources and information for GMS. The GMS workers only used the benefit of those connections and did not build any further relationship with these and other groups; therefore he created *dependent* Bridging social capital

His social position enabled him to access contacts with financial and other resources, and information. GMS is not a part of any large group of organisations from which it can draw resources. It occasionally receives free training and information from LP which is also through Arjun's contact. His friends from overseas and the writing circle are regular donors to GMS. Thus he created the stock of Linking social capital. The villagers depended on Arjun to be linked with these higher social groups and created *dependent* Linking social capital.

The villagers have shown their inability to maintain relationships with these groups. They have little ability to talk knowledgeably or to speak English with foreign visitors, and they have little ability to convince other similar organisations to exchange ideas and resources.

The leadership style brought development to the village in terms of providing a quality primary school, a quality coaching centre, quality entertainment, and clean drinking water. All these development brought a social change in the villagers' life and provide some reasons to believe that he is a social entrepreneur with a controlling leadership style. He is a benevolent dictator.

The implication of Arjun's leadership approach has impacted on organisational sustainability. The study found that the implications of Arjun's activities for organisational sustainability could place GMS in jeopardy when he leaves. Continuing the development process is an important aspect of sustainability (Viswanath 1995). Organisations require social, human and financial capital to continue its ongoing development process (Dale 2001; Onyx & Leonard 2007). Sustainable organisations need the participation of locals to be engaged in the management task, in the decision making process, the contribution of local resources to the fund, and a learning organisation. To make GMS sustainable and independent of Arjun, the workers require much higher levels of human capital or knowledge to take responsibility in managing

their own organisation. Knowledge comes from learning; therefore to sustain GMS the workers need to be engaged in the learning process in a more comprehensive manner. Most of the time Arjun remained engaged in the learning process to develop new ideas and to make final decisions whereas the workers had a limited role in the process. As a result, Arjun apparently could not create a learning organisation.

Lack of human capital or intelligence acted as a major obstacle to developing social agency. Lack of intelligence also prohibited them from bridging and linking with other groups to collect funds or financial capital, so GMS has not been a learning organisation where the workers could develop their social agency. Again Arjun's leadership style has put GMS at risk.

The study highlights the characteristics of Arjun in three different parts covering his social position, social mission, qualities and activities. He is a professional and a writer. He took on a social mission driven by his vision and belief. His vision was to share his better life with the villagers therefore taking a mission of village development to offer them this opportunity. He believed that a confident social worker with hard work and a cooperative attitude could achieve these goals. So he took on the mission of making the villager a confident village worker. He has the qualities of hard work, caring for the needy, and of discipline. He earns trust and respect from leadership qualities. His handling of the court case proved his knowledge of practical issues. His high ranking position in government and his skill as a writer indicates that he has a range of professional skills.

He innovated and learned, used his personal contacts to collect resources for GMS, and encouraged the villagers to cooperate and participate. But he controlled every aspect of GMS and took the final decision. He used a controlling leadership style. Table 5.1 summarizes the characteristics of Arjun as SEETO and the outcomes.

Table 5.1
Characteristics and outcomes of social entrepreneur
SEETO – GMS

<i>Characteristics</i>	
Social mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arjun took a social mission to achieve his goal of village development believing that only cooperative, hard working, disciplined, and confident village workers could achieve this mission
Background and social position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEETO, he is a writer and professional
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He earned trust, loved and cared for the villagers and maintained discipline • He innovated • He promoted cooperation and participation of the villagers in collective action • He controlled and made final decisions • He networked using his personal contacts • He learnt
Leadership style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlling and final decision making, but also benevolent
<i>Outcome</i>	
Impact on social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instilled the norm of following and dependence on the leader • Reproduced dependent Bridging and Linking social capital
Impact on development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disempowered the villagers • Brought well being and productivity
Implication for organisational sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could not create a learning organisation and the locals have not learnt to take responsibility for managing their organisation • Sustainability is at risk

Chapter 6

Case Study 3: Daria Gramunnayan Sangho (DGS)

6.1 Introduction

Daria Gramunnayan Sangho (DGS), the third case study organisation in this research, is located in South 24 Parganas district in West Bengal, India. It has operated in four small villages since 1972 engaging in collective actions using social capital. Total population of these four villages was about 4,000 persons in 2000. The majority of the villagers were income poor farmers belonging to the lower social strata. (DGS 2005)

Since its inception DGS had suffered several major setbacks. The Social Entrepreneur External to Organisation (SEETO) in the study strengthened the organisation with his various qualities to improve the villager's condition. He designed various development programs in the areas of education, income and health. Some of these have performed better than others. The micro-credit programme administered via a Self-help group has brought significant socio-economic changes among the villagers.

6.2 Socio-economic context

Daria Gramunnayan Sangho (DGS) is located in a remote village, *Daria* in Joynagar block in the South 24 Parganas district. The operational area is situated on the fringes of *Sundarban*, the famous National Forest for Royal Bengal Tigers in West Bengal. Although the village is at a distance of only 60 km from the metropolitan city of *Kolkata* and about 15 km from the nearest market town, *Dakshin Barasat*, no tangible development has taken place in this area.

The socio-economic context of the villages where DGS operates has the same characteristics as in most of the villages of South 24 Parganas district. Agriculture remains the main source of livelihood for the villagers where the average landholding

size is small (below 0.33 acres). Most of the villagers inherited small plots of land, a hut and a small pond. The pond is usually small and shallow and cannot provide enough water during the dry season. The climate is unpredictable and prone to drought and untimely heavy rains. Irrigation facilities are rare. As a result, the villagers mostly earn a subsistence level of income.

Non-agricultural activities in the villages are limited. Some of the villagers use mud and traditional techniques to build pots. *Shola*, a thick local grass is often used for making handicrafts and toys on a small scale. Production is targeted at the local market where prices remain low. Thus, "*these non-agricultural activities bring small income*", said the president of DGS.

The literacy rate in the villages was approximately 50 per cent for men in 2001, which was below district (79.2%) and state (77.6%) averages (GOI 2001). Literacy rate for women is even lower. Most of the women are engaged in some form of economic activity. A number of women roll *bidi* or county cigars to supplement the family income. They work more than 10 hours a day rolling thousands of *bidis* to earn a small income. Running such a business, even on this small scale, requires taking out a loan, either from the local money lenders or from the *bidi* shop owners at high interest rates to buy raw materials such as tobacco leaves. Mostly the *bidi* shop owners supply tobacco leaves to the women at a higher cost. "*The shop owners sold to us the raw materials at higher prices and we had little surplus left from our total wages after paying the material cost*", said one of the *bidi* rolling business-women.

The four villages where DGS operates have no electricity, no primary health care centre, no constructed latrines, or clean drinking water. The villages are connected to the town with mud built roads that often become impassable during the rainy season. The closest town with basic facilities (health care centre, bank) is 5 kilometres away. In such a socio-economic context, the DGS organisers started their activities to develop the lives of the villagers.

6.3 Overview of DGS

DGS was established as a social club in 1972 by a group of local young people for organising sports and cultural events at the local level and to act as a common meeting place for them. The villagers gave full support to the clubs activities. They contributed their time and labor to construct playgrounds and a small room for the club.

DGS started its development activities in 1990 under the initiative of the present secretary (DGS 2007). The activities were halted for some time due to a financial crisis. The secretary met a project consultant, Sen, who was not a resident of the villages. Under the guidance of Sen the development activities started again in 1997. The main objectives of DGS development programs are all-round development of poor villagers including social, economic and physical aspects of life. To achieve these objectives it undertakes various development programs in the area of agriculture, education and training, health, environment and social awareness issues. Micro-credit and pond excavation are examples of two of its successful development programs. The formation of a Self-help group is the main strategy used to select local beneficiaries for loans and other services. The annual turnover of the Self-help programmes was approximately Rs. 1.2 million in 2006.

DGS is managed by four paid staff, and many local villagers work as unpaid volunteers and advisors. DGS depends on private and government sources for funding of its operations and development activities. Sen takes the main initiative in collecting funds. Most of the funding sources are neither regular nor based on any long-term commitments. Under Sen's initiatives DGS started a micro credit (savings and credit) programme through the formation of Self-help groups to organise the villagers own funds. By mid-2007, DGS established 50 Self-help groups with more than 500 members; half of them are women. Its future plan is to undertake a multi-tasked multi-million rupee programme involving activities such as prawn farming, pond excavation and fruit cultivation, in collaboration with other voluntary organisations in the region.

Performance of DGS

The study found the performance of DGS had been effective. *"The two development programs such as micro-credit programme and the pond excavation programme achieved the goals"*, said the local school teacher.

The Rotary Club of Kolkata and 'Indian Express', one of the daily English local newspapers had prominently covered the story.

The Indian Express reported, *"It has improved the economic social and physical life of the villagers. They are running small businesses such as vegetable farming, cigar rolling, poultry and duck-farming and selling puff rice in the market which has improved their lives."* (cited in DGS 2005) (see photo D.9 in Appendix D)

The Bulletin of the Rotary Club of Kolkata reported, *"It is not only the physical increment of income – the project helped the locals to hope for a better future in their lives - here lies the success of the project. It is a fact that the project helped the villagers to hope for a better future"* (Kolay 2006).

Sen explained it further:

"The British High Commissioner asked one of the villagers – 'what will you do with all this increased income. Would you like to lend money to the villagers with a higher interest rate?' The villager replied – 'I'll buy a motor pump to irrigate my land'. The High Commissioner asked again – 'that will also help to increase your income –how would you use the money?' The villager said – 'I'm dreaming to buy a power tiller'."

The answers reflected their hopes for a better future.

Infrastructural development is another area of success for DGS. The construction of sanitary latrines and deep-tube wells for drinking water helped to minimise water borne diseases.

The study identified Sen as SEETO who is a non-resident and non-member to the organisation, but played a major role to strengthen DGS. Sen has been involved in the management of the organisation since 1997 and has been performing an important role and influencing the organisations success by achieving some of its goals. The current

secretary of DGS met him. The following section describes this situation and how he met Sen.

The secretary of DGS

In the early years, the DGS secretary was a poor local farmer with little education. He was the only full-time paid worker for the club. Once the organisers of DGS decided to turn the club into a voluntary organisation, the DGE secretary contacted a national NGO through a 'broker' and was able to obtain government funding to start a health clinic. The broker received a commission for his work ('cut' in local terminology). He also contacted the registration office in Kolkata to change the status of DGS to a voluntary development organisation. The office advised him to contact Sen, director of a project consultancy firm in Kolkata to help provide assistance in the process. Sen helped the DGS secretary without any charge to change the status of the social club into an organisation with the correct status to undertake development activities. Subsequently DGS started its first development with the help of Sen. Sen has maintained close contact with DGS since then and become involved in its development activities more and more.

6.4 Social Entrepreneur External to Organisation (SEETO)

6.4.1 About SEETO

The study identified Sen as SEETO in DGS who is a non-resident of the DGS villages, and not a member of its managing committee. He is not a recipient of any financial benefit from DGS. He also belongs to higher social strata. He holds a law degree, is a retired state government employee and part-time management academic. Presently he is working as a professional project consultant in Kolkata. Since 1997 Sen has helped DGS to obtain funds and develop other management activities. He has maintained a deep involvement with DGS management activities since then.

Economically Sen seems to be quite affluent. He earns well from his project consultancy business and also receives a good pension from his previous job with the state government. In the past, he was associated with the management of several large voluntary organisations. Even now he is involved with a few voluntary organisations as an advisor, but his primary involvement is with DGS. He offered his ideas to formulate DGS policies, designed the development projects, collected funds, and established

networks with governments and donors. He acted as a spokesperson for DGS and an interpreter for foreign visitors during their visits, developed and maintained an accounting system for DGS, and prepared evaluation reports for donors and maintained contacts with all stakeholders.

Sen's future plan is to develop bigger projects for DGS in collaboration with other organisations in order to ensure long-term sustainability. The main targeted areas include prawn cultivation, pond excavation and fruit tree planting. DGS plans to export prawns and fruit to international markets as well. Sen has already collected information about the project and applied for funding from a British foundation. During the interviews in 2007, Sen mentioned, *"we have been short listed. The project will make the organisation economically sustainable if we get the funds and DGS won't have to look further for any outside funds for its projects"*. Subsequently, at the beginning of 2008, the researcher was informed that DGS was successful in obtaining funds for this ambitious project.

6.4.2 Characteristics of SEETO

He took a social mission

The study found that Sen believed in certain values. For example, he believed that somebody should help the villagers to improve their socio-economic situation. This help should be guided by the spirit of service to the poor without any self-interest. He believed that persons with a spirit of service, hard-work, knowledge in local problems and resources, and motivated by cooperative values could help the villagers effectively.

He practiced these values in his own life as well. He has been a professional throughout his life, but, at the same time, he has always helped small voluntary organisations with his suggestions and provided advice without charging fees. According to Sen:

"My professional fee for consultation is thousands of rupees per hour and I charge about one hundred thousand rupees to write a complete project proposal. Small rural voluntary organisation can't afford this. They won't be able to undertake any development project if they have to give me consultation and project proposal fees at my rates. Some of these small rural organisations sincerely want to improve the condition of the villagers and they are needy, so I

don't charge from them. DGS is one such organisation. In fact, I spent my own money visiting various places for DGS activities. I do it out of passion. I want these people to run their organisations to improve their condition - if we do not help them who will do it?"

Sen is retired and aged in his mid-seventies with some health related problems. The researcher personally observed that on most weekends he visited the DGS villages. This involved travelling for four to five hours from his residence in Kolkata. He even visited the villages within a month of his eye operation when he was not fully cured (personal observation).

Sen is also an academic. He regularly delivers lectures on cooperative management issues at the universities in Kolkata. As he stated:

"Theory of management covers six types of 'M'. In our country the first M stands for motivation. The organisers of cooperatives should be motivated first. In our country the cooperative movement fails due to lack of motivated organisers, as I experienced in my work. The government has not taken any initiative to create motivation among the organizers. It only provided funding. We lack motivated workers very much".

He believes that small organisations need help from the outside; therefore, his vision is to help small organisations that include village workers who are hard working, honest and motivated with cooperative values. Many voluntary organisations visit him for project consultation, particularly seeking help on how to register a voluntary organisation, how to write project proposals for funding applications, how to complete various application forms and to get information on legal requirements for running a voluntary organisation. Sen always takes initiatives to motivate these organisers by explaining clearly the value of cooperation, its benefit to society, and the benefits of using local resources at every stage of the development project. He advised them to start with small amounts of government funding for voluntary activities. *"Start with the construction of a culvert or by cleaning a village pond with the money to learn collective actions"*, was his usual advice to the fund applicants.

Sen met the present DGS secretary in his consultancy office. Sen said,

"I found the DGS secretary as a person with potential to be a motivated village worker. He is an honest and hardworking person with local knowledge who can think and express the local problem clearly and who has knowledge of local resources. So I started motivating him with the cooperative values".

In due course, the DGS secretary proved his motivation and Sen agreed to help DGS, in taking a mission of all round development of DGS villagers.

He earned the trust of the villagers

Sen continued his relationship with DGS through the Secretary who was at this stage managing the health clinic activities. The secretary consulted Sen whenever he faced any problem in managing the clinic. *"Mr. Sen used to give me management related advice for the health clinic and afterwards he has become 'all in all' in DGS"*, said the secretary.

DGS had to discontinue its health clinic after a period of time as the source of funding (from an NGO) stopped. DGS faced financial crisis at that point in time, even to survive. The DGS secretary travelled to Delhi, the national capital to talk to the Welfare Minister for funding, but did not succeed. The DGS secretary then contacted Sen in 1997 and asked his help to negotiate with the NGO to continue with the funding. Sen negotiated with the NGO and convinced them of the negative impacts of discontinuing funding for the health clinic patients. Sen convinced the NGO to continue funding for a further four years. After four years, in 2001 the NGO stopped the funding again and the health clinic operation was discontinued.

The DGS secretary maintained contact with Sen - visited him regularly and asked his help to collect new funds to revive DGS activities. Sen asked him to identify the local problems and to utilise local resources rather than depending solely on outside funds to revive and sustain the organisation (interview with Sen). At the same time, Sen took initiatives to collect funds for DGS. He visited the village meeting the villagers, and collected information about local problems and the availability of resources. On that basis he prepared a project proposal for obtaining a grant from the National Horticultural Development Board, a government agency. The project proposal covered two areas of activity - tailoring and embroidery training for the local women, and the distribution of fruit plants to the local people. The proposal was accepted and DGS

received funding once again to start these project activities. DGS started its activities again in 2001 under the guidance of Sen. *"He knows magic! He is a man of inhuman skill when it comes to collecting funds"*, said the president. Since then Sen was seen as trustworthy and reliable according to the DGS members and other villagers (Interview - DGS secretary).

He started visiting the village almost every weekend. He took full responsibility for collecting funds and setting up an accounting system for DGS. He became the spokesperson of DGS to the donors and other external stakeholders. Funds started flowing due to Sen's skill as a communicator. Funds have been used to construct brick-built roads, latrines and deep tube-wells. A crèche (pre-school) was also started for the children under five years of age. The DGS workers accepted him as their leader and often asked him for advice, suggestions and direction.

Subsequently Sen gave the DGS secretary access to his own computer and a list of contacts so that he could contact other donors independently. On his own initiative the secretary collected some small funds and started forming Self-help groups.

He innovated and designed plans based on local resources

Sen convinced DGS members to collect their own funds for sustainability of the Organisation. He motivated the locals to initiate Self-help groups by explaining cooperative principles and their benefit to the community.

Sen designed various development projects by collecting information from the secretary and also by visiting and talking to the villagers. He said, *"if you impose a development activity from outside it can't be successful and sustainable. Every development project of DGS which I designed is achieving the goal. Why? - because these are primarily based on local needs and resources"*. He designed the fruit plant distribution project after assessing the village environment and talking to the locals. Sen said:

"I noticed that the region is well known for growing fruits but in the village they do not have fruit plants. The villagers used to buy fruits from the owners of trees and used to earn small incomes by selling them at the market. They don't even consume those fruits. Thus, I got the idea of distributing fruit plants to the farmers free of cost. In every development project the villagers contributed their

physical labour. If they don't participate they don't have the feelings of ownership. If they don't have the ownership feeling they will not care and maintain the asset and the programme will not sustain."

Sen motivated the villagers to undertake the Micro-credit programme through Self-help groups. He provided free help in handling the official process of initiating the program. The group members saved money and were able to take out loans from their own group savings to meet their monetary requirements without depending on outside sources. It also ensured the use of local resources in development programs.

Under the micro-credit program, local people (both women and men) form groups, each comprising up to ten persons. They save a minimum of Rs. 30 per month and deposit their savings with the DGS for six months, then they are eligible to get credit of up to seven times of their savings amount. DGS provide loans for various purposes such as, pond excavation, construction of latrines, the purchase of sewing machines and other knitting materials for investing in small businesses. It is the responsibility of each group to select the borrower every time consensually. All group members take part in group meetings where the borrower selection is conducted. The borrower has to repay the loan in installments. Failure to repay installments blocks other members of the group from obtaining another loan. The number of repayment installments varies and depends on the purpose of the loan and the income earning abilities of the borrower. Each borrower has to contribute at least 10 per cent of the project cost in cash or in physical labour. Each Self-help group has a president, and secretary who manages the group with a range of activities such as, organisation of monthly meetings (informing all members about the venue and agenda of the meeting, writing resolutions, conducting and addressing the meeting), and recording the details of savings, credits and defaults regularly. The accountant of DGS administers the Group.

Sen was concerned with the low levels of income that the villagers were required to live on – this was the case for both men and women. He was particularly focused on initiating projects to increase the income of the villagers. He visited the village and noticed that almost every village house had an adjacent pond, which contained very little water. He came up with the idea for the pond excavation programme from there. Under the program, the villagers can borrow funds to clean their pond beds to increase

the water holding capacity so that it may last for a whole year. He thought, if the pond is excavated, the villagers can get multiple benefits – (1) they can cultivate double crops using the year round supply of water, (2) grow vegetables using the excavated fertile soil from the pond bed, and (3) cultivate fish in the pond for their own consumption, or sell them to other villagers or at market. He called a meeting of the villagers and explained the idea and asked for their support with the project, which the villagers agreed to.

DGS organises various awareness campaigns throughout the year for the villagers on social issues and problems, environmental and pollution issues, and on sustainable farming practices. It also organises various vocational training programs for men and women (DGS 2006). Sen had an enormous role in designing the work plan and arranging visits of outside experts for imparting training. *"The trainers and experts are all Mr. Sen's contacts"*, said the president of DGS.

He used his skill and personal contacts for networking

Being a senior government employee in the past, Sen once commanded a high professional position. He has very good writing and verbal communication skills (in both English & Bengali), and has extended his connections at the senior government levels. By using these connections and skills he could make successful bids for government grants and other funds for DGS. Sen writes applications and conducts follow-up activities for DGS on all occasions. *"It does matter - the capacity of confident talking and negotiating, particularly in English with the senior officers. The secretary has no capacity to negotiate confidently. His language skill is poor. How can he get funds?"*, Sen said.

The researcher found evidence of truth in what Sen has said. The DGS secretary travelled to Delhi to talk to the Central Welfare Minister for funding when the NGO stopped funding, but he failed. The initiative and communication skills of Sen convinced the NGO to continue the funding for another four years. Sen explained:

"I first wrote a letter explaining to them the reality clearly, particularly the monetary situation of DGS. They asked me to visit their office personally to provide further information. I went and explained the important roles the Health Clinic is playing among the surrounding villages. I described how lives of

hundreds of people would be in danger if the clinic is closed. After that meeting they restarted funding.”

In addition to communication skills, Sen's social position was a crucial factor in obtaining funds. In his own words:

“The same thing happened in the case of British High Commission funds for the pond excavation program. The DPS secretary had applied for the fund twice earlier, but without success. On the third occasion I wrote a project proposal, completed the application form and put my name as the project adviser. This time the High Commission officer asked me to meet him. I went to their office a few times to explain the credibility of DGS and the project proposal. The officer was convinced after talking to me and eventually we got the fund with my role as the guarantor of the project. The guarantor should be present during the execution of the project. Without me as a guarantor DGS would not have got this project.”

Thus the study observed that Sen used his abilities and position to obtain funds for DGS from his network of voluntary organisations, government and academics. San said:

“My former official positions offered me the opportunities to teach management subjects at different universities. In the process, I developed relationships with many academics who still help me with suggestions and advice. I used their suggestions to implement the pond excavation programme in DGS. They often share their valuable knowledge and experience with me. I maintain the contacts through telephone and e-mail, and sometimes I called them to my office and we have lunch together.”

He developed a good network with government officials who attended his university lectures, and sometimes received valuable information in the process. He maintained regular contact with the District Agricultural Extension Officer to collect information on agricultural development activities. Using his social position, Sen was able to obtain high quality seeds, fertilizers, and fruit plants from the National Agricultural Board for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD). These products were given free of charge in the past, for the beneficiaries of the DGS program.

As the director of a private consultancy firm he maintains contacts with many large national NGOs and clubs. In the past, he collected funds from the Rotary Clubs for DGS and organised skilled and knowledgeable persons to provide training to the DGS workers and villagers.

He also tried hard to help the DGS secretary to create his own network. The secretary said:

"I have no relationship with the local voluntary organisation or government officers. The local voluntary organisations are also suffering from funding and resource problems. So what is the point of keeping relationship with them? I meet them sometimes in the local meetings but have no working relationship. We have no relationship with Lokshiksha Parisad, the national voluntary organisation of Ramakrishna Mission. We do not take the government bank loan. The banks are very strict in their repayment. They never write off the loan. But DGS does that if the borrower's economic condition is poor".

Sen offered the Secretary his office space, his own computer and his list of contacts. He introduced the DGS secretary to the British High Commission officers as well for future communications.

He maintained a formal relationship with the villagers

The study observed that Sen's relationship with the villagers is a mixture of respect and love. To the DGS organisers he is 'Mr. Sen' and the villagers address him as 'Babu' (the Bengali synonym for Mr.). These indicate that the relationship is formal. Sen is a knowledgeable, hard working and disciplined person. He usually maintains contact with the DGS organisers via telephone, and visits the village if needed. He acts as a spokesperson and interpreter for foreign visitors. All these activities have created a feeling of respect for him by the villagers.

Sen accepted this and said:

"I can't even talk to them lightly or cut jokes with them. They always take me seriously. I once casually told them not to use the project funds for their own consumption. Later I discovered that they have not bought even a cup of tea with the project money. Every project includes expenses for incidental and

administrative purposes. Those who have been supervising the work can certainly pay for a cup of tea out of the money!! They knew it - but they did not do it. Why? Because I told them not to use the money for personal consumption! Since then I use my words more carefully when I talk to them”.

He learned

Sen used to lecture at the local agricultural University (Bidhan Chandra Agricultural University) in the field of Management Studies mainly due to his official position as Regional Director in the ‘Cooperative and Khadi Commission’ of the eastern India region. He learned a lot while practicing. In his words,

“I helped in the organisation of at least 400 cooperative societies during my tenure. I studied cooperative principles and its management issues. I believe in the cooperative values. I informally learned from the cooperative practitioners about the factors needed to make cooperatives successful.”

Sen explained to the DGS secretary and the villagers the benefits of collective action and the value of cooperation. He was not just a passive preacher of cooperative values. He motivated the members of DGS to participate in collective action by offering his idea of Self-help group formation. He formulated the plans and implemented them, and kept learning continuously in the process.

He acknowledged the importance of formal and informal learning with any initiative. He said:

“I learned a lot from the villagers when I designed the pond excavation program. Instead of depending on Census data, I collected information directly from the villagers about their income level, literacy rate, and about their health. It gave me a more authentic and realistic picture. I asked the villagers about the amount of water needed to cultivate crops in one Bigha of land (One Bigha=0.33 acre). It was a very important piece of information for visualising the pond excavation program. I later talked to the agricultural scientists to verify the villagers’ informal information to match the formal knowledge. The District Agricultural Extension Officer also gave me information on the required amount of water for double cropping. I compared all this information to derive my conclusion.”

He is a lawyer and an administrator; however he had to learn the implementation process for the pond excavation program. He collected information from an agricultural engineer on how to make the project more cost effective. He said,

“I visited an agricultural engineer at the Agricultural University who advised me to dig the pond bed about five feet deep instead of ten feet; and both have the same result. Digging the pond bed by five feet has been less expensive and saved the money that we could use to dig more ponds.”

Sen advised the local farmers to produce sunflower seeds (for oil) instead of rice resulting in higher income earning opportunities. As he explained:

“It is not easy to offer new ideas and advise the farmers to change their traditional crops. I studied a lot for this. I studied the website of NABARD to check the type of benefits a farmer could avail. I also talked to the NABARD officers and found that the villagers could buy higher quality seeds and fertilizers from the NABARD offices at cheaper rates. I made arrangements so that they could avail themselves of these benefits.”

Similarly, he had to collect lots of information about the potential of local fruits in national and international markets when he was considering a development project of “distribution of fruit plant free of cost” to the local farmers.

“I think that the organisers should learn continuously. I act as an interpreter when English speaking visitors, particularly donors, visit DGS. Sometimes I face difficulty in following the American and Australian accents. I try hard to understand them. Sometimes I listen to their recorded conversation repeatedly afterwards, to improve my listening ability”, Sen said.

Sen promoted a formal skills training programme as well. He encouraged skills training programs for the villagers, for both men and women, to improve their income earning abilities. An awareness enhancing camp is a regular feature at DGS, which includes various issues such as health, environment, and social education. Women are undertaking vocational training in non-traditional skills such as *Zari* embroidery. The traditional vocation of these villagers is to roll country cigars (*bidi*). Sen encouraged the DGS organisers to consider non-traditional areas for women and that proved to be

successful at the end. *“I am a High School graduate and I don’t like to roll bidi. So I took Zari embroidery training from the club (DGS) and now am working under local traders”*, said one of the trainees.

Sen previously worked as a company lawyer and kept himself updated with the changes in law by studying them regularly. *“I am busy during the day, so I study in the night, almost daily”*, he commented. He has knowledge not only of the current changes in management laws, but also the changes of location of all government offices which administer the activities regarding those laws (personal observation). Under his initiatives DGS obtained the certificate of FCRA which allows an organisation to obtain foreign funds.

He made the final decision

The study observed that the DGS members developed a dependence on Sen. They hardly made decisions independently. Sen designed the development plans suitable for the locals, advised them on how to run the activities by forming Self-help groups, collected funds, implemented the plans, represented DGS to donors, and acted as an interpreter for visitors. He introduced a financial system for DGS. It was observed by the researcher that DGS had a good accounting system which was uncommon among most of the rural voluntary organisations. The annual report of DGS, published with lots of local information including local area maps, was impressive. Sen took the entire responsibility for its production.

The secretary of DGS contacted Sen on a mobile phone as needed. He also used Sen's computer to contact donors from his office in Kolkata, far away from the DGS villages. This researcher had to wait for days to obtain Sen's consent in order to collect some management related information for DGS. All these events indicated the organisation's dependence on him. While answering a more direct question on *“How would you manage DGS without Sen if he withdraws?”*, the President of DGS simply said, *“He will do something to protect us”*.

Sen believed that the villagers should be cooperative, hard working and knowledgeable in order to improve their condition. He earned trust by showing all these values and

qualities. He designed the DGS development plan on the basis of local needs and resources, networked using his skill and social position, and learned.

6.5 Influence of SEETO's characteristics on social capital

6.5.1 Bonding relationship with the villagers

By becoming a leader in the collective action

With his strong beliefs and professional skills Sen became trusted by the DGS workers. He believed the motivated workers needed some help and guidance from outside; and he assumed that role for DGS. He worked hard to rescue DGS from its funding crisis at the beginning and was successful in renewing its funding. The organisation was inoperative for years. There was no money, resources or people to enable DGS to start its activities again. The secretary had full trust in Sen and asked for his help to revive the organisation. Sen worked hard without any monetary remuneration proving his spirit of service to the poor. Although from a higher socio-economic background he worked with grassroots level villagers and organisers and demonstrated his belief in cooperative values. Sen promoted local need based development programs and resources. He designed some plans and collected funds to implement them using his position and professional skill. In the process, he revived the DGS as an organisation along with its development activities. The villagers gradually started following his advice on every area of DGS activity without question. Sen has now become the centre-point of the organisation. All DGS workers repeatedly mentioned that Sen is their main support. Without him there would be no DGS. They fully depend on him; therefore Sen has become a common bonding element for the DGS workers. The villagers could not build trust based relationships among themselves to organise collective action.

By creating norms and values that helped collective actions

The study found strong evidence that Sen created the norm of following his instruction among the DGS workers. He provided his professional skills as a project consultant, he also worked hard to implement the project and to make the project successful. He made the final decision and the DGS workers followed him.

Sen believed that motivated workers were one of the major factors of success in cooperative initiatives. He motivated the organisers with cooperative values. He used to explain to them the benefits of cooperation, and put them on trial to test their motivation level. This was reflected in their ability to persist with the village development works. Sen helped only those organizers who passed the trial, however he believed that village organisation needed help from an outsider. He never spoke of the self-reliance of the village workers. The secretary of DGS passed Sen's motivation trial and wanted Sen's help to renew his funding to continue the Health Clinic. Sen helped in renewing the fund and the secretary became his follower.

Sen designed development plans by utilizing local resources. The study found he told the Secretary to think about their local problems and resources, but eventually Sen went to the village to investigate the local resources and needs. The DGS workers followed him.

Sen worked hard for the organisation. He advised the organisers to work hard. The DGS organisers worked harder for the organisation after following his values. The secretary said, *"Sometimes I work the whole day - up to 14 hours and even on the weekends. My family members are not happy about that. Mr. Sen works hard for us and for his beliefs and without expecting any financial benefit. He also has his own consultancy firm, family and friends. If he can do that why can't I?"* The president also agrees. Thus, Sen created the norm of hard work among DGS workers using his own behaviour to set an example.

The formation of Self-help groups improved the level of the villagers' participation in collective action. Sen developed the rules and regulations of the group. The group members saved their monthly savings and took a loan out for their personal benefit. They obtained loans for building their latrine, for medical treatment, for buying land to build house(s), and to set up a business. The group members selected needy members using the criteria formulated by Sen. The DGS accountant helped the members to maintain peace in the group through the selection process. The members sit together monthly in a group meeting. This aspect enhanced the villagers' interaction; however the study found no collective action by these Self-help group members.

By creating norms of dependence

Sen helped the villagers in various ways in designing development plans, implementing them and collecting funds. He learned and made the final decision in DGS development activities. With his level of intelligence, and experience he made better decisions than the DGS workers. Sen asked the workers to perform some tasks, but helped them to finish those jobs in a better way. The process helped the villagers to depend on him and did not help develop the villagers' social agency.

6.5.2 Leader dependent Bridging social capital

The study found DGS has limited relationships with similar types of voluntary organisations or Bridging social capital (Portes 1998). The secretary thought that bridging with similar poor organisations was not beneficial. These poor organisations could not help them with any resources, so he tried to keep links with more powerful groups with a higher social status and authority. DGS linked with these groups through Sen as the GMS workers had no direct networks with these groups. The DGS villagers developed leader depended Bridging social capital.

6.5.3 Leader dependent Linking social capital

Networked by using his social position

Sen contacted voluntary organisations, academics, and government agencies by using his personal influence and social position to collect resources for DGS. Knowledgeable persons from the universities with whom he was associated in the past provided him with important information for implementation of the pond excavation program. He collected resources such as good quality seeds, and fertilizers from government sources for DGS. As a director of the consultancy firm he had contacts with many large national NGOs and clubs. He collected funds for DGS from Rotary Clubs and organised skilled and knowledgeable persons to provide vocational training to the DGS workers and villagers.

Sen encouraged institutional learning in DGS through monthly meetings, awareness camps, seminars and workshops on various social issues encouraging locals to participate. He invited experts and knowledgeable people to talk on a range of issues like health, agriculture, environment, and community development. Various social and

economic problems which impacted adversely on the lives of village women as well as corrective measures which could be undertaken collectively were discussed. Sen also believed that vocational skills training was needed to increase income levels and to generate savings. *“To understand the nature and reasons for their problems and to find solutions the local women should learn”*, Sen emphasised. The village women availed themselves of these training opportunities. The president of DGS said all contacts were Sen’s and the secretary followed his contacts.

Sen collected funds from government and non-government sources using his social position and communication skills. DGS performed better when it obtained a large amount of funding from the British High Commission. *“The credit should go to Mr. Sen as I applied twice for the fund earlier and failed. But he got it for us. He can do something that I can’t do”*, said the secretary. According to Sen, *“the negotiating ability and the project writing skills are both important. These are the things that the secretary lacks. He is not very strong in communication in English. Moreover my social position helped to get the funds.”* He evaluated the progress of the programme and worked as an interpreter to the foreign donors in helping to get the fund. With his good communication skills in English he conveys the message properly to the donors. The President of DGS said, *“he is our main support. Without his support we will not survive. If he withdraws, we believe he will arrange something which can support us”*.

He provided contact details and information on donors and other stakeholders to the DGS secretary. *“Who to contact, where to go and what to talk about – these are the areas where DGS needs information. I help them in these areas”*, said Sen. Cooperative management experts, physicians, and trainers visit DGS regularly. The DGS president said, *“Mr. Sen provides the secretary with their contact details. The secretary then contacts them”*.

Sen provided a computer and an office space for the DGS secretary to establish and maintain his own network. *“Initially I had to pay for using the computer. Now I can use Mr. Sen’s one free of charge to develop my networking”*, said the secretary. Thus Sen helped the secretary with resources such as a computer and a list of donors to link with other groups. At the same time he admitted that the secretary had no skill or ability to

talk to the more powerful and higher social status group members, therefore the secretary has limited ability to collect resources for DGS.

It was found that Sen instilled the norms of dependency in the DGS workers for linking with others groups of higher social power and authority. These relationships are Linking social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002). He bridged and linked with other groups by virtue of his skills and social position. The organisers and workers of DGS were dependent on his networks and did not build their own networks, therefore Sen created dependent Linking Social capital.

In the process of linking with other groups Sen developed all round dependency of the DGS workers on him, in running DGS. The President of DGS said, "*he will do something to protect us before his withdrawal*". The secretary also believed that. This statement reflects that the DGS workers have no ability to run the organisation without Sen.

6.6 Development impacts of SEETO's activities

The study found that Sen created various norms such as the norms of cooperation in collective actions, the norms of hard work and discipline under his instruction. It was found these norms had enormous development impacts on the villagers' lives. Firstly, these norms led the villagers to become blind followers of their leader. Secondly, these norms helped change the villagers' economic and social lives, or in other words these norms helped to bring development to the villages.

6.6.1 Disempowerment of the villagers

The study found Sen developed the norms of helping the organisation and making final decisions in collective actions, so the villagers became blind followers of Sen. The social mission of Sen was to help the motivated social workers who are hard working, disciplined and cooperative. However, the intellectual and other qualities of Sen were recognisable. He was hard working, knowledgeable, disciplined and caring for the needy villagers. The villagers also followed some of those qualities.

The downside of this aspect was that the villagers felt disempowered and dependent on Sen. The villagers had no ability to take purposeful collective action which is social agency. Social agency is considered as one of the factors of empowerment (Narayan 2005). Self-reliance or independence is the source of power, as Rahman (1990) argues. So the dependent villagers became a powerless group. They hesitated to make decisions and followed Sen blindly. The present study found that Sen rarely talked lightly or made any jokes with the villagers lest they took it seriously.

The positive side of creating blind followers is that they accepted the good qualities of Sen as their norms which helped them to perform collective actions. When Sen started his helping activities for DPS the villagers were mostly disorganised. The villagers had no participation in the organisation and the organisation had no development activities except the health program. The secretary used to run the clinic as a full-time paid worker after he obtained funds from a national voluntary organisation. Sen made these villagers active, hard working, cooperative and disciplined, and also dependent on him. These norms helped Sen to develop an environment where he could help the villagers in their village development activities.

The World Bank (2001) suggested that empowered persons are considered one of the powerful factors in reducing poverty. However Sen could not make the villagers empowered but controlled the organisation and brought better changes to their lives by reducing their level of poverty in some areas.

6.6.2 Village development under the leader's control

The study found that the socio-economic condition of the people in the villages was poor when Sen started to help DGS. There was a scarcity of basic services in the area of health, education and income, when Sen took village development as his social mission. He undertook various development programs of DGS in health, education, and income generation areas over the period. He identified the needs of the villagers, formulated the plans, collected the funds and helped to implement the plans. Sen decided to conduct all development programs through groups. The micro-credit and the pond excavation programmes are two successful programmes of DGS.

The study found the collective action of DGS has had a positive impact on the local's life. The pond excavation programme increased the villagers' income threefold and they were able to reduce their debt to the local money lender. *“The increased money from the pond excavation programme helped the villagers by increasing their ability to avoid the moneylender’s clutch of exploitation”*, said the president. *“I took a loan from the club through our group membership and stopped taking expensive loans from the moneylenders. Now I can see some surplus in my business”*, said one of the beneficiaries of the pond excavation program. *“They are running small businesses such as vegetable farming, cigar rolling, poultry and duck-farming and selling puff rice in the market. This has improved their lives”*, reported one of the local newspapers. The programme has changed the economic lives of the villagers by increasing their income.

The infrastructural development is another area of DGS which changed the life of the villagers, particularly of the women. DGS have helped the villagers to construct their own latrine adjacent to their home. *“The latrine project helped us in various ways specially in improving our health”*, said one of the women villagers. The DGS secretary said, *“it reduced pond water pollution to some extent in the rainy season where the villagers took a bath. Now the children use the latrine not the roadside”*.

The construction of deep-tube wells for drinking water helped to minimise water borne diseases in the villages. *“Otherwise we had to drink the pond water and we suffered repeatedly with stomach upset”*, said one of the villagers. Now DGS villages have five tube wells for 12,000 people. *“It is a good number compared to other villages where there is only one tube well for more than five thousand villagers”*, said a villager.

Thus the study found the activities of Sen made the villagers disempowered but helped the villagers to change their economic and social lives for the better. He increased the economic productivity of the villagers and their wellbeing which are important factors of development (Chambers 1997).

6.7 Implications of SEETO’s characteristics on organisational sustainability

The study found that Sen had become a leader to the DGS workers due to his qualities and professional skills as a project consultant. He instilled shared values and the norms

of cooperation and participation in collective action all of which occurred under his instruction where he made the final decisions. This developed the norms of dependency by the villagers on him, in collective actions. He created Linking social capital by connecting with other national and international voluntary organisations by using his personal connections and communication skills. The Linking social capital provided skills, knowledge, funding, and ensured human capital for DGS. No other person in DGS forged new relationships with outside groups independent of Sen. He became the link between DGS and government donors which ensured economic capital. In fact, he became the only source for collecting funds for DGS activities. Thus he made *dependent* Linking social capital.

The important question is whether the DGS workers could maintain and strengthen the existing social capital and the related two other capitals such as human and economic to sustain the organisation after Sen's withdrawal. In other words, it is not clear whether the DGS workers have the ability to sustain the organisation after Sen is no longer involved.

When an organisation is leader dependent, particularly an outsider, then organisational sustainability requires staff engagement in management tasks, the villagers' mass participation in the decision making process and local contributions to funding. The study found the DGS workers and villagers depended on Sen to make important decisions. They hardly made any decision as a group in their collective action. This aspect places the organisation at a substantial risk if Sen withdraws.

The study found the DGS villagers saved money and contributed their physical labor to obtain loans from DGS. The size of loans was seven times higher than the savings. Previous research (e.g. Uphoff et al. 1998) indicates that this is not an uncommon practice in sustainable organisations where the villagers depend on outside loans to sustain their organisation. In the study it was found that the DGS workers had no ability to obtain funding without Sen. As noted previously, this aspect puts DGS at risk.

The sustainability of any voluntary organisation requires becoming a learning organisation (Korten 1980). Learning organisations are committed to and engaged in the learning process. Learning processes offer innovative ideas by gathering and analyzing

data, finding innovative solutions, applying these solutions to practice and then sharing these with others in the organisation. Continual innovation helps organisations to become sustainable. Data collection sources can be formal and informal (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Education and training offer formal data and the consensus in meetings, dialogue, personal engagement and experiences can generate informal data. The Internet, research, and evaluation systems can generate and share both formal and informal data while publication and documentation facilitates the sharing of information. All these sources of information are required to make an organisation a learning organisation. (Smillie & Hailey 2001)

The idea of group formation for the villagers to run the micro-credit programme came from Sen. The study found the rules and regulations of forming the groups and even the selection criteria of identifying the needy came from Sen. The process inhibited the group members' capacity to learn from their personal engagement.

The study also observed that Sen remained engaged in a continuous learning process in order to be innovative, however most of the DGS workers just followed Sen's instructions - they followed him blindly. The workers were engaged in the learning process only when they were told by Sen to do so.

The study found him to be a project proposal writer for DGS, which also needed his engagement in the learning process. He gathered information from the villagers, academics and local government officials to write and implement the plan. He analysed the information and got ideas for development plans, and their implementing process. The whole process required that he remained engaged in the learning process. Other members merely followed his instructions. Sen took the main role in the learning process to connect with other groups. Here also the workers had little connection with them.

Sen's helping attitude enabled him to make the final decisions which made the villagers dependent on him. Sen continuously remained engaged in the learning process to help the villagers. He visited the village, talked to the villagers to identify local problems and assessed the village resources for designing the development plan. He asked the secretary to think about their local problems, but ultimately he took the initiative. He

designed the development plan suitable for the locals. He identified potential donors, networked with them and explained and convinced them of the worthiness of DGS activities. He wrote the funding applications and after receiving the funds he sent them the evaluation reports. He was the representative when DGS hosted foreign and local donors. No other DGS worker had the ability to do these things. This helping attitude meant that he was engaged continuously in the learning process.

Sen was not able to create a learning organisation. Sen's solo effort to collect funding made all of the DGS workers followers not learners. The staff and villagers seldom had opportunities to apply their powers of analyses and problem solving skills. Sen allowed the DGS secretary to use his computer to contact potential donors and the secretary used his list of donors and contacted them. The study found the secretary had tried to collect funds without Sen's direct involvement, but could not succeed. In Sen's opinion, the DGS organisers still lacked negotiating ability, the ability to design and write project proposals, as well as good spoken and written communication skills in English. He did not encourage or provide them with any opportunity to learn or acquire the necessary training in these areas to reduce these weaknesses. All these events proved that Sen hardly created a learning environment in the organisation where most of the workers remained curious or engaged in a learning process to be innovative. This aspect hinders the ability of the workers to develop new Bridging and Linking relationships.

The study found that the DGS workers lacked human capital because Sen could not create a learning organisation. This aspect blocked their ability to develop different types of capital. Bridging and Linking social capital provide sources of funding and other resources. DGS workers, who lack the ability to develop Bridging and Linking social capital, also lack the ability to collect financial capital. These inabilities risked the organisation's sustainability and hindered independent decision making in their collective action. It also proved their lack of organisational capacity or social agency which is one important element of Social capital. Human, financial and social capitals are important elements of sustainability (Dale 2001).

6.8 Discussion

There is strong evidence that the SEETO (Sen) has developed dependency of the villagers on him in collective action through his social mission of helping the villagers from outside. By using his social position and personal contacts to network he reproduced dependent Linking social capital. His leadership style of making all of the final decisions in all organisational activity has made the DGS workers incapable of taking control independent of him. Sen's activities created the norms of dependency of the villagers on Sen and made the villagers disempowered workers. Though the study found these disempowered workers helped Sen to change their lives for the better, it also found that the disempowerment of the DGS workers put the organisational sustainability at risk.

Sen was a former government employee responsible for the management of the cooperative institutions in the eastern region of India. During his tenure he experienced a lack of motivated village workers, which was one of the main causes for the failure of cooperative initiatives. He believed that hard work, knowledge of local conditions, and a cooperative spirit could make a person become a motivated village worker. He also believed the villagers needed help from outside, and he had a vision of village development through helping to motivate villagers. He had a feeling of uneasiness in existing development activities of the village workers, so when the DGS secretary asked for his help to revive the DGS activities, Sen took on this mission. He educated the DGS secretary to be cooperative, hard working and knowledgeable but never to be self-reliant. He always made final decisions which in most cases were found to be effective. He identified local problems and local resources himself by talking to the villagers over the years. He offered the DGS workers various development programs based on these conversations and using his innovative ideas obtained funding, identified cost-effective implementation plans, remained personally present to implement the program, sourced inputs such as seeds and fertilizers to make the programme more successful. All these activities and innovative ideas helped solve the villagers' problems and identified Sen as a social entrepreneur (Dees 1998); however the villagers became dependent on him. His intention was to help them in their collective actions, but in reality it resulted in the villagers' inability to make purposeful decisions independent of Sen in collective action. The study found Sen could not strengthen the social agency of the villagers.

Sen collected funds using his professional position as a project consultant and ex-government employee. His communication skills were particularly successful in obtaining funds and this made him a trustworthy leader. Sen built relationships with other groups with higher social positions using his own contacts. Thus, Sen has been successful in reproducing Linking social capital. Since the members of Sen's network were of higher social status and power, the DGS workers had a limited ability to establish relationships with these members. It was Sen who was the link between DGS and other higher social groups, and they depended on Sen to network with them. Sen developed dependent Linking social capital. The study found Sen hardly linked with other rural organisations similar to DGS. His links were always with groups with higher social status and power; therefore he created mainly Linking social capital rather than Bridging capital.

However the most important aspect of Sen's leadership was his concern for the development of the villagers' lives. He brought wellbeing and economic development for the villagers. He never blocked the development process of the villagers. This aspect made him a benevolent leader of the villagers. His future plan is to implement even bigger economic development projects for them, but his main weakness is that he never talked about the empowerment of the villagers. He made them disempowered by taking all initiative and final decisions in collective action. The aspect made him a benevolent dictator.

The important role of Sen in developing Linking social capital poses potential problems for the sustainability of DGS. Organisations require social, human and financial capital in order to maintain ongoing development processes that are sustainable (World Bank 1993). The study found the DGS workers had no organizational ability or social agency. The study also found Sen reproduced Linking social capital which brought financial capital or funds for DGS activities. DGS depended solely on Sen to link with other groups to collect funds and resources. However, in order to sustain DGS, the workers required human capital or knowledge so that one day they could manage it independently of Sen. Knowledge comes from learning. Therefore to sustain DGS, the workers need to be engaged in the learning process.

The study found the DGS workers had limited knowledge in managing their own organisation in the area of obtaining external grants. The DGS secretary had limited negotiating abilities, inadequate English language proficiency, and no ability to convince donors and other resource providers. Sen did nothing to improve the weaknesses of DGS workers. Moreover he continuously remained engaged in the learning process to collect large amounts of funds from the government or other groups which expect a high level of professional expertise. The DGS secretary could not manage to obtain funds from these sources. Sen introduced the secretary to the government officers; however he still could not get any funding. He collected some small funds from elsewhere but that was not sufficient for running the DGS activities.

So to maintain the existing activities they are fully dependent on Sen. Hence Sen's leadership style could not create a learning organisation where the workers could take responsibility for managing their own organisation. His leadership style was driven by his helping attitude and was centered on control. This aspect risks the sustainability of the organisation.

The study analysed the characteristics of Sen under three different sections covering his social position, social mission, and activities. He took a social mission driven by his vision and beliefs. His vision is to help the villagers improve their lives. He believes that small organisations need help from outside. He also believes that a motivated village worker with honesty, hard work, motivation, with cooperative values can achieve these goals. Thus he took the mission of helping the village workers. He is hard working and cares for the needy. His current profession as project consultant is directly linked to his superior skill in project preparation. His former job enabled him to acquire direct knowledge in cooperative management activities. He earned trust and leadership from the villagers. He innovated and learned, used his skill and personal contacts in order to collect resources for DGS and encouraged the villagers to cooperate and participate in programs. However he made final decisions on all major aspects of DGS and made the villagers dependent on him. Thus, he employed a controlling leadership style. Table 6.1 summarises the characteristics of Sen as SEETO.

Table 6.1
Characteristics and outcomes of social entrepreneurs
SEETO – DGS

<i>Characteristics</i>	
Social mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village development through helping the villagers who are motivated with cooperative value, hard work, and knowledge
Background and social position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SEETO, professional
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He earned trust by practicing values of cooperation, hard work, discipline and showing professional skill as a project consultant • He maintained formal relationships • He maintained discipline • He developed plans using local resources • He networked using his professional and social position and encouraged networking • He learned and promoted limited learning
Leadership style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Helped and controlled motivated villagers in their village development activities
<i>Outcome</i>	
Impact on social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instilled the norms of hard work, cooperation and participation in the collective actions, • Instilled the norm of dependence on Sen • Reproduced dependent Linking social capital
Impact on development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disempowered the villagers • Brought well being and productivity
Implication for organisational sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could not create a learning organisation • Organisational sustainability is at risk

Chapter 7

Case Study 4: Shishu O Mahila Sangho (SMS)

7.1 Introduction

Shishu O Mahila Sangho (SMS), the third case study organisation in this research, is located in 24 Parganas district in the state of West Bengal, India. Covering 20 small villages and operating since 1974, it is the largest case-study organisation in this research. Total population of these 20 villages was 31,000 in 2000 (SMS 2002). The majority of the villagers are poor farmers belonging to the lower social strata of Indian society. SMS is found to have organised many collective actions.

SMS has survived for more than thirty years. The Social Entrepreneur Internal to Organisation or non-SEETO, *Sita*, a local lady has strengthened the organisation to improve the villager's condition. Over the period she facilitated the design of various development programmes with the assistance of local groups in the area of education, income and health, and some of them performed better than the others and brought changes to the poor's life.

7.2 Socio-economic context

The socio-economic situation of the villages when Sita started her development activities was faced with a number of problems. Salient features of the villages where SMS operated included:

- Agriculture and its allied activities make up 80 per cent of the total economic activity
- Rain-fed single-cropped agriculture - mainly paddy belt with low yielding varieties
- Lower literacy rate than the district average, particularly for women which is at approximately 40 per cent. The villagers speak Bengali, the most commonly spoken language in the province

- Low health and hygiene status - when villagers become ill they often resort to quack doctors and their superstitious practices. The village sorcerers have more control over villagers health than physicians
- High migration among the landless, especially during lean periods
- Frequent climate related catastrophes including floods, cyclones and saline water from the sea inundating paddy fields as a result of collapsing river embankments. (SMS 2002)

Women's position

“Due to geographical adversities the villagers were poor”, said Sita, and women were poorer than men in all situations. The rural women were depressed and oppressed by social practices and cultural taboos. For example women were not allowed to study in schools (SMS 2004). As Sita described her experience in the early 1960s:

“Social thinking and practices were different at that time - women should perform only household works and men would study in the schools and universities. The young girls were not allowed to go to school. The older villagers tell the story of the time when young girls were even beaten up fiercely for expressing their interest to study in the school. Neither parent would allow them to go to school. The young girls simply used to cry.

Women were deprived of acquiring vocational skills and capacity as well. Hence they had no skill to earn income and were considered a burden to the family. A high dowry was required for girls’ marriage. Failure in paying the dowry at the time of marriages often caused physical and mental torture for the girls in their in-laws houses. Mobility of women outside the family domain was low which made them isolated from better networks and resources.”

The treasurer added:

"the society was based on strong patriarchal values. Women were mostly silent and no attempts were made to change the situation. Sita was deeply moved by the sufferings of the local women and took initiatives to establish SMS, to make them literate, educated and self-reliant."

7.3 Overview of SMS

SMS is a voluntary organisation that operates under the leadership of Sita or Sita'didi or Sita'di²⁰. SMS started its activities formally from 1974 although it was working in the area since 1968 without formal registration. The organisational activities of SMS are spread over two Blocks of *Magrahat* and *Baruipur* in the South 24 Parganas district, covering 6,000 households with approximately 31,000 persons. SMS's main focus is to build self-reliant communities with a particular focus on women and children.

To achieve this goal it helps the local poor women to be self reliant by providing education, skills training and employment opportunities so that they can improve their conditions in a sustainable manner. It also targeted children offering education with various activities such as sports and cultural activities, unavailable in the government-run primary schools.

SMS aims to establish and strengthen women and children (*Mohila and Shishu* in Bengali language) at the village level. Development activities of SMS include areas such as health, education, training, rural development, orphanages or homes for poor girls, and socio-cultural activities. SMS runs welfare programmes for the poorest and disabled persons. It also runs a Production and Marketing Centre (Production Centre) to sell products made by the trained women.

SMS is a relatively large organisation with 50 full and part time paid programme staff, as well as local volunteers, and *Brahmacharies*²¹. The founder, Sita is one of the *Brahmacharies*. These *Brahmacharies* are committed full time village workers though they do not accept money/salary for their work. However they depend on the organisation for their livelihood and live on organisation premises. The life style of a *Brahmachary* is basic and simple.

SMS's funds come primarily from local village contributions in different forms such as money, services and resources. The Production Centre raised funds by selling clothing

²⁰ In Bengali language, Didi or di (in short) means elder sister – and is used with respect and love.

²¹ *Brahmacharies* are unmarried devoted people who limit all types of material consumption to the bare minimum.

and handicrafts made by the trainees. The primary school and thirteen units of pre-schools located in different villages are sustainable in nature and generate income from student fees. The State and Local governments help the organisation to some extent as the State government contributes about two-thirds of the total cost of the Orphanage. SMS receives regular donations and services from a few large national, local, and international voluntary organisations.

Performance of SMS

The study found the existence of many collective actions and social capital in SMS villages which brought socio-economic changes to the lives of the villagers. Sita said, *“my goal is to develop my country by building human beings. I have targeted women and children in my village to fulfill my goal. The society is dominated by males. Women have fewer opportunities to develop themselves as human beings who are self-reliant, selfless and active workers. My objective is to help them in the process of this development”*. To develop and strengthen sustainable women's groups with self-reliance is one of the main missions of the organisation. To build human values and solidarity among the villagers and to provide a standard of living that provides the basics.

“SMS has achieved its goal to a good level”, said a former project director. *“If you consider the socio-economic context of the villages when Sita started her activities and compare it with the present one I should say it is a successful initiative”*, he added. Seventy-two *Mohila Mandals* (Women’s groups) are in operation in ten different villages. Most of the women members finished their high schooling. They are active and managing various social and economic activities. (see photo D.10 in Appendix D)

“Sitadi's organisation has been doing very well, particularly for women”, commented the founder of another successful voluntary organisation in the same district. Impacts of SMS activities on women’ social and economic life has been significant and links with SMS provide a means of livelihood, confidence and power as a group. The Health Centre of SMS has had a positive impact on creating a healthy environment in the village. The construction of deep tube-wells by SMS for clean drinking water has had a major impact on the health and wellbeing of the villagers. However one of the ex employees of SMS said, *“lack of funds is the main problem. We could not solve many*

important problems such as sufficient pure drinking water. We should dig more tube-wells."

Sita is the founder of SMS and has been involved in every organisational aspect since its inception and has an important role in managing the organisation which has reproduced a high level of social capital.

7.4 Social Entrepreneur Internal to Organisation (non-SEETO)

7.4.1 About non-SEETO

The study identified Sita as non-SEETO in SMS. She has been deeply involved in managing and strengthening the organisation since the beginning. She is in her mid-seventies, unmarried and depends entirely on SMS for her living. She lived in the organisation premise which was her ancestral house in the past. After completing a Bachelor of Arts degree, she joined as a teacher in the local primary school. At the same time, she was involved in village development activities for the local voluntary organisation, located in the village. She developed inspiration for social work from her primary school teachers who were active participants in the Independence Movement of India in the 1930s. She is a follower of values and philosophies preached by Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Saradadevi and led a life of *Brahmachari*. She has a vision of the world where women are self-reliant and contribute equally to developmental activities in society. She is known by the villagers as 'Sita' and SMS earned its reputation as 'Sita's shelter' for her caring nature.

7.4.2 Characteristics of non-SEETO

She took a social mission

Sita believed in the values of self-reliance, focusing on helping women to become self-reliant so they can help themselves. In her own words, "*this is the way a man or woman can help their own family, society and country. So my objective is not to feed or help the needy or poor, but to teach them how to earn food or how to help themselves*" (Chakraborty 2007). When Sita was a five year old girl, her father (a local priest with no formal education) took her to the local primary school which used a unique approach to teaching. It was known as a Basic Education School or 'book less' school where

education was offered without any scheduled text book. *"We used to study the biographies of our national heroes, classic story books, and also used to have physical exercises"*, said Sita.

Many of the teachers of Basic Education Schools were activists in the Independence Movement of India. These freedom fighters believed that without the help of women the movement would not be successful. Women should be educated and provided with skills training so that they viewed themselves as powerful human beings - not as a woman, and could fight side by side with men (Interview with Sita).

Sita is deeply influenced by the values and lives of these freedom fighters most of whom were confirmed bachelors and fully devoted to the cause of liberation of India from British rule. Sita said:

"from my childhood I was closely connected with the freedom fighters who were also pioneers in educational reforms at the national level, particularly with those who were interested in Basic Education. Basic Education teaches us to be a human being with human qualities such as hard working for the service of the needy, a sense of self-esteem, values of equality between men and women, rich and poor, low caste and higher caste, educated and illiterate. I teach them to treat all human beings equally and to care for the poor. I think these are the core values of Basic Education".

She studied the philosophies of Sri Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Sarodadevi who emphasised the spirit of service to the needy, selflessness, and hard work as the primary goal of human life. She found similarities between 'Basic Education' and these values. Sita accepted these as values that would guide her life. She pledged that she would devote her entire life to the service of the rural poor, particularly service to women and children (Interview - treasurer of SMS).

She earned trust

Sita completed her Bachelor degree and joined the local primary school as a teacher. She maintained her contacts with the former freedom fighters and followed their guidance in community development activities she was involved in. One of the former freedom fighters from the village, Mr. Mandal started a voluntary organisation to

promote Basic Education for the village children focusing on various trade skills and physical training programmes along with academic learning. Sita joined the organisation as a worker and obtained training in various vocations and child education.

She found the organisation was male dominated and the policies and programmes were more targeted towards the needs of men. The needs and requirements of women were mostly neglected. *"But the local women were not concerned about it. They were like sleeping persons. They didn't know that they were being discriminated against as they were unaware of their potential and power, and their roles and duties. They were mostly illiterate, confined in their small world and dependent on others"*, said Sita. She believed that only education and vocational skills could make them more self-reliant. At that time, the girls in these villages never went outside the village to study and since all high schools were located outside these villages, they would discontinue their studies after completing primary school.

After a few years of working with this organisation she left with the aim of devoting her time to the improvement of village women and children by providing education and skills to make them self-reliant. She set up a 'night school' for women in her residential house. This was the beginning of the present organisation, SMS (Interview - treasurer of SMS).

Sita motivated the villagers to participate in her night school. However, the surrounding situation was not favorable and she encountered every kind of adversity possible. Sita continued her efforts to motivate the local parents to send their daughters to her night school. Initially only a few parents were willing. *"What is the use of sending girls to the school – they are not going to earn any money there - this was the attitude of most parents at that time"*, said Sita.

"Then an idea struck me at once and I went to the local traders. I convinced them of my purpose and the goals of the night school and asked them to provide some work for the girls. The traders agreed. I had trainings in tailoring, weaving, and handicrafts making. I began to teach them these skills along with academic lessons to prepare the girls for high school. The students of the night school obtained some orders for garments and began to earn income which

made more parents willing to send girls to the school". Sita admitted, "without the local people's participation and cooperation we would not have survived".

Sita said:

"In the beginning I started education and skill providing activities in my residential house. I used to teach them in the way which helped them to be a human being with human qualities based on the values of Basic education. I think women should be educated with these values. The girls used to study in the evening and work during the day."

Sita motivated ten local girls who were committed to her values, to set up an organisation named *Shishu O Mahila Sangha* or SMS which was registered in 1974 (Interview - one of the members). SMS began conducting various training programmes such as weaving, tailoring, fisheries, fruit processing and a night school (SMS 2004).

Thus, Sita established the organisation to realise her vision. It was a difficult job, made even harder because she was a woman. So she encountered discrimination from the villagers as well, but she was committed to her vision and made a personal sacrifice to see it succeed.

She made personal sacrifices

Sita's personal sacrifice to the cause of the villagers has been significant. She would lead a life of *Brahmachary* (Interview - treasurer of SMS). *Brahmacharies* are not concerned with their personal interests; they lead simple lives, forsaking luxury. She is a vegetarian and always wore a *Sari* made of raw cotton, which is the most common dress worn by Bengali village woman. She maintained her life style, even when international visitors came to see her and to help with SMS activities (personal observation).

She left her primary school position as a principal to concentrate on SMS activities – incurring personal cost. In her own words:

"I used to earn 90 rupees from the school and my father who was a village priest would get rice as honorarium from his clients - this was our only survival kit. We were in deep financial trouble when I left my school job. I had to work hard the whole day - household activities, looking after my grandparents, cattle

raising, teaching the girls at my night school, contacting the local clothing businessmen to collect orders, visiting villagers and motivating them to support the values I was fighting for. You cannot imagine the social attitude of the parents against their girls' education then. I worked hard, but I did it for the village girls."

The villagers could see first hand her sacrifice and hardworking nature. *"She left her job to fight for women. Prothom dosh bachhor Sita judha korechhe prochondo, ebang eka (Sita fought hard for the first ten years and entirely on her own)"*, said one of the villagers. All of these qualities made her a special person and the villagers accepted her values and supported her with their resources. One of the local teachers said, *"she scarified her life for us. We'll work for her values"*. Not only the teachers, most of the villagers helped her in SMS activities.

Facilitated self-rule for the village women

Promoter of local participation

Sita motivated the local villagers to participate in the organisation of their resources. As she mentioned:

"the village people's contributions are the driving force of our organisation. At every stage the villagers help. Initially I had to explain to them and to convince them why I wanted their help but now they are with me. You see - in the organisation, every day we need food for at least 130 persons. It is true that we get the government fund but that fund comes late, we have to spend first. Where will I get money? The local grocers' supply us all we need without down payment and we pay them after getting the fund. They charge a minimum price. The local grocers help with fund as well. So the organisation is the village to me. It is for them and they run the organisation."

One of the main sources of funding for SMS is monthly door-to-door collections, mainly in the villages where its development activities take place. It has been part of the villagers' life to donate to their organisation. Now the villagers personally come to the organisation to donate money or in kind. The land where the High School is established was donated by a villager. One of the village women said,

“where will money come from if we don't give? Sita'di wears simple raw cotton Sari and eats only dal-bhat (rice and lentil - the basic minimum food of an average Bengali). She is not collecting money for herself, so why shouldn't we donate? But we can donate little amounts only - we are not rich”.

The local people helped SMS with their skills as well. The teachers of the school come mainly from local areas. The Headmaster said:

“I've been working here for more than 20 years now. I'm a local person. Initially I used to go to the nearest commercial town for my work. Later I joined here. My monthly salary here is less than what I used to get. But we get great satisfaction in working here. We feel honoured after getting the opportunity to work in the organisation. We feel that we are doing some positive thing and we are contributing something to the society and serving our villagers”.

A teacher from the Training Centre similarly said, *“Sita'di asked me to come here to teach tailoring skills to the village women. Now I come here twice a week, during the weekends and do not take any money for my work. I can't say no to Sita'di.”*

SMS has a Production Centre to produce and sell garments, linen, small artifacts and bags made of jute. The local village women join the Production Centre and are paid a nominal wage after finishing their training from the training centre. A worker explained:

“I work in the Production Centre as a tailor. My job is to stitch dresses and linen for the Home girls and uniform for the SMS school students. I work at a nominal wage because Sita'di wants to give us something for our work. Otherwise I would love to work free for the organisation. It is Sita'di's organisation, but it is our organisation as well - it exists for our benefits. I get lots of benefits from the organisation. So we should work to keep it alive”.

Physical labor comes from the members of different target groups such as women, children, and youth. The members identified and designed their group programmes to benefit the village and the organisation. The members of the Youth Group clean the village regularly as part of their rural development activities. They also clean the SMS premises. *“The village youths decorate and paint the prayer hall free of cost regularly”*, said one of the residents of the organisation. Some needy local widows live in the

organisation and offer physical labor for SMS. The cook and cleaner of SMS said, *“Sita’di brought us here after my husband’s death. We are living and working here for more than twenty years now. Sita’di is everything to me”*.

She encouraged forming groups

Local people help the organisation in several ways. Helping the village women to solve their problems by forming their own groups - is one of the major ideas of Sita. Local women who are willing to study Basic Education join the night school first. Sita encourages them to form groups in order to take responsibility for their own lives. Gradually they formed various groups according to their needs and necessities. The Women’s Group is called *Mahila Mandal* (‘Women’s Group’ in Bengali). *“The Group members hold monthly meetings in the premises to discuss their problems and extend their activities and formed other women groups such as the Self-help Group and the Neighbourhood Group”*, said the treasurer.

Women’s Group design various development programmes to solve their problems. *“The child sponsorship programme emerged from the Women’s Group meetings. We started our activities to solve women’s problems. They provide the ideas of our programmes”*, said Sita. Initially we started with the idea of development programmes targeting only women. *“But the women asked our help to raise their children. We discussed all these ideas in the managing committee whether it is possible to materialise it. SAHAY²² helped us. The sponsorship programme started later, in 1990. Gradually the youth programmes developed to engage the young teenage boys and girls, after withdrawal of their sponsors”*, said the project director. The idea of sponsored groups for boys and girls developed mainly from the women's group.

Sita's promotion of local participation helped the organisation to continue its development activities with funds, skills, labor and other resources. The organisation has been in operation for more than 30 years even though government funding is limited. The school programmes for example do not receive government funding, so Sita's focus on local participation plays an important role in the running of SMS.

²² SAHAY is a national voluntary organisation in India with development activities for the poor.

Promoter of collective leadership

The leadership of the organisation is spread among different layers such as the general secretary, project director, supervisor, and group members. The idea for a programme may come from the group meetings. The managing committee members investigate the feasibility of proposed programmes. Supervisors or department heads voluntarily choose the area that they feel confident to work and lead in. Building a team and selecting its members are the responsibilities of the supervisor. Each team has the freedom to decide its rules, regulation and conditions.

Sita is focused on group leadership and does not believe in individualism,

“individualism has no place in our organisational activities. Organisation is a body. The workers are its parts. An individual or a single part can't build an organisation. All parts together as a group can make it. Groups own the organisation.”

Sita hardly used the word “I” in her conversations during the interviews. She acknowledged the help of other funding agents so it seems they are taking the main role in running SMS (personal observation). To resist individual ownership, team leaders change according to fixed time intervals. In reply to the researcher's question on who looks after the banking activities, a volunteer said, *“from today Ms X is looking after it as Ms Y, the ex supervisor now looks after another programme”*.

There is an office room in SMS where visitors come and wait. All SMS office bearers such as the secretary, the assistant secretary, the treasurer and the president make themselves available in order to speak with visitors. Not all but most of them are women. There is no one individual who represents the organisation to the outsiders and explains the values and goals of SMS (personal observation). Sita, the treasurer, or the local government officer (BDO or the Block Development Officer) who is a member of the managing committee usually speak to visitors. There is a contact telephone number for the organisation without any contact name. Any member can attend to phone calls and represent the organisation (Personal observation).

SMS divides its activities into different areas such as education, health, training and rural development. Each of these areas has a supervisor. *“The Training Supervisor and*

his team help women, youth, adolescent boys and girls, and the children to form their own groups”, said the treasurer. These groups have their own executive committees with their plans, budgets and members to implement the plans (Chakraborty 2007). *“The group members meet the Training Supervisors monthly. Every Supervisor in other areas holds monthly meetings. Sita’di is not always present in these meetings”*, said the Girls’ Home Supervisor.

The Headmaster of the School explained:

“Running the school is my job and I can do it without any interference from the Managing Committee members. I go to the treasurer once a month to update her about the school’s progress. We have Teacher Recruitment Committee, Text Book Selection Committee and School Curriculum Development Committee. In each committee there are representatives of local academics, and SMS Managing Committee members. We express our views freely. Besides monthly formal meetings, I go to the SMS premise daily for a while and spend after school hours performing the SMS related work and meeting Sita’di. All the teachers do the same. She is our source of inspiration.”

Encouraged self-monitoring

The monitoring process runs through the trained workers on the basis of their annual performance (SMS 2004). Progress and achievements are announced annually at general functions of the organisation. *“Our workers are motivated and fully concentrated to achieve the goals. They work more than their routine work hours. I encourage them to find their own mistake,”* said Sita. *“Only seven are paid staff and they also get payments at less than the market rate. All workers are either volunteer or nominally paid. They are mostly committed workers, so the question of evaluation was never considered as a major concern”*, said a former project director.

She networked and encouraged networking

SMS made its contacts with private donors, government and voluntary organisations through word of mouth. Sita explained:

“So far we have not applied for any resource or fund on our own. The donors came to our organisation and offered help. I think the donors came to know about us through our activities. We do work. Ma (Saradadevi) said – ‘your

works will talk for you - you don't need to talk on your behalf'. I gave an interview in the local newspaper about our values and activities. The published interview titled 'Sitadi of Kusumpur village' had widespread impacts and many organisations and individuals came forward to help us thereafter".

Sita always encouraged SMS workers to network independently to obtain resources and allowed them to access her own network. She has wide personal contacts with former freedom fighters and government officers. In 1982, one of the founding members of SMS, the current treasurer, came in contact with *Pannalal Dasgupta*, a former freedom fighter and Chairman of the State Planning Commission, West Bengal. *Dasgupta* asked her assistance in training tribal women in the *Dandyakaranya* region²³. The treasurer visited the area and conducted weaving training programmes for women (SMS 2004). The treasurer, using *Pannalal Dasgupta's* contacts has widened her own contacts to various local, State government and non-government officials (Interview - the treasurer).

The current treasurer contacted the staff of *SAHAY* in 1980. The staff wanted to talk to Sita after hearing from the treasurer about her activities and requested a personal visit to the organisation. *SAHAY* was impressed after talking to Sita and asked for help from SMS to conduct a family planning programme in the village and expressed their intention to conduct various development activities through SMS management in the future (Interview - the treasurer).

Since the second half of the 1980s, *SAHAY* has organised various training programmes, awareness building camps for children and women through SMS. Since 1990, it has run sponsorship programmes for needy and talented children of 580 poor families in six villages (SMS 2004). The sponsored children are able to enjoy facilities and services like education, medical treatment, family assistance, community assistance, nutritional food, birthday gifts and various awareness camps for values formation from their sponsors (Interview - mother of a sponsored child). Sita convinced *SAHAY* staff to campaign for SMS, nationally and internationally.

²³ One of the most neglected and backward Scheduled Tribe belt in Orissa state.

A foreign (American) donor group came to SMS recently with a funding proposal. They wanted to provide financial help to SMS to start a computer training centre. They came to know about Sita and SMS through SAHAY. "*We contacted SMS through SAHAY*", said one member of the American donor group. However, no single person is responsible for maintaining the networks of relationships. "*All members meet visitors and talked to them and make relationships with them*", said the treasurer.

"*At present, more than half of the total training courses are organised by SAHAY*", told the treasurer. "*Sometimes we hire local village trainers in areas such as dairy, carpentry and kitchen gardening at our own expense. Obviously they charge nominal amounts*", said one member. "*The Rural Development Trust, a training centre of Lokshiksha Parishad offers free training to the SMS workers on various issues such as leadership building, participatory rapid appraisal and information management. It is Sita's contact. We just maintained it and developed further.*"

SMS maintained contacts with some voluntary organisations such as *Pally Unnayan*, Rural Development Consortium, Catholic Relief Services, Child in Need Institution, and *Bikramsila*. *Pally Unnayan*, a voluntary organisation from the nearest large commercial town (*Baruipur*) donated funds for the daily meal programme and half of the meal costs come from them. *Bikramsila* helps SMS with experts to impart training (SMS 2001). These are Sita's contacts. "*We have good relations with these organisations*", said a member. She has a good working relationship with the local voluntary organisation where she started her village work.

The study found that Sita has good contacts with government staff. "*It is due to her closeness with the former freedom fighters*", said the treasurer. Many freedom fighters subsequently became political leaders in free India and were ministers in State and National level governments. The local government helped SMS with resources from the very beginning. The Fisheries Department of the State government cultivates fish at the SMS pond for the girls in the Girls' Home without any charge. Government trainers regularly visit to impart health, education, and village administration training free of cost (SMS 2002). "*The government officials are familiar to us*", said a Production Centre worker.

At the beginning, before formal registration of SMS, Sita established contacts with local businessmen and traders to market products. Afterwards all workers developed and maintained these contacts and set new relationships. Thus Sita facilitated the self-rule of the villagers, but remained at the centre of their activities. Her close and informal relationship has played an important role in achieving high rates of local participation.

She maintained informal relationships

Sita is known as "*didi*" or the elder sister in the villages and everywhere. By her attitude and values she developed a familial and informal relationship with the villagers. "*Serving the poor to make them self-reliant is my goal. I think every human being has potentiality to be powerful. Even the poor and the illiterate have potential and power to change their status. They only need some assistance to start with*", she said. She believed in these values showed great respect and love for everybody irrespective of their social status and qualities. She maintained an informal relationship with the villagers, each and everyone is like a family member to her. According to Sita's elder sister,

"she makes no difference between the landless poor and the landlord – between the educated and the illiterate. Everybody is either a brother, a sister, uncle or an aunty to her and she loves them like her family members. Sita talks and explains to the villagers the values and their benefits in their own language. She loves them and gets love back."

Sita considers the villagers, particularly the women, as her family members and she demonstrates it in every possible way. She gives them shelter in the organisation premises regardless of the financial resources of SMS. Most of the poor village widows took shelter in SMS for food and lodging and in return worked for SMS. The organisation is known as "Sitadi's Ashram" (shelter). "*The organisation often suffers from financial problem because of this generous attitude of Sita'di*", said a former director. But at the same time, the informal relationship helped Sita to come closer to the local problems and to get the villagers' support. "*SMS survived because it focused on solving the local problems with local's resources*", said one of the senior villagers. Being motivated by Sita's values and informal relationships, many local organisations funded SMS providing long term help (Interview – the Girls' Home Superintendent). The study found Sita to be very open and flexible.

She maintained openness and flexibility

Sita believed in flexibility and always welcomed changes and diversity. *“If you don’t accept changes how do you improve?”* she asks. As a follower of Sri Ramakrishna, she believes in difference and diversity. She is flexible in her attitude and believes that adjustment and acceptance are some of the basic issues of organisational activities. She said, *“I have to be tolerant, patient, and need to adapt and adjust with opposing opinions. Sri Ramakrishna said ‘there are different ways (religions) to attain salvation’. So we honour different opinions in running the organisation.”*

In reply to a question whether SMS is a religious organisation, Sita said:

“No, it is an organisation which works on the philosophy of Ramakrishna, but we are not receiving any resources or any guidance from the Ramakrishna Mission. We follow the values of Ramakrishna. Our goal is to change a person into a man/woman – who has a sense of self honour and social awareness and who has the spirit of service and selflessness, who is skilled and can follow these values in their real lives to solve his/her problem through hard work. SMS is not a religious organisation we believe in humanity and tolerance.

SMS celebrates Christmas each year and holds a big gathering where the values of the Bible are explained to the villagers (SMS 2007). *“We work together with the Muslim workers and students as well”*, said Sita.

With this attitude she emphasised collective leadership in SMS and maintained a working relationship with other organisations who believed in different religious values. *“The local catholic organisation helped SMS with ideas and resources for mutual benefits because of Sitadi’s tolerance to differences”*, said the Head teacher of the school.

“Too much flexibility by Sita causes lack of system or discipline in the organisation. Sometimes we cancelled our scheduled meeting or work because she was not available and busy with some other job she found more important than the scheduled meeting”, said one ex-Supervisor. The study found inconsistencies in maintaining the scheduled

interview time, not providing the promised documents and records to the interviewer. (Personal observation).

She learned and promoted learning

In Sita's words, *"knowledge is power. Without this power our existence is meaningless. Women should be powerful to change their social position"*. So she motivated the village women to study in school and to take formal training. At the same time, she valued informal learning from life experiences, from conversation, and from participating and leading collective actions.

Her first initiative was to prepare the village girls after graduating from primary school, for high school and to train them in some vocational skills. *"That was a very difficult time"*, she recapitulated, *"I had to convince, not only the parents, but also the local girls to study for higher education. Education can help the women to identify their causes of misery and to change the situation. You see -like you (pointing to the researcher), now the mothers are coming to lead, to change the condition of women. Without formal education it is not possible."* She established the Girls' High School in the village which is not a common thing in the rural areas of West Bengal.

Within a couple of years after the initiation of SMS Sita started inviting experts through her contacts with renowned former freedom fighters, to train the girls. Sita said, *"the first trainer trained us in the skill of weaving plastic mats. I also took the training with other women. We made money by selling all these mats to an exporter until the business was closed for some other reason."*

She continued her learning, teaching, and training activities with other SMS activities. In 1975 Sita joined *Bhoodan* (land donation) movement²⁴ spending five months in *Wardha* in Maharashtra state. This enabled her to gain first-hand experience of women's self reliant programmes prevalent in that part of India. She used the knowledge gained from this work to train the ten founding members of SMS.

²⁴ A national movement, initiated by Binova Bhave, a renowned social reformer, who convinces large land owners to donate their excess land voluntarily for distribution among landless farmers. The movement achieved limited success in certain areas only.

She encouraged formal training. SMS runs hundreds of training programmes each year on organisational activities, social and health awareness, skills and capacity building. The trained women are then encouraged by Sita to teach the skills they have learned to other villagers and to visit other organisations to train them. In 1982, one of the founding women, the current treasurer, visited *Dandyakaranya* region in Orissa state to conduct weaving training for tribal women (SMS 2004). The workers go to other organisations to gain training in areas where SMS does not have the facilities. Five experienced workers were sent to learn evaluation methods such as Participatory Rural Appraisal and gender issues from the Rural Development Centre, a training centre of the *Lokshiksha Parishad* (SMS 2004).

Sita focused on learning by doing, as one of the important modes of learning. She emphasised the forming of groups to learn organisational activities which can make a woman self-reliant as an individual as well as a group. SMS worked with groups at a basic level targeting women, children, and adolescent boys and girls in order to identify their problems and initiate solutions. "*We learn from our talks in the meeting*", admitted a Women's group member.

The workers of SMS are required to gain basic knowledge of all organisational activities. Sita introduced the system. A Production Centre worker explained:

"We have to learn everything in every area of our work. Sitadi wants this practice. One day the treasurer came to me and asked me to accompany her to the State Welfare Board's office where she introduced me to other officers and I observed all the activities she performed there. The next month the treasurer asked me to go to the welfare office on my own. I was nervous on the first day but I went and found that those things were not difficult to do and now I go every month to talk to the government officers now I know what to do".

Pointing to a *Brahmachari* supervisor who stood by her side, she said "*didi has taken all trainings - tailoring, gardening, origami, weaving, spinning and computer.*" That lady supervisor smiled and said, "*though we work mainly for a certain area we have to learn all areas*". Supervisors lead various departments by rotation to reduce dependency on a single person. "*The system increased the general level of knowledge*", said a supervisor.

Dialogue and conversation are considered sources of learning about local problems and to design programmes. A local woman (high school graduate) requested Sita to start a primary school in the village so that they need not migrate to the city for work. Although the village had a free government-run primary school, Sita started another primary school which offered various innovative programmes not on offer at the free government primary school (SMS 2004). Sita also started an orphanage for needy destitute girls, which was requested by poor mothers who lacked the financial capacity to raise their girls.

7.5 Influence of non-SEETO's characteristics on social capital

7.5.1 Bonding social capital

By becoming a trustworthy person and developing trust among the villagers

The study observed that Sita was seen by the villagers as a trustworthy person and taken by the villagers as their '*didi*' which was identification. Sita, thus achieved Identification-based trust from the villagers. This is the highest level of trust which is achieved when there is an emotional connection between the parties (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). Trust exists because the parties understand each other's intentions and appreciate each other's wants and desires. The intention of Sita was clear to the villagers through her hard work and personal sacrifice. This behaviour showed her genuine concern for the women's development in the villages. She had trust that the village would cooperate with her in her development activities and she showed her full trust in the village women's potential to eventually solve their own problems.

Researchers argue trust breeds trust (Cox & Caldwell 2000). This was proved when the villagers cooperated with Sita, sent their daughters to Sita's night school, and contributed their time and resources to SMS activities for collective actions. "*People who join are people who trust the activities. The causation flows mainly from joining to trusting.*" (Putnam 1995, p, 666) Thus, Sita increased the generalised trust among the village parents to her new activities. The village women united around her and joined her activities. She became a bonding element or 'social glue' to the village women and developed deep mutual understandings. This mutual understanding is developed to the

point that each person was trusted to act for the other. One need not monitor the other party because there exists unquestioned loyalty (Lewicki & Bunker 1996; Shapiro et al. 1992). The study found the villagers never doubted Sita about her intention and as well Sita never controlled the village women but put her trust in believing they could manage their own organisation. The village women returned the trust and formed and managed their organisation as a group. They trusted each other in their collective action and made decisions independent of Sita. This is Bonding social capital (Putnam 1993) which Sita developed.

By creating shared values and norms

Shared norms and values are considered one of the common elements of Bonding social capital (Putnam 1993; Newton 1997; Simmel 1950). There was strong evidence in the study that Sita created various norms and values in the villages.

Sita explained the benefit of self-reliance to the village girls and motivated them to pursue higher education. She not only explained the merit of self-reliance, she organised the village women in her residential house to prepare them for admission to high school. She collected garment stitching works from the local traders for the village girls so that they could earn income while they were studying in High school. The income earning abilities of the village girls proved their potential and the villagers developed the behaviour of sending their daughters to High schools located outside their villages. Most of the villagers gradually accepted this behaviour and it has continued. Thus Sita established the norm of girl's mobility outside the village.

Sita also set the norms of responsibility among the village women. She repeatedly explained the values of self-reliance to the village women. By self-reliance, she meant "*the village women should be able to solve their own problems as an individual and as a group*" (Interview – Sita). She facilitated self-rule and provided women with the opportunity to participate in group meetings and to identify their own problems, to formulate their own solutions, and to arrange funds and to make their own decisions to solve their own problems. The village women discussed their problems, identified their priorities, their possible solutions and sources of resources to implement collective actions. Repeated participation of the village women over the long term set the norms that the village women should take part in the collective decision making and be

responsible to implement the decision. *"I work for a nominal pay in the Production Centre of SMS and do sewing. The money from clothing sales funds the SMS activities. My son and daughter both study in the SMS school free of cost. They have been sponsored by a rich overseas person. So it is the villagers' duty to run SMS"*, said one of the village women.

Sita never controlled the workers of SMS and trusted them to perform on their own, to make mistakes, and to correct their mistakes on their own. The monitoring system is non-existent. Sita focused on a self-monitoring system. Most of the workers are full time volunteers or they receive low pay. The organisational values made the workers realise that if they make mistakes they have to suffer the consequences and to learn from these in order to perform better in the future. So it made them responsible. The Headmaster of the primary school brought a pack of invitation cards for a cultural function and Sita found a mistake in it. She did not say anything but gave it back to the Headmaster to find out the mistake. The Headmaster left the room hurriedly without defending himself. Sita said, *"the Headmaster will correct the mistake, but we have lost money which affects us all. This makes him ashamed and he will be more responsible in future to handle the work."* (Personal observation) The sense of collective ownership and a self-monitoring system developed the sense of responsibility in every worker.

Sita is a believer in the value of service to the needy without self-interest. She tried to motivate the village women with these values which she also practiced in her personal life. She never claimed power or position within SMS and she repeatedly acknowledged the contribution of all in developing SMS. She never used the word 'I' throughout her interview. She encouraged everybody to work as a group and she helped and worked for the villagers selflessly. Her simple life style, her sacrifice, her values set an example to the villagers. She empathised with the villagers by giving shelter to the needy and helpless widows in SMS premises, and by establishing a Girls' Home for needy girls requiring refuge. The villagers trusted and approved of her and shared her voluntary spirit, modeling her own simple lifestyle to guide their own behaviour. Thus the villagers accepted her values as their norms.

The current treasurer, one of the founding members of SMS and also a *Brahmachari*, said:

“Sita'di led me to a new life. I studied in the High school which would not have been possible without her efforts. I learned values of human life such as sacrifice, hard work for the poor, leading a simple life, honesty and selflessness from her teachings and from her personal life. Her life is an example to follow. I took Brahmachari life”.

Almost everybody associated with SMS openly admits the role of Sita in creating a motivating atmosphere. *“I have no intention to leave the organisation for financial benefits. I do it for my mental satisfaction like what Sitadi is doing. I do work to serve my people”*, said a young *Brahmachari*, who is also one of the supervisors. The Headmaster of the primary school added, *“I left the job in another school to join Sitadi's school at a much lower pay. I'm not after money, I'm contributing to my society which is a major thing to me”*. The cook of the Home said, *“I have been living here for more than 30 years. I work here. I donate most of my salary to SMS. This is my home”*. All this provides evidence that Sita created norms of ‘Generalized reciprocity’ (Ostrom 1990) among the village women. Sita helped the village women to be self-reliant and expected nothing material immediately in return. But she expected that her hard work helping the villagers would be repaid in future by the women in following her suggestions and practicing what she initiated. Sita has not forced them to repay her help immediately but trusted that they would act cooperatively, take charge of their lives, solve their own problems, be responsible and hard working, and help the needy when they need it. The villagers approved it. It is the norms of ‘Generalised reciprocity’ that Sita had set.

The village women formed a group called the Neighborhood Group. The members of the group stand in readiness to attend to critical situations in the villagers. They knew that the help would be repaid sometime in future when they will be in need. In this way they help, and receive help from others. The members are inspired by Sita's values. One of the members said, *“Sita'di always helps us. She never thinks twice in the question of helping others. She teaches us how it helps us. We learned to help others from her”*.

Sita emphasised informal learning to enable the village women to become self-reliant. She also encouraged formal education and training. Most of the SMS workers are high school graduates, the supervisors are Bachelor degree holders, and the project director is

a professionally qualified person. She encouraged SMS workers to visit other organisations in order to share skills and experiences. Attending awareness enhancing camps for the village women is a regular event put on by SMS. Using computers by supervisors is now a common practice. She herself learned by attending their meetings, and through informal conversations with the villagers. It created the norm of learning. They learnt to participate in various learning activities. Sita taught them and encouraged them to learn and teach which created a learning environment.

Norms and shared values or common faith has an important role in binding a group together for a common purpose (Lin 2005), which assists collective action. Thus it is an important element of the Bonding Social Capital (Lin 2005; Onyx & Leonard 2007, Cote & Healy 2001). Norms which are a behavioural rule can be generated from the example or practice set by the leader (Schein 1992) and repetition of events (Svendsen & Svendsen 2004; Pettigrow 1979). The study found that Sita played a significant role in influencing the norms and values that bound the women together and helped collective actions.

Ability of taking collective responsibility

All these norms created by Sita helped the villagers to develop their ability to take responsibility in the collective action. The leader of the Neighborhood Group said:

“I learnt lots of things from this organisation such as how to work as a group, how to talk in public and to help other village women in their crisis. It does help at crisis times. A few weeks ago a women had serious stomach pain. I rang the youth leader of the Youth Group and took the lady to the nearest hospital with their help and spent the full day there to do the necessary work for her. I felt very mentally strong and enjoyed the work though I don’t get any direct money from it”.

A village woman added:

“We save and borrow money through our Self-help group. I borrowed a good amount of money last year. It helped me a lot. I’m a member of the Women’s Group. I work also in the tailoring wing of the Production Centre and sew garments. I take a nominal fee for my work there.”

Thus the study found that village women developed the ability to solve their own problems through various organisational activities. They proved that they have the ability to work collectively. This is social agency (Onyx & Bullen 2000).

The villagers developed multifunctional networks

The study found Sita with her ideas helped created multifunctional networks among the villagers. She focused on forming groups for solving specific problems. She said, "*organisation strengthens a person. Groups unite all persons together and make them powerful. You need to be powerful when you want to change a thing*".

There are various groups under different development areas targeted to women and children as well as young girls and boys and adolescents. Subgroups spontaneously emerged to address the specific problems of each main group. The group members managed their groups by identifying their problems, formulating a budget, creating a work-plan, and by raising funds. SMS helps these groups by providing venues for meetings and organising functions. The collective leadership helps the villagers to take responsibility for solving their own problems. The villagers find themselves in various activities and thereby in different roles such as participating in the meeting in order to make decisions, implementing various development activities of SMS, working as teachers in SMS primary school, performing in festivals and cultural functions, taking part in sports, and working in the Production Centre. All these roles have increased interactions among the village women and increased their networks among the villagers.

Intensive daily contact between people in close networks often develops thick trust (Svendsen & Svendsen 2004; Williams 2000)) or particularised trust (Onyx & Bullen 2003) or cohesive order based trust (Misztral 1996) among the villagers and strengthens Bonding social capital.

7.5.2 Influence on Bridging social capital

Networked by using her personal contacts and offering the villagers access to networks

The study found that Sita created a beneficial working relationship with local garment traders to collect work for her night school girls. The local grocers also helped. She

maintained good relationships with local voluntary organisations with whom she was once involved and took advice and resources from them. These are Bridging social capital as Woolcock and Narayan (2000) argued this social capital refers to the capacity to access resources from sources external to the organisation in question.

Sita is an open minded woman on religious matters. So SMS established and maintained good relationships with various non-Hindu voluntary organisations in the district who share the values of a spirit of service to people in need and they provided regular resources to SMS. The relationship has been established not on multiple functions but on the shared norms that cemented the relationship. The relationship transcended religion and produced Bridging social capital (Portes 1998).

The villagers developed Bridging social capital

Sita encouraged collective networking and allowed access for other women to establish their relationships through her networks. The village women developed their own networks with other groups as well. The current treasurer developed her own contacts with government and non-government organisations. She also visited many organisations to impart training and developed her contacts. SMS received various resources from local voluntary organisations. The people in these organisations have good working relations with the workers of SMS. The workers of SMS received foreign visitors and represented SMS to the visitors and this further developed their networks. Every Supervisor has an internet connection and they developed their own local, national and international networks with similar organisations for organising resources for SMS. These are Bridging social capital. (Woolcock & Narayan 2000)

7.5.3 Linking social capital

By using her social position and offered access

Sita has established and maintained regular contacts with state government officials using her personal contacts with former freedom fighters. On one occasion she made an application in order to establish a Girls' Home for needy village girls, which was successful. SMS obtained regular funding and resources from the local government as one officer said, "*we help SMS with resources and services because we know the*

resources will be used properly. We know Sita'di and other SMS workers." Sita encouraged SMS women to establish their networks with these officials.

The study found Sita developed relationships with other social structures at district and national level to get additional and better resources. These relationships with higher social power and authority are Linking social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002). She used her personal connections with the former freedom fighters to contact skilled persons to work in the night school and she used her contacts with local traders and exporters to sell the products made by the night school girls. She contacted and visited one of the most renowned national leaders and social workers, *Vinova Bhave* to take training on various development programmes for women. Sita encouraged others to do the same.

Sita is an icon in her organisation. The local newspaper published a story on Sita's values, qualities and personal initiatives and this enabled SMS to publicize itself and its work. Many organisations and individuals who wanted to help the needy contacted SMS as a result of the newspaper article. *SAHAY* is one of the large organisations working as a partner of SMS.

The village women created Linking social capital

Sita developed a women's social agency which functioned by developing their Linking networks for SMS. It has found *SAHAY*, who has been working in the village through SMS is a contact of the current treasurer. The treasurer also has contacts with ex freedom fighters, now Chairman of the State Planning Commission.

SMS workers visit the state government departments regularly to perform SMS jobs. Experts from *Lokshiksha Parishad*, a national voluntary organisation and the state Health Department regularly visit SMS to impart training where SMS workers receive them. All these events proved that the SMS workers have developed their networks with government departments and national voluntary organisations such as *SAHAY*, and *Lokshiksha Parishad* groups with state and national renown. These networks provided various resources for SMS. These are Linking social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002). The study found *SAHAY* has been helping SMS to link with other larger charity groups and individuals. *SAHAY* runs a child sponsorship programme in the villages where most of the sponsors are foreigners. Also SMS received funds from the US through *SAHAY*.

All these examples are evidence that Sita has an important role in creating values and norms of participation and taking responsibility in collective action, hard work, discipline, and 'Generalised reciprocity'. These values and norms helped the villagers develop the ability of taking responsibility in collective action. They built social agency which is an important element of social capital. The villagers increased networks based on multifunctional relationships among themselves which are horizontal networks that increased their bonding. They developed networks with similar groups and groups with higher social power and organised resources for collective action. Thus the villagers strengthened Bonding, Bridging, and Linking social capital. Sita with her responsibility building leadership style reproduced social capital.

7.6 Development impacts of non-SEETO's activities

The study found Sita created various norms that have enormous development impacts on the village women's lives. Firstly, with these norms she empowered the village women. Secondly, these empowered women helped to bring social change to the lives of other villagers.

7.6.1 Empowerment of the villagers

The study found the norms of taking responsibility in the collective action which Sita created strengthened the ability of the village women to make purposeful decisions regarding collective actions. They became self-reliant village workers which was one of the basic social missions of Sita. This, in turn led to changes in various social practices and attitudes in the villagers. Both of these aspects suggest that these norms influenced the empowerment process of the village women. The quality of empowerment of poor villagers is influenced by:

- a) a change in the capacity of the poor to take purposeful actions in collective actions, and
- b) a change of opportunity structure in the social, political, and economic life where the poor pursue their interests (Narayan 2005).

One of the factors that influence the ability to make purposeful decisions is the organisational ability to take collective decisions. The opportunity structure consists of

various rules, roles, rights and precedents in the existing social structure as well as norms, attitudes, and values of the social, economic and political life of the villagers. In the present study Sita created the norms of taking responsibility which developed the women's organisational ability to make collective decisions. SMS workers showed their increased capacity to take purposeful decisions in their collective actions.

The study also showed that other norms which Sita created have changed the existing social practices and attitudes of the villagers and the village women. The villagers were uneducated and were against the education of women. The village women were oppressed, uneducated, and afraid to take initiatives to change their situation.

Sita motivated the villagers to allow their daughters to attend the night school of Sita where she would explain the benefit of higher education. As a result the villagers gradually began to send their girls to the high school located outside the village. The women formed groups, they worked in the production centre, they went out to government offices and also overseas. The evidence indicates a change in attitudes of the villagers who initially did not allow their daughters to go outside the villages. So Sita created the norms of learning for the women, the norms of hard work, and the norms of cooperation which changed the existing social attitude towards women, those which initially blocked their development. All these factors suggest the village women developed their organisational capacity and the villagers have changed their attitude. These factors are components of the empowerment process (Alsop & Heinsohn 2005). Thus Sita empowered the village women by assisting them to become self-reliant social workers, which brought various social changes to their lives.

7.6.2 Empowered workers and women's development

Empowered persons are considered a significant factor in reducing poverty according to a World Bank report (2000). The study found that empowered village women helped to bring various developments to their lives or helped to reduce their poverty.

The study found the socio-economic condition of the village women was poor when Sita initiated her development activities. The various social taboos against the participation of local women meant their life was confined to the family domain, where they remained isolated. Isolation is one of the factors of poverty (Chambers 1997).

Women had no opportunities to study beyond primary school as they were not allowed to go to the city to study in the high school. So the social taboo imposed on the women's mobility made them uneducated. Isolation and confinement worsened their poverty.

Sita believed that lack of knowledge made the women powerless to challenge these social constraints, so she decided to organise the women to make them strong and took the mission of women development activities.

However, basic services were scarce in the area of health, education and income in the village. The study found that in Sita's village there was an active voluntary organisation which undertook various development programmes to address these scarcities. She was working there but left it being dissatisfied with the insufficient focus on the village women's development. Sita focused mainly on women's development but as well took on other community and child development programmes.

The study found Sita created various norms which helped the village women to participate, cooperate, and take responsibility as a group in development activities such as:

- a quality primary school in the villages
- a secondary school for girls only
- a home for needy girls
- medical centres
- women's groups, and
- a vocational training and production centre.

Sita undertook group formation as the principal vehicle for development activities. The village women formed the Women's Group. The Women's Group through consensus identified their needs and their possible solutions and they reviewed their progress according to development plans. Sita initially facilitated them to make decisions by suggesting alternatives but now the village women are able to solve their own problems on their own. The Women's Group has extended their activities by including savings and credit activities, activities for adolescent girls and boys and dealing with crisis situations in the villages. Several groups have been formed to manage these activities

under different areas such as health, income, education and rural development. The group members had to organise their own 'what to do' and 'how to do it'. The idea of a Production Centre, the idea of a home for needy girls, and the idea of the primary school came from the Women's Group. The women provided help to local villagers during times of crisis and they cleaned the village, identified group specific problems and solved them. All these factors enhanced the good feeling experienced by the women and increased their well-being. Well-being is one of the factors of development.

The vocational training and Production Centre is one of the successful programmes of SMS. The local women have been managing this centre as a group. They are deciding on training courses - who will be trained, how funding will be collected to run the centre etc., independent of Sita. They represent the centre to the visitors. The study found the production centre women talked to foreign donors who wanted to update and fund some training courses. The local women are teaching and working there after taking SMS training. This is evidence that the economic practice of the local women has changed. These practices have changed the productivity of women and brought economic development.

In the above examples it was identified that the members of the Women's Group became self-reliant village workers. The self-reliant SMS workers showed their increased capacity to take purposeful action in their collective actions. Findings from the study also indicate that these actions have changed the existing social and economic practices of the village women and brought social changes. The changes brought development in the village women's lives.

Thus the study found that Sita's activities which created some norms have empowered the local women. The empowered women have changed the wellbeing and economic productivity of the village women.

7.7 Implications of non-SEETO characteristics on organisational sustainability

The study found that Sita strengthened Bonding, and developed Bridging and Linking social capital in the process, she collected economic and human capital and ensured the organisation's development (Woolcock & Narayan 2000). Do the village women have

the potential to continue "*the ongoing dynamic process of the valued results of development activities*" (Viswanath 1995) if she withdraws?

Organisational sustainability requires the engagement of local staff in the management of tasks, mass participation of the locals to take part in the decision making process, and local contributions to funding (Rahman 1990; Uphoff et al. 1998). The staff and organisation are also required to be engaged in the learning process. Learning helps to generate creative and innovative ideas to solve problems and helps to sustain the organisation. So another condition for organisational sustainability is that staff should be engaged in the learning process to make the organisation a learning organisation. The study attempted to analyse whether Sita's organisation has been able to meet these conditions.

The learning process includes collecting information about problems, analysing the information to understand the cause of the problem, finding solutions appropriate to the context, and applying the solutions to practice (Uphoff et al. 1998). Smillie and Hailey (2001) argue that the learning voluntary organisation collects information formally and informally. Informal information comes from conversation, experience, institutional meetings, and consensus of the village meetings. Formal training and education, research results, and publication provide formal information.

The study found that Sita encouraged the villagers to learn responsibility and developed their ability to take responsibility in collective action. This represents an important element of collective capacity building. It is social agency. To develop this social agency Sita encouraged them to learn by teaching, by engaging in the work of village workers and by facilitating self-rule among the local women. The villagers learned from her practice, from her teaching, and by practicing self-rule and also by taking decisions collectively as a group. The women learned formally and informally from the various sources. These are characteristics of a learning organisation (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Sita created a learning organisation where the villagers and SMS workers were engaged in the learning process by collecting information from these sources, analysing and then applying new ideas in practice.

As mentioned earlier, a production centre worker learned how to deal with government officers through practical experience. She gathered data from her personal experience, analysed it and eventually learned how to do the job. She was engaged in the learning process and she learned from practical experiences as well as from formal learning. She had an interest in tailoring and had taken training from SMS trainers. In the process, she proved her ability to maintain the existing relationships with the Girls' Home and with government officials.

Similarly most of the SMS workers and villagers remained engaged in the learning process maintaining and extending social capital. The supervisors of each department of SMS remained engaged in implementing particular development programmes for which they were responsible. The supervisors had to identify the most efficient way of implementing programmes through consensus in department meetings. In the process they remained engaged in the learning process and maintained their bonding relationships. The primary school Headmaster said, "*I take the responsibility of performing the school tasks and have full power to do so. Nobody interferes in the work.*" It proved his involvement in the learning process to develop new ideas to improve the school and the network of relationships around it. "*We learned this way and gained experience and confidence which we applied later to establish new relationships*", said one of the workers. This is an evidence for how the workers have maintained and extended their relationships to strengthen the collective action without Sita's help. These aspects ensure organisational sustainability.

The SMS workers learned Bridging and Linking networking - locally, nationally and internationally with funding agencies and other voluntary organisations. Sita encouraged collective leadership, hence the responsibility of networking has been taken over by all SMS workers together. The treasurer established a relationship with the local government. She also went to train the tribal women in another state through the *SAHAY* contact. *SAHAY* also networks for SMS. The study found that the treasurer was also teaching the workers to build working relationships with the government officials.

It has been observed that there was no particular person to attend to telephone calls or to receive visitors. A donor organisation came to offer funds to open a computer training centre. The tailoring teacher, the treasurer, the Girls' Home superintendent were seen

busy talking and explaining the SMS activities to the donor organisation. It implies that all the workers were engaged in maintaining and establishing relationships with visitors. The collective leadership style through group formation of Sita facilitated the women workers of SMS to build their new networks. Sita's rotating leadership style encouraged wider participation of workers in every area and reduced dependency on a single person. This implies the ability of workers to maintain relationships in various areas.

Increasing use of computers with internet by the supervisors helped them to set up their own networks. It implies that the workers learned networking independent of Sita. One of the supervisors said, *"I maintain our relationship with the present contacts and also establish our new relationships. As a voluntary organisation worker I have a large network"*.

Sita never controlled the workers and helped them to learn from their own mistakes. She encouraged them to find their own solutions to their own mistakes and helped them to be more responsible. So they learned from their mistakes. She herself learned through experience by visiting various voluntary organisations and sharing this information with workers and she encouraged others to do the same. She encouraged institutional learning by inviting well known experts of various trades to train the villagers, hosting academics to speak at meetings, workshops and seminars. This encouraged shared learning in the villages. She sent the workers to other organisations to take on new training and to share these learnt skills. Thus, the SMS workers have used their opportunities to establish their new relationships.

Publications are common sources of learning (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Sita took the initiatives to set up a library for the locals at a minimum access fee. The notice board (everything written in Bengali language) enabled the local people to learn about the progress of the organisation. She encouraged the staff to correspond with other voluntary organisations within the state of West Bengal in Bengali so that the grass root organisations can understand their practices.

To pursue the development mission she created a learning organisation where the workers were encouraged to remain engaged in the formal and informal learning

process. This ensured the organisation to learn formally and informally and satisfied one condition of organisational sustainability.

Another condition of organisational sustainability requires local people to contribute funding. The study found that Sita collected funds mostly from locals. The local villagers donated to SMS as the local grocers supplied groceries and the local traders helped in marketing SMS products. The primary school students are paying fees and the school is sustainable.

The study found the villagers developed social agency and maintained and extended relationships with other groups. In the process, social capital has been developing. Bridging and Linking social capital helped to acquire other capitals such as human and economic for organisational development. Finally a national level voluntary organisation works as a link between higher social groups and SMS and collected funds for SMS. This aspect ensured sustainability of the sources of fund and ensured organisational sustainability if Sita withdraws.

7.8 Discussion

The study found that Sita, as a social entrepreneur with responsibility building leadership style reproduced social capital. She developed various norms and the capabilities of the villagers to take responsibility in collective action. The villagers developed and strengthened their bonding relationship among them thus creating Bonding social capital. The villagers also developed networks with similar groups and groups with higher social status and created Bridging and Linking social capital respectively. The village women became empowered, which increased their economic productivity and enhanced their well being. Sita's leadership style ensured the sustainability of the organisation.

Sita is a social entrepreneur who established a non-profit organisation with a social purpose aimed at developing village women's physical, economic and moral lives. She established trust based relationships with the villagers who were initially against the girls' higher education and their mobility outside the villages. The village women were uneducated and suffered social discrimination due to their ignorance. With this

background and being a local woman, it was very difficult to go against existing social practices. Sita overcame these difficulties through her ideas and values and changed the villagers' attitudes and made the village women into self-reliant village workers who are hard working, knowledgeable and have the ability to take responsibility in collective action. She changed the social practices, values and norms of the village women by developing their social agency or social capital and brought development. This is social entrepreneurship (Alvord et al. 2004). She changed the village women who were inactive and afraid to resist social taboos, into self-reliant active workers with the ability to solve their own problems collectively. Sita thus produced 'creative destruction' which is a major quality of a social entrepreneur (Schumpeter 1980) Sita transformed the women's lives from lower social value to higher productive value. The women in Sita's village have become united, identified their problems and solved them. They are now working, earning an income, and helping each other. Entrepreneurs transform things with a lower value to higher value (Drucker 1993). Social entrepreneurs have a social mission (Dees 1998). Thus Sita is a social entrepreneur.

She was guided by her former freedom fighter teachers and she is well known for her social services to the community. She took a social mission driven by her own belief. She believed village development is possible through self-reliant women willing to work hard, who are knowledgeable, responsible, cooperative and display a caring attitude. Her personal qualities indicate a trustworthy social worker who maintained informal relationships with the villagers. She loved and cared for the villagers remaining flexible and open. She proved her knowledge by educating and motivating the village women in her night school. The village women accepted her as leader.

Her activities suggested that she facilitated the self-rule of the villagers to make them responsible village workers for their own development. Following this view she became trustworthy, encouraged collective leadership of women through forming women's groups. She never judged or evaluated them encouraging self monitoring instead. She kept herself busy in learning and promoted learning. She networked using her personal contacts and encouraged networking. Sita taught the village women about the benefits of education at her night school. She is a Bachelor degree holder and herself realized benefits of education in the past. She encouraged the women to undertake vocational trainings and also participated. She helped them to be organized, to identify their

problems and work out solutions collectively. She networked for them and asked them to be connected with her networks and at the same time to establish their own networks. She learned from the villagers the nature of their problems and possible solutions while offering her own ideas as well. Thus, most importantly, Sita worked hard for the collective benefit of women and created an environment for the same. Thus Sita took a 'responsibility building leadership' style. All these characteristics have impacted on influencing social capital reproduction.

In this leadership approach Sita reproduced various norms such as the norms of cooperation and participation in collective action, the norms of caring for the needy, the norms of learning, and the norms of taking responsibility jointly in collective actions. All these norms developed the ability of the village women to take responsibility in collective action. The study found the village women formed their group to solve their problems. They identified the need for a night shelter for needy young girls, so a Girls' Home for the needy girls was established. They identified their lack of resources and increased their skills to deal with health related emergencies. They formed a Neighbourhood Group and trained themselves to deal with crises and they formed a savings and credit group. The young girls found they had separate types of problems and formed their own group. Not only formed group, they successfully managed this group over a long period. So the study found the village women have developed the ability to act collectively or they developed their social agency which is an element of social capital (Onyx & Bullen 2000). Since the villagers developed social agency or the ability to take responsibility in collective action they developed their multifunctional networks among the villagers and strengthened their horizontal relationship based on thick trust which is Bonding social capital. Sita used her personal contacts to collect resources from similar groups and also groups with higher power and authority. She offered the village women access to her networks and encouraged them to network independently. The villagers also developed networks with similar groups and groups with higher social status and created Bridging and Linking social capital respectively. Thus Sita's leadership style reproduced social capital.

In other words, Sita's characteristics had a significant effect on the development of the village women's social and economic lives. The quality of social agency corresponds to the qualities of empowerment. The empowered process is influenced by two factors:

the ability to take purposeful decisions in collective actions and the changes in the opportunity structure where the poor live. The study found both these changes in the villages. Thus the development impact of Sita's development activities came through empowering the village women. These empowered women brought development into their lives.

Sita's organisational activities have positive impacts on organisational sustainability. The study found that Sita promoted learning and inspired the village women to learn responsibility by creating a learning organisation. The village women took part in the management of their group, they also took decisions in meetings thus ensuring mass participation in the decision making process. The Women's Group collected donations from locals. Thus all the conditions of sustainability have been satisfied here.

The SMS workers maintained and improved the existing relationships among the villagers through their new ideas and practices. They established new networks and maintained old networks with outsiders in order to obtain funding, ideas and resources to strengthen SMS. These activities ensured that they have the ability to maintain and strengthen all types of social capital and thus ensure organisational sustainability. It is noteworthy how learning or human capital helped to develop other capitals. Sita focused on the importance of learning through formal and informal sources. This learning or human capital helped the SMS women to be engaged with various activities of SMS and helped them to establish their close daily networks with other village women and strengthened their informal knowledge and relationship to organize collective actions or social capital to solve their problem. Sita's night school, formal high school learning and various vocational trainings obtained through LSP, local voluntary organizations, individual philanthropists and the government helped them to expand their knowledge and to set up wider networks. The research found these networks provided further training, information, resources and funding with SMS and developed their Bridging and Linking social capitals which further developed human capital of the village women. Sita took the central role in initiating learning in SMS. Table 7.1 summarizes the characteristics of Sita as non-SEETO and the impact on social capital reproduction, development, and organisational sustainability.

Table 7.1
Characteristics and outcomes of social entrepreneurs
Non-SEETO – SMS

<i>Characteristics</i>	
Social mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village development through self-reliant women who are responsible, hard working, caring, and knowledgeable
Background and social position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-SEETO, local social worker
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She earned trust by practicing values and qualities • She loved and cared for the villagers • Remained open and casual • She facilitated self-rule among the villagers enabling them to become responsible social workers • She networked using her personal and social position and encouraged collective networking • She learned and promoted learning
Leadership style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility building
<i>Outcome</i>	
Impact on social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed responsibility for taking decisions • Reproduced Bonding, Bridging and Linking social capital
Impact on development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowered the villagers • Brought well being and productivity
Implication for organisational sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created a learning organisation • Ensured sustainability

Chapter 8

Case Study 5: Alokanda Nari Sangho (ANS)

8.1 Introduction

Alokanda Nari Sangho (ANS), the fifth case study organisation in this research, is located in South 24 Parganas district in the state of West Bengal, India. It has been organising many collective actions using social capital. It has been in operation in two villages since 1973. The total population of these two villages was about 3,000 in the year in which 2000, half of them women (ANS 2006). The majority of villagers are poor farmers belonging to the lower social strata of Indian society.

The objective of ANS is to develop the socio-economic conditions of the local women. A local person, identified in this study as the Social Entrepreneur Internal to Organisation or non-SEETO, strengthened the organisation with his various qualities to improve the village women's conditions. Since 1973 he facilitated various development programmes through the local women's Self-help group in areas of education and income. These development programmes brought changes to the local women.

8.2 Socio-economic context

ANS is located about 20 km away from the nearest market town *Kakdweep* which serves as the main commercial centre for the area. Most of the people living in these villages are engaged in farming activities. Women account for less than half of the population and are mostly remain engaged in household activities and small businesses such as tending to livestock if they have land. The women of landless families work as the wage labourers on other's land. (ANS 2007)

The villages are linked by unsealed roads to the river *Govodia*. People have to cross the river by ferry to reach either *Kakdweep* or to access transport facilities to go to any other

market town (see photo D.11 in Appendix D). The river is impassable during the monsoon months. Villagers use boats as their main connection (Photograph) to trade, banking facilities, school, college, the health centre, other civic amenities, and government offices at *Kakdweep*. Travel takes at least 3 hours for a return journey (Interview with the former secretary).

The president of ANS mentioned:

"Transport cost adds more burden to our resource poor villages. The villagers have to travel to Kakdweep to avail various civic facilities which takes more than three hours and costs Rs. 32. The travelling cost is equal to almost half of the daily minimum wage for a labourer. Thus, poor people are reluctant to go to Kakdweep to seek work. They remain in the village to starve and die".

Landless persons are more vulnerable to multidimensional poverty whereas marginal farmers suffer from adverse climate which is directly related to their farm production and income. *"Harshness of the local climate aggravates the situation more,"* added the president. *"Average rainfall is not sufficient for cultivating double crops without irrigation facilities. The river water is salty as it is connected to the Bay of Bengal and is not suitable for irrigation. Moreover there are substantial variations between different years, with an average of one in every four declared either a drought or a flood year. Flood is a big problem for us"*, said one of the senior villagers.

The National (Central) Government's anti-poverty programmes centred on credit, soil conservation, minor irrigation and waste land development, which never reaches these remote areas. *"The local government does not help to improve the condition either"*, said one of the villagers. *"A poor transport system makes education unavailable to the villagers, particularly to women. The local money lenders exploit the villagers' lack of accounting knowledge."*

Women's position

The social position of the women is not good in this block. Sometimes they are oppressed by their in-laws. Various social practices, prevalent in the villages, often conspire against them, but the women never protest. They do not speak out against any discrimination. The women have little opportunity to study in high schools. The nearest

high school is in *Kakdweep*, so most of the village girls cannot afford to go to high schools. Most of them study upto grade 8 in village schools. "*Lack of education and lack of knowledge makes them timid and submissive*", said the present secretary.

8.3 Overview of ANS

ANS was established in 1973 in *Hashiabad* village of *Kakdweep* Block in 24 Parganas district of West Bengal. Its operational activities cover two villages with 3,000 persons. The main objective of ANS is to initiate overall development of the village women including their physical and moral health.

ANS was established with the initiative, efforts and ideas of a local villager, Pal. He was the secretary of another local voluntary organisation, *Village Alakananda Club* (VAC) and nurtured a vision of overall development of the village women. Pal, the founder and current General Secretary of ANS, helped the local women to found ANS. His personality and effort gave clear direction and impetus to ANS over the period.

ANS is a Self-help group based on savings and credit programmes of 10 women groups and is run by a 5 member managing committee. Each women group has its own managing group with a president and secretary. Its development includes an economic programme such as savings and credit, livestock farming, fish culture, vegetable farming and other social activities such as organising cultural functions, educating women about their rights, and relief works for flood victims.

The savings and credit programmes help women to secure investment loans from their own savings. Private donation is one of the main sources of income for ANS to fund development activities. Member fees, local people's donation in the form of skill, labour and resources are the other funding sources for the organisation.

Performance of ANS

The study found that the collective actions of ANS brought changes in the organisation and in the community life of the village women. To assess its success it is necessary to keep in mind the initial socio-economic context and the social and economic position

of women where the organisation has been in operation. A senior villager, aged 101 years, commented, "*the girls are doing very well now*".

The president of another voluntary organisation in the same village said:

"They have learned how to be organised including how to make collective decision and its implementation process, how to handle public money by keeping transparency, how to resolve disputes, how to write resolutions, how to keep accounts and more importantly they now speak out against discrimination and take action if required."

The impact of the formation of Self-help groups on the social lives of the village women is phenomenal. It has impacted on their knowledge level and the group members now save money – they give money to the group leader who deposits it in the nearest local bank. The group offers loans to the neediest members of the group at 1.5 per cent interest rate. The interest rate is cheaper than the local commercial bank's rate. The cheap interest rate helps the women to avoid the higher interest rate of 10 to 15 per cent charged by local moneylenders.

ANS has now been in operation for more than 15 years. The social life of the village women has improved over this period. The self help group has been an active programme through which the beneficiaries, particularly women, achieved social development. The economic change is not tangible though, as they are not doing big business and earning a higher income. However, they could free themselves from the clutches of the moneylenders to some extent. The effort of the current secretary, Pal, in forming the Self-help group for the women has been important.

8.4 Social Entrepreneur Internal to Organisation (non-SEETO)

8.4.1 About non-SEETO

The study identified Pal as the non-SEETO of ANS. Pal has been associated with ANS as General Secretary for a long period and played an important role to strengthen the organisation. He is a local person with the same socio-economic background as the villagers. His father was a farmer in the village with a small landholding. Pal did his high schooling at a *Kakdweep* school and obtained his bachelors degree from the local

college then took a teaching job in a local school. He worked as an unpaid volunteer secretary in another local voluntary organisation (VAC) from when he was a teenager. He took initiative to found ANS, the local voluntary organisation for women.

The school teacher's job and a plot of inherited agricultural land provided him with a livelihood. Earlier he also worked at the *Lokshiksha Parishad's* (LP) local office at *Kakdweep* and lived there for a few years. Then he returned to the village and took up the job of teaching in the local high school (up to grade 8) and founded ANS.

8.4.2 Characteristics of non-SEETO

He took a social mission

Pal has a vision - a common feature of most social entrepreneurs. *"The overall development of the village is my vision that I have always cherished in my life"*, Pal said. He added:

"but the vision of overall development comes afterwards. We, the young villagers united together with the initial aim of feeding the poor and save their lives during the flood - to saving the lives of flood affected poor villagers from hunger and death. When we realised that the occurrence of flood was almost an annual event we contacted the LP for funding and wanted to start some permanent development work. LP helped us at the beginning with funding. Soon we realised that we needed workers to run development activities".

Through experience he knew that to sustain development efforts active villagers are needed who are self-reliant, have practical knowledge on how to serve people, and ideas of how to enhance their wellbeing. They should also know how to use public (government or contributions from villagers) money, should be skilled and possess the capacity to solve the village problems and should be cooperative. The same concepts are true for women as well.

During the course of interviews with the researcher, Pal repeatedly argued in favour of these qualities of village workers, which expresses his strong belief in these values. *"My goal is to build active village workers because only the active village workers can make the overall village development possible"*, he said. *"But it is my experience that without*

the involvement of women the development work remains incomplete. So I emphasized women and decided to form women's group along with the men". "Mama (maternal uncle) is the first person who worked hard for women's participation in the organisational activities in the village", said the former secretary about Pal's contribution to the formation of ANS.

He earned trust

Pal strongly believed in certain values such as, hard work, self-reliance, development of skills, knowledge, discipline and cooperation. He believed that a village worker should possess all of these qualities. He is a village worker and working for the village development since the inception of the first voluntary organisation in the village in the 1970s. *"I came to the club daily after my school hours and worked here until 9 or 10 o'clock at the night. The same routine is continuing since we founded the organisation, except for a few years when I worked in the town. It has become a part of my life",* said Pal.

He took part in every collective action of the village and proved his cooperative and hard working nature. This was particularly evident during the floods of 1969 (the worst on record) where the villagers witnessed his involvement and dedication.

He is viewed as a knowledgeable and skilled person. After completing his Bachelors degree he worked in a voluntary organisation at *Kakdweep* (with LP) to gain experience in organisational management. He is now in his late sixties and has been engaged in various village development activities of both ANS and VAC representing them on various government and non-government committees, as well as involvement in the management of ANS activities. He said, *"I maintain a routine. Otherwise it is impossible to manage all these activities"*.

Pal is a local villager and the study found him as a senior local person. His relationship with the villagers is informal and close, he is '*Dada*' (elder brother) to everybody in the villages. He is also known as *Mama* (maternal uncle) to the young villagers as he addresses village women as '*Didi*' (elder sister).

The research interviews revealed that he was scolded by one of the ANS members for forgetting an important date of the organisation. On another occasion, the researcher observed that he was scolded by a member for trying to read a note without his glasses on (personal observation). Both incidents suggest that he has an informal relationship with the ANS members. However, he is still highly respected by the villagers. The women members were present in the community hall as soon as he asked them to come and meet with me. Some of the women were busy with other engagements and were not fully prepared to spend time with a visitor, but they attended and talked because "*Mama asked them to do it*" (said one of the secretaries of ANS).

Pal values gender equity and believe that women have the same potential as men to become good village workers if they are willing to acquire the required qualities. VAC has a woman member on the managing committee. Pal tried hard to take her to the managing committee. "*It is the first time a woman is a managing committee member in our village. Very few village organisations have woman organisers. Dada encouraged her to attend the committee and other managing committee members were not very willing to take women, however he motivated them and it happened*", said one member.

The physical instructor of VAC (see photo D.12 in Appendix D) is also a young local girl. The girl went to the town for a week to take training. This is not a very common occurrence, not only in the villages, but also in other parts of the district (personal observation). "*Mama worked really hard to motivate her parents to send the girl outside the village for a week*", said one of the members. "*I had to personally assure the parents about the security of the girl at the training institute*", said Pal. "*He worked hard for us. No secretary had done it in the past*", said one of the ANS members. In this respect Pal was able to earn the trust of the villagers because of the way he worked.

He educated the village women

"*If they participate in the village development activities the village will be stronger*", said Pal. He decided to form a Self-help group for women. He asked the senior women of the village to come to the VAC Community Hall and he explained his motive, the benefits of forming Self-help groups, how to form the group, how to write resolutions, how to keep account books etc. He emphasised that, by forming Self-help groups, they

would be able to handle their own economic activities and achieve self-reliance, and become village workers.

To motivate women Pal used to tell them the stories about great women in the history of Bengal. One of the senior women members said:

“Dada encouraged us to form our group. Addressing a meeting in front of so many eyes was a nightmare to me. I initially thought I couldn't do it. But he used to encourage me and gave me confidence whenever I met him. Without him we would not have formed our group”.

Pal remained present in every meeting of the group for the first two years after formation. He encouraged them in every possible manner to speak out at the meetings. One of the young girls of ANS said, *“I forgot everything when I stood up to talk for the first time. Mama was present there, and said ‘go on, why are you worried?’ It helped me. Now I feel okay to talk in the meetings”.*

Pal helped them to learn book keeping and write of resolutions. He believed that financial transparency was the first requirement in order to continue the group. So he started teaching them basic accounting, then arranged formal training in accounting methods for the women. The secretary of one of the groups commented:

“It is my duty to keep records of members - who is depositing, who is repaying, and who is defaulting - it is a bit complicated sometimes. I learned it initially from dada, and then I took formal training from an expert. He came to train us - the village women only. Dada organised it”.

According to Pal, women are managing their groups quite efficiently, as well as the men. Initially most of the VAC members were sceptical about women's ability to form and manage a group independently. Pal said:

“I believed in their abilities and had confidence that they have no less ability than men in resolving their problems. They did prove their abilities. The women group members can now resolve various family disputes around the village once being called to mediate; they manage various women's festivals and social events and organised relief works for flood victims of the neighbouring villages as well”.

Facilitated self-rule of the village women

Mass participation in management

Pal believed in cooperation and local people's participation in management activities within the organisation such as decision making and programme implementation. To pursue this Pal emphasised in organising meetings with the villagers. As he mentioned,

“Cooperation from the villagers in identifying problems, suggesting possible solutions and implementing plans is necessary for making them engaged in the decision making process”, Pal argued. “Voluntary organisation means cooperation and collective responsibility to me. We think organising meetings on various women's issues and the village women's participation in those meetings are the best possible means to obtaining their cooperation and engaging them in collective responsibility.”

Pal motivated all the village women to participate in the decision making process, not just the group leader and secretary. Women members also took responsibility for identifying their own development ideas, formulating and implementing work plans and organising funding.

The researcher observed that meetings were important events at ANS where they were used to identify development programmes suitable for the village women. Large umbrella organisations such as *Lokshiksha Parishad* (LP) offer various women development programmes with its affiliated organisations. Pal said:

“But every village is unique in their nature and problems. We can't afford to implement programmes which are not suitable in the village context. We take the basic ideas of LP and contextualise it according to our requirements. We organise meetings with the village women to contextualise programmes. We allow the village women to fix the date and time of the meeting according to their convenience. They are busy people. So it is better to organise meetings as per their convenience - not ours. I believe in these values.”

For choosing a particular development programme, availability of local resources is the major consideration. *“We consider whether we have local man power and necessary*

skills, and availability of local funds. We don't want to depend on outside help. I believe if the villagers can contribute their resources such as labour, skill, money and other resources only then can a development programme be implemented", Pal clarified. Pal thinks the women still need more skills in order to manage income generation programmes for larger scale projects. The local village market is small and not competitive. So to gain experience in selling large produce the women should go to the town and compete with other traders. At present the women have no such skill in this area so Pal did not encourage them to take bigger loans from the bank for their businesses.

The former secretary of ANS provided an example:

"The women of the village are now engaged in a vegetable cultivation programme. They are selling vegetables to the local wholesalers who visit the village regularly. They are earning better income than before. The idea came from the women themselves".

Again, the women members now run a grocery shop in the village. They buy basic items from wholesalers in the nearest market town and sell to the villagers at a lower price than the market. *"Identifying the concept of a grocery shop for doing business was the women's own idea. We did not suggest to them this business"*, said one of the committee secretaries. *"My husband runs a grocery shop in the town. So I have some idea about this business. I suggested to our women members to try the business where I could take a leading role, and it worked"*, said one of the grocery shop group members.

One of the women members explained her own experience:

"I went to the chilli powder production centre in the market town to get first hand experience on how they run their businesses. My idea was to find out whether we could start one for income generation. I observed that they add low quality chillies and other cheap products to keep the cost low and to earn good profit. We can't do that. Thus we discarded this business idea".

ANS holds meetings with the village women to collect their suggestions for organising social events. They call on village women to enhance their awareness in family planning, child care, and health issues. *"Cooperation of the villagers is our basic*

mantra as a voluntary organisation”, said Pal. So he facilitated mass participation in management.

Promoter of collective leadership

ANS is run by groups of village women and Pal holds an important position as general secretary of all the groups. *“I believe in democracy and group leadership”*, said Pal. As secretary, he takes decisions following democratic discussions in the managing of committee meetings. *“I encourage them always to make their own decisions through discussions. Sometimes I help them in the decision making process by suggesting alternatives and pointing out strengths and weaknesses of each alternative by explaining the whole situation”*, said Pal.

Motivating the village women to join the existing groups and to form new group is the task of the existing leaders, assisted by every member of the group. The activities of ANS are conducted by the group leaders, so to select a group leader is a major task. The task of motivating a person to be a leader has been shared by all the members of the organisation. *“We, the members motivate other village women. If we find a woman who has expertise in some particular area, we try our best to motivate the person until she takes the leadership. We never give up”*, said one of the members.

The spirit of collective leadership in welcoming visitors was clearly evident while conducting this study. The women members received and welcomed visitors as a group. The task of explaining to the guest about the values, development programmes and history of the group is not assigned to any particular person or the secretary. All the members performed the job depending upon their availability. The secretary is not always necessarily the spokesperson for the group (personal observation).

The women members select the neediest woman for loans. They offer loans to one or two members only at a time. But if one member’s urgency and need for the loan is considered by the group as high, then the entire amount available can be given to that one woman. In such cases the decision should be consensual or unanimous. The women group members make this type of important collective decisions. It is a very difficult process as everybody in the group needs money. Selecting the neediest when everybody is needy is a tough task. The women have to consider and analyse the condition of each

applicant's needs very carefully, without any bias or prejudice. *"The women have been doing the task for years, but I keep my watchful eyes on their activities. They also inform me of their decisions and ask my opinions"*, said Pal.

"I support collective leadership. The General Secretary needs to be present in group meetings. As the General Secretary, I have to take various initiatives but I never impose my personal opinions on them. I listen to their ideas. Sometimes I find that their ideas or arguments are not strong enough. In such cases, I offer alternate arguments and ideas but I facilitate them to make decision", said Pal with a polite smile.

Collective monitoring

The women members collectively run the organisation. There is no paid staff at ANS. Thus there is no need for staff appraisals, monetary punishment, and incentive schemes. The women members monitor each other. The village women work for the goodwill of the organisation and everybody volunteers their time and skill to serve ANS. The village women boast about the organisation where they work as a group for their collective development. *"It doesn't mean that they are getting economic benefit out of every activity. Their satisfaction comes when they successfully implement a work plan and the surrounding villages praise the organisation. We have created an environment where the village women participate and work spontaneously"*, said Pal.

Active participation created a sense of collective ownership and leadership and produced an environment characterised by enthusiasm and satisfaction. *"I don't need a stick to monitor them. If somebody fails to perform a task I ask her to think deeply about the reason for her failure and inspire the person to suggest corrective measures. It works. They can evaluate themselves and that is the best possible method of leadership, I think"*, said Pal.

Clarifying it further, Pal said:

"I follow the same policy while resolving disputes in the women groups. If a group member requests my intervention to resolve their disputes, first I suggest they resolve it within themselves by discussion. Sometimes I need to be active to resolve their disputes. At the same time, I suggest for them to maintain

transparency in handling cash and keep clear written records of all accounts to maintain mutual trust”.

"We try our best to resolve our disputes, but sometimes we need *dada* to solve problems. It happens rarely", said one of the woman secretaries. Pal maintains a careful watch over ANS activities and collects information from the group leaders on a regular basis.

He networked and encouraged collective networking

VAC is a member of the national organisation LP. Pal used his contacts as a secretary of VAC to help ANS with various resources. Pal organised funds from LP to fund ANS. He also organised various institutional facilities such as, training, workshops and awareness enhancing camps for ANS members. He has contacts with agricultural experts and vocational skill trainers from LP. The village women depend on agriculture as their main source of livelihood. Some of the women members are engaged in vegetable growing and fish cultivation. So taking decisions on agricultural development activities is very important. ANS depends on the other local voluntary organisation's paid field staff for undertaking better farming practices in agricultural development activities. Pal said:

“The field staff is a local man who comes from a farming family, and is well informed about agriculture. He visits the women's vegetable fields and identifies whether they need any training on better farming practices or face any other difficulties. He informs me about the conditions, and I contact experts as per the requirements.”

Pal invited many of them to train ANS members and introduced the women members to these persons. It helped the ANS members to establish a relationship with these people and to get resources when needed. One of the ANS members said, "*I went to visit LP officials for some help for starting my poultry business. I got some chicks free of costs. I know the LP staff now - Mama introduced me to them*".

The study found that Pal has a good reputation as a senior village worker in the district. He has his own networks as secretary of VAC with other voluntary organisations and government agencies within the district. He became the coordinator of various annual events organised by local voluntary organisations in *Kakdweep* block. Pal allowed the

ANS members access to his connections by introducing them to the secretaries of other voluntary organisations. The study found that women members have connections with these voluntary organisations and they collected donations.

The relationship between the local government and Pal is not a very good one. As a secretary of VAC he undertook a government funded development programme where the contribution of the villagers would be half. Pal had organised the villagers to build 14 latrines in the village. The villagers pooled their resources together in order to do this, however the government fund never came. Eventually the villagers completed the project bearing all of the expenses themselves. After this incident Pal avoided attempts at gaining government funding, but he kept contact with the local government's development agencies. The Social Welfare Board of the State Government has now introduced a common platform, 'Sunderban Welfare Forum' for voluntary organisations in the South 24 Parganas district to maintain networks among themselves. He said:

"I attend the forum with the ANS members, keeping in mind that I should develop my successors. I maintain my networks and visit other organisations always with some ANS members. Some of the ANS members are not good at English, so I write applications and all correspondence for ANS in local language so that they can do it in my absence, but the Forum has done little to help ANS so far".

He introduced the female secretary of ANS to the local bank officials who helped the women to organise the work done fast and smoothly. The women member have said they do their banking activities without Pal's help

Pal has no connections at an international level and his network is limited at the local level. The study found the organisation has limited financial resources, although LP offered some financial help at the beginning of ANS activities. Pal said getting funding would be a hard job as there are many voluntary organisations that compete for a single funding source. The former secretary said, *"we need funds. Lack of fund is one of our main weaknesses. Mama is never focused in this area"*. Pal said, *"I admit we need funds, but first be a responsible village worker, and then money will come automatically"*.

Pal facilitated and motivated them to establish their relationship with other groups, independent of him. The ANS members followed his suggestions. They extended their relationships with the neighbouring villages by helping them during their crisis periods. The ANS members raised funds for their activities by door-to-door collection and depended less on Pal for funding. The study found that the women members started a grocery shop and established working relationships with the local traders in the nearest commercial town *Kakdweep*. One of the female secretaries said, "*we invited some of the secretaries of other voluntary organisations to attend our annual functions. They donated funds to the women's groups. It is an important thing to keep contacts for collecting resources*", but their networks are limited at the local level.

Promoter of learning

Pal kept himself busy in learning what is considered a common and important feature of social entrepreneurs. LP, the State level voluntary organisation offers free training for all village level voluntary organisations. The local level village organisations which are willing to accept such facilities for the villagers need to select the villagers for training and send them to the training session venues outside the village. It is difficult for the local women to go outside the village for training leaving their daily work for a couple of days. Pal said:

"So I developed a new idea of building a large community hall in the VAC premises and constructed the hall with the initiative and resource of the villagers. Now we can invite experts to conduct training sessions in the hall, within the village. A large number of villagers including the women can now take training at one time without waiting long and leaving their work."

Pal motivated the village women to solve their own problems and taught the women members how to manage groups, maintain accounts, write resolutions and organise meetings. He encouraged them to take formal training in accounting practices, in better livestock farming practices and fishing. He invited the experts to impart formal training. According to Pal, "*I observed their confidence in handling their family accounts, and I believed that they had the ability to manage the group's accounts*".

One of the women group members commented:

“Our main problem was to keep the accounts properly. Inaccurate accounts quite often acted as reasons to start disputes. We used to go to dada for help. Dada advised us to obtain some formal training in accounting to mitigate such problem. At first it sounded very unrealistic and unnatural to take formal training as we are aged ladies and far from learning anything formally. Now a large number of our women members have already received formal training on book keeping. We face very few problems now”.

The group president deposits and withdraws money from the bank. *“Going to the commercial town Kakdweep, two hours distance from the villages and conducting commercial dialogues with bank officers, should be considered an indicator of their knowledge”*, commented a senior villager.

The women members take total responsibility for managing some annual social events. *“Dada taught us how to manage events”*, said a women group leader. Pal also told the women to apply their group power and knowledge to resolve women’s problems in the villages.

Pal himself, at the age of sixty-five, undertook training organised by the Social Welfare Board of the State Government in the last year. He said:

“There is no end to learning so we should learn as much as possible. Sometimes visitors want to visit our organisation when we are too busy. Our members don’t want to give any time to the visitor but I motivate them to allow the visitors to come and talk to them particularly if the person comes from overseas. I insist that they meet them because it is one of the rare opportunities to learn from outsiders about their culture. Knowledge about different cultures develops our outlook better”.

On Pal's request, the members of ANS met some foreign visitors just the day before their annual celebration of the ‘children’s day’. They were at that time very busy with the annual celebration. Still they asked a lot of questions of the visitors about the foreign voluntary organisations and their activities (personal observations).

However, it is important to remember that ANS activities are conducted without the aid of computers, telephone or modern typewriters because the village is not connected with electricity. This has hindered the women members from learning.

8.5 Influence of non-SEETO's characteristics on social capital

8.5.1 Bonding social capital

Shared values and norms, dense networks, thick trust, and social agency are some of the elements of Bonding social capital. The study found Pal earned the trust of the villagers. Based on this trust he created shared values and norms which helped to build the village women's ability to take responsibility in collective action. This ability created social agency, dense networks and thick trust which are elements of Bonding social capital. This ability also created networks with other similar groups which is Bridging capital and groups with higher social status and power that is, Linking social capital.

By becoming a trustworthy person and binding the villagers together for collective action

The study observed that Pal was taken by the villagers as a trustworthy person in promoting women's issues and therefore he received identification. He was accepted by the villagers as their *Dada* or *Mama*. Pal achieved identification-based trust from the villagers. It is the highest level of trust and is achieved when there is an emotional connection between the parties (Lewicki & Bunker 1996). Trust exists because the parties understand each other's intentions and appreciate the other's wants and desires. The intention of Pal was clear to the villagers and Pal also showed his real concern for the betterment of the village women.

There seems to be clear evidence of this deep mutual understanding between Pal and the villagers. Pal showed his deep trust in the village women's potentiality and wanted to send a young village girl to take a week long physical training course outside the village. Pal gave his word to their parents for her personal safety and the parents allowed her to go to the physical training institute in the town for a week. It was a massive step taken by the parents in the village. It was proof of the mutual understanding which had developed to the point where each could effectively act for the other party. The girl successfully returned from training, which enhanced the

generalized trust among the villagers about the safety of the village girls outside the village. The event also proved that the villagers trusted Pal and transferred the parent's role into his hands.

The identification trust represents unquestioned loyalty between the parties involved. One does not need to monitor the other party due to the existence of thick trust (Shapiro et al. 1992; Lewicki & Bunker 1996). The study found that the village women never raised any questions about Pal's motivations and showed their loyalty to him.

Trust breeds trust (Cox & Caldwell 2000) and may cause some one, who is being trusted to act in more trustworthy ways, to be more willing to reciprocate that trust. Pal wanted to form the women's group and trusted that the women could manage their organisation to solve their problem. He never controlled them in order to manage their organisation. The village women returned their trust in Pal. It was proved when the village women contributed their time and resources to form the group. *“People who join are people who trust the activities. The causation flows mainly from joining to trusting”* (Putnam 1995, pp. 666). The village women, by forming and managing their group returned their trust in Pal. Thus Pal himself became a bonding element and bonded the village women together based on their trust for taking collective actions. This is Bonding social capital as Putnam (1993) argued.

By creating shared values and norms

Shared norms and values have been considered to be one of the common elements of Bonding social capital (Putnam 1993; Newton 1997; Simmel 1950). There was strong evidence in the study that Pal created various norms and values regarding the local women's behaviour in the villages that helped organisational behaviour.

Pal explained the benefits of cooperation, narrated stories, cited the example of local women managing committee members and physical instructors that educated village girls. To pursue the ANS goals he also focused on them forming their own Self-help groups. He explained the merits of forming groups, and also taught them every aspect of group organisation. He accompanied them to banks, introduced them to officials, and arranged formal training for them. Finally, the Women Group was formed. The village women developed the behaviour of joining the group. Most of the villagers gradually

accepted this behaviour and it continued, therefore Pal established the norm of women's participation in collective activity. The leader of the Women's Group went to banks to deposit their money and the owner of the women's shop visited the local market to buy the goods after managing her household activities. Since these activities were not in line with the existing social practices it proved that the local norms of organisational activities have changed and Pal played an important role in bringing this change about.

Pal is a believer in the value of the spirit of service for the needy, without having self-interest. He tried to motivate the village women with these values which he also practised in his personal life. He started work for the villagers at the beginning of VAC's relief work. He helped them and worked hard for the villagers as an unpaid volunteer. His long association with the VAC's activities and his values set an example to the villagers.

The village women trusted and approved of him, and shared his voluntary spirit as a norm that they practised as part of their own behaviour. As one of the group members explained:

“At present a member wants four thousand rupees from the group fund to spend on her daughter's wedding. We are assessing it from various angles - particularly the urgency of her need. However we are considering whether she has the ability to repay this big amount, the number of instalments she needs to repay, her past repayment records, the urgency of her need is surpassing all other issues. I think we will give her the money at the end on this ground, because she needs it urgently”.

“Mama always thinks about others”, said one of the women members. The statement proves the women's voluntary spirit toward the needy, one that was influenced by Pal's life.

Pal helped the village women to be self reliant and expected no material benefit from them. But he expected that his act of helping would be repaid by the village women if they followed his suggestions and the practices he initiated. Pal has not forced them to repay his help immediately but he expected the village women would act in a cooperative manner and solve their own problems; be responsible and hard working and

would help the needy. He remained patient. The above example also illustrates that the village women approved the norm of generalised reciprocity that Pal set. They offered the loan to the needy one even though they themselves needed the loan and waited in the expectation that they would also get the same type of response in the future.

Pal emphasised learning and self-reliance. He encouraged formal training and regularly contacted LP for organizing training programmes, awareness camps, and workshops for the villagers. He organized meetings regularly. Most of the women members obtained training in accounting. Under his initiative a big community hall was constructed in the village where more than 50 people could attend training sessions at a time. Pal created norms of learning. They learnt to participate by participating (Pateman 1970).

Created the norms of taking responsibility

In the same manner, Pal set norms of responsibility among the village women by facilitating their self-rule. He wanted them to be self-reliant village workers. By facilitating to establish and manage their own groups he provided opportunities for self reliance. The village women deposited their monthly savings into a common pool and a couple of them obtained a loan from these deposits. Selecting the neediest is always a difficult job when many of the village women are needy. They took this responsibility and never asked Pal to carry out tasks for them. They selected the neediest and gave the loan, based on an implicit trust that the borrower would repay it. The borrower repaid and the group activities continued. This practice proved their deep trust among themselves. The repeated group activities of the village women to develop their lives over the period, set the norms that they should take part in the group and take responsibilities to implement the decisions. The norms of taking financial responsibility in collective action had been set by Pal.

Pal never controlled the women group members and relied on them to perform on their own. He allowed them to make mistakes, and to correct mistakes by themselves. He believed that they should monitor each other as that helped to sustain the group solidarity. The organisational behaviour of Pal made the workers realise that there would not be anybody from outside to do the work for them. If they failed to repay loan installments their fellow members suffered, and if they behaved responsibly, the results

benefited all of them, so it made them responsible. This sense of collective ownership developed their ability to take responsibility in collective action.

Ability to take collective responsibility

Pal promoted learning through experience and encouraged them to apply it to solving other social problems. The leader of the women's group said:

"I learnt lots of things from this organisation including how to be organised, how to talk in public and how to help other village women in their crisis. We take action during crisis periods. A few weeks ago a young girl was abused by her mother-in-law on dowry related issues. Two of us went to their house and resolved the matter in a peaceful manner. We spent the whole day there and felt happy at the end for bringing peace to the family".

The role of the women members' of the group expanded beyond resolving family disputes. They started working for flood victims in neighboring villages. They worked and helped voluntarily. *"During the latest flood we worked for the flood victims for weeks leaving all our regular works behind"*, said one of the proud members. The organisation of annual religious and social functions by women has become a normal practice in the villages. The women take the entire responsibility of managing such events, therefore the norms of organising social events including relief works, have been set by Pal.

Social work needs money. The village women started a grocery shop to raise funds. A part of the profit goes to the women who work for it and the rest goes to the general fund. The larger general fund helped them to take a bigger loan for their personal benefit as well as to get funds to organize voluntary work during crisis periods. They made their own roster of attending the shop as well as other duties. It developed their abilities in managing collective business activities by the local women.

The village women formed their own groups, took responsibility for managing them and it has continued. They organized other social functions in a responsible manner. They helped the needy and resolved family disputes to prove that their activities were not motivated by self-interest but in the spirit of service. The members of the group remained alert to attending any critical situation of the villagers. In the process, they

helped each other and received support in return. They offered their savings as loans with trust that the loans would be repaid sometime in the future. The members were inspired by Pal's values: as one of the members put it, "*dada always helped us without expecting any immediate benefit. It inspired us*".

Thus Pal played an important role in influencing norms of participation in collective action, spirit of service to the needy, hard work and discipline, and taking responsibility. Norms which are a behavioural rule can be generated from the example or practice set by the leader (Schein 1992) as well as repetition of events (Svendsen & Svendsen 2004; Pettigrow 1979). Thus, as per the study findings, Pal set examples through his own lifelong activities as a village worker.

The villagers developed the ability of taking responsibility in collective action. This is social agency (Onyx & Bullen 2000). The group members had to manage their groups. Thus, the women found themselves in various activities and thereby in different roles such as participating in meetings to make decisions, undertaking various development activities of the group including going to the bank, buying materials for the shop, participation in festivals and sports, working for the needy, resolving family disputes. All of these roles increased the interactions among the village women and improved their networks. The study observed that Pal created dense multifunctional networks among the villagers with his values.

Intensive and daily contact between people in close networks often of the same tribe, class or ethnic background generates thick trust (Williams 2000; Svendsen & Svendsen 2004)) or particularised trust (Onyx & Bullen 2000) or Cohesive order based trust (Misztral 1996), strengthening Bonding social capital. Pal strengthened bonded relationship or Bonding social capital among the villagers

8.5.2 Influence on Bridging and Linking social capitals

Networked by using his personal contacts and offering the villagers access to networks

Pal, as secretary of VAC, had contacts with other local voluntary organisations. VAC is an affiliated organisation of LP, a large State level voluntary organisation. Pal used his

position to collect funds and resources for ANS. He allowed the ANS members to use his contacts to develop their own relationships. The study found one of the ANS members met the LP officials and was able to get help in training for livestock farming. She took the training and also obtained some stocks of ducks to start her farm.

Pal attended the various meetings of all the secretaries of LP affiliated local organisations to discuss their local problems and solutions. They also discussed the possible funding sources in the local area. Pal introduced the women members to some of these secretaries to extend their networks.

The Social Welfare Board of the State Government has a common platform, *Sunderban Welfare Forum* for voluntary organisations in the South 24 Parganas district to maintain networks among themselves and to solve their own problems. Pal attended the forum with the ANS members, to develop new leaders in ANS.

He introduced the women secretary of ANS to the local bank officials to open their bank account. Thus Pal facilitated the ANS members to build their own networks and developed their networking ability.

The village women's networking ability

Pal offered the women access to his networks and helped them to link and bridge with members of other organisations. The study found the women group collected funds for the organisation by keeping contacts with other organisation secretaries. It also found that the women developed their own networks. They went to the nearest market town to buy raw materials regularly. They helped the flood victims in neighboring villages and formed good networks with them and collected funds from these villages. These are Bridging social capital as the women are developing networks with similar organisations outside their community (Burt 1998).

The study found that Pal introduced the ANS members to the LP trainers, other knowledgeable persons of LP, other voluntary organisation members and to the local bank officials. The study found the ANS members formed networks with these people to obtain resources and information. The women members said, "*we go to the bank to do our group related activities. We don't need Mama's help now*". This is Linking

social capital as the women developed connections with higher class groups such as banks and large voluntary organisations such as *Lokshiksha Parisad* (Aldridge et al. 2002). Thus, Pal reproduced Bridging and Linking social capital.

8.6 Development impacts of non-SEETO's activities

The study found Pal created various norms that have enormous development impacts on the village women's lives. He created the shared values and norms which developed the ANS member's ability to take responsibility in collective action. The ability made the village women empowered. Secondly these empowered women helped to bring social changes to the lives of the village women.

8.6.1 Empowerment of the village women

The study found these norms helped the village women to be self-reliant village workers who possessed qualities of hard work, discipline, cooperation and a caring attitude, and at the same time who could take responsibility in collective action. They became self-reliant village workers which was one of the basic social missions of Pal. These norms changed the various social practices and attitudes of the villagers which had blocked the development of the women. The existing attitudes were against the organisational activities of women as their role in the public domain outside the family domain was limited. The village women never came forward to form their own organisation to solve their problems. Both these aspects suggest that these norms that Pal created influenced the empowerment process of the village women.

The quality of empowerment of the poor individuals is influenced by:

- a) A change in the capacity of the poor to take purposeful actions in collective actions, and
- b) A change of opportunity structure in the social, political, and economic life where the poor pursue their interests, as the authors argued. (Narayan 2005)

The first factor that influences the ability to take purposeful decisions is the organisational ability of making collective decisions. The change in opportunity structure implies changes in formal institutional rules, laws, rights, and roles as well as

informal things such as changes in norms, attitudes and values of the social, economic and political life that block the development of the poor.

In the present study Pal created the ability of taking responsibility in collective action which implies the women developed the organisational ability of making collective decisions. ANS workers showed their increased capacity to make purposeful decisions in their collective actions.

The study also showed that the other norms which Pal created have changed the existing social practices and attitudes of the villagers and the village women. The village women have now developed the ability of participating in the organisational activities as they took formal training, resolved family disputes and organised social events. Their families allowed them to do all these activities which initially they were not. This was evidenced by changes in values and attitudes of the villagers and can be considered as change in the social context. Both these factors suggest that Pal empowered the village women.

8.6.2 Empowered workers and women's development

Empowered persons are considered as one of the powerful factors in reducing their own poverty as a World Bank (2001) report suggests. The study found these empowered village women in Pal's village helped to bring social changes in their lives or helped in reducing their poverty.

The study found the socio-economic condition of the village women was poor when Pal initiated his development activities. The various social taboos against the local women's role in development confined them to play traditional roles in the family, leaving them isolated and economically poor. They had limited economic activities and mobility outside the village. Isolation and confinement was made worse by their poverty. They have limited literacy and no organisation of their own.

The village women formed their groups. These women groups identified their needs and their solutions through consensus in meetings. They reviewed their progress in terms of the development plans they undertook. They kept their financial records and took formal training in accounting. Now the village women are able to solve their problems

on their own. The workers had to organize their own 'what to do' and 'how to do', though Pal mostly remained present to facilitate this process. The study also found changes in the social attitudes among the villagers towards the women. The senior villagers accepted the organisational activities of the women and the village women were able to join the women groups and participated in development activities as mentioned above. The study found the Women's Group identified their various needs and took initiatives to solve them. The idea of a grocery shop, resolving the family disputes, helping the flood victims, and the idea of organising annual events came from the women groups. All these organisational activities and learning contributed to their sense of well-being, which is one of the important factors in development work (Chambers 1997).

The grocery shop is one of the successful programmes of ANS. The local women have been managing the shop as a group. They formulated the plan of running the shop, who will attend to the customers, how goods will be bought, who will buy it, who will go to the bank to deposit the money – all independent of Pal. They took responsibility for collecting the funds from door to door and from the known persons in their networks to run their group, they went to the commercial town to buy the goods for the shop and deposited the money in the bank. This reflects their changed social life with higher mobility outside the family. The economic profits from this centre are not very large but it still helped them to be economically independent to some extent. This is evidence of how the economic practice of the local women changed. The ability to run a grocery shop also indicated the villagers changed attitude to the traditional role of women in the village context. Women's roles in business activities are not very common in this culture so the success of the grocery shop indicated changed social practices in the village. This practice has changed the productivity of women and brought economic development (Chambers 1997).

The study found that the women have been managing social events, resolving family disputes, helping flood victims, collecting funds by visiting locals door to door and from their connections outside the villages, and representing the group to outsiders. All these factors proved that they have the ability to make purposeful decisions in collective actions and also that the villagers have changed their attitudes towards the women's

organisational activities. The women felt good in their new social position which increased their well being. (Chambers 1997)

Thus the study found evidence that Pal's activities created empowered workers and these workers brought development impacts to their own lives.

8.7 Implications of non-SEETO characteristics on organisational sustainability

The study observed that Pal acted as a bonding element by being a trustworthy leader and helping the village women to become united which strengthened Bonding social capital. He developed ANS's relationship with other voluntary organisations by using his social position as secretary of VAC and also linked ANS with LP, a large national voluntary organisation. Thus he created Bridging and Linking social capital for ANS. Through Bridging and Linking social capital Pal organized financial and human capital for ANS and maintained its development activities (Woolcock & Narayan 2000). So Pal organized three capitals which are required for a sustainable development (Dale 2001). Now the important question is whether the women have the potential to continue "*the ongoing dynamic process of the valued results of development activities*" (Viswanath 1995) of the group once Pal withdraws.

When an organisation is leader dependent then its sustainability requires two things. Firstly, the engagement of the locals in the management task, the mass participation of the locals in the decision making process and the contribution of local resources (Uphoff et al. 1998). Secondly, the organisation should be a learning organisation (Korten 1980) where staff and organisation both need to be engaged in the learning process. Engagement of the staff and organisation in the learning process helps them to acquire innovative ideas to solve their problems. Thus it is necessary to assess whether Pal has been successful in creating an organisation where the villagers are engaged in management tasks, mass local participation in the decision making process, and also whether locals are contributing their resources and the organisation is a learning organisation.

In the learning organisation, staff and the organisation remain engaged in the learning process. Smillie and Hailey (2001) argued that 'learning voluntary organisations' learnt

formally and informally from various sources. Formally organisations learnt from formal training, and education. Informal information comes from conversation and dialogue, experience, institutional meetings, consensus of village meetings, and management systems. They generate information through research and evaluation and distribute the knowledge through publication and documentation.

As revealed in this study, Pal motivated the village women with the values of cooperation, hard work, responsibility and knowledge by practicing them in his personal life, by educating the women with these values and by facilitating self-rule in ANS. Pal encouraged the village women to learn responsibility. The village women learned informally from Pal's practices, from his teachings, by managing the group collectively, through personal experiences, from awareness enhancing camps, and from formal training, developing their ability to take responsibility in collective action. Through the process Pal created a learning organisation.

The study found the women members of ANS learnt informally from their leader Pal. Pal taught them the value of cooperation and also guided them by his life practice. He worked as the local village worker for a long time.

One of the sources of learning is group consensus. The women remained engaged in the learning process in monthly meetings where they identified their needs and solutions and reviewed the progress of the development plans they undertook. Pal initially helped them to make decisions by suggesting alternatives. Subsequently the village women were found to be capable of handling the problems on their own. In these regular monthly meetings the villagers maintained their interaction and group discussions, enhancing their bonding relationship and knowledge.

The women's group has extended their role by including other activities such as resolving family disputes and organizing social functions on their own. This indicates the village women can make their own decisions to improve their conditions independent of Pal, and have the ability to maintain and extend the networks of bonding relationship.

The ANS members learnt from experience. They went to the bank, and to the chili production centre in town to enquire about business activities. Thus, they were engaged in the learning process to get new ideas and were maintaining and extending their Bridging social capital independent of Pal. They started a grocery shop to raise funds for their development activities. They are buying goods at a cheaper price to make more profit from the grocery shop. To select the cheapest rate, the members surveyed market prices by visiting the market. They collected funds from the local people after visiting them door to door. These examples show that the women are engaged in the learning process. The hallmark of the learning process is continuous rethinking and adjustment (Viswanath 1995). They have been rethinking and adjusting as they gather data from personal experiences analyse the same data and develop the idea on how to do the job.

They learned how to maintain discipline regarding the repayment of loans. They visit the defaulters to investigate the situation and if necessary, they help each other to keep the record accurate. In most of the cases, they have resolved their default related problems without Pal's help. This demonstrates that the ANS is capable of maintaining and extending their Bonding and Bridging relationship, and strengthening the collective action without Pal's help. It ensures extended organisational sustainability.

Most of the ANS members remained engaged in collective leadership and in the learning process to maintain and extend social capital. They are motivating other village women to join the group and to take leadership. They also remain engaged in selecting the neediest members in the group for loans. It proves their involvement in the learning process to get new ideas to improve the group activities and the network of relationship around it.

The women remained engaged in networking in and outside the village - with donors and visitors. Pal encouraged collective leadership. The study noted that there was no particular person to receive or attend the visitors (Personal observation). It implies that all the members are engaged in maintaining and establishing relationships with visitors.

Pal helped them to learn from the institutional learning process such as meetings, workshops, and awareness camps. The women members learned from these meetings about various business activities and services of voluntary organisations. These

institutional meetings helped the village women to maintain their face-to-face interactions with the other villagers and also with speakers who came from outside the village creating Bonding and Bridging social capital.

The ANS members undertook formal training in accounting in the big community hall with other locals, and have been able to maintain the group activities and the bonding relationship. They went to the bank and local commercial town and increased their knowledge. The study found the women members have limited skills in speaking English as well as no computer skills.

Thus Pal developed the village women's social agency by creating a learning organisation. The learning organisation fulfilled the conditions of organisational sustainability though the limited skill of the village women in speaking English and their poor computer skills raised questions about their ability to sustain their organisation. But this limitation forced the women to raise funds locally and acted as a positive point to sustainability. The first condition that is the local's participation in the management task, and mass participation in the decision making process, has been fulfilled as he has developed social agency in the villagers.

A sustainable organisation requires the contribution of local people's resources. The study found the ANS members collected local donations by visiting door-to-door in the villages. It shows the villagers feelings of ownership towards the organisation. Thus learning organisation satisfied all conditions of organisational sustainability and ensured the possibility of the long-term survival of the organisation.

The study found the village women are organising three capitals which Pal strengthened and created. First, the village women have learnt to be organised in their group and strengthened their social capital, they learnt the benefit of organisation, then organised in a systematic way and increased their human capital; they learnt to increase their organisational networks for collecting resources and created their Bridging and linking social capital which created their financial capital. It ensured that the ANS members can continue the results of their development activities if their leaders withdraw.

Thus Pal encouraged the village women to be self-reliant or responsible village workers who could assume the role of resolving their own problems collectively. To pursue this goal he created a learning organisation where most of the members remained engaged in the learning process and took charge of managing their organisation. The learning organisation ensured organisational sustainability.

8.8 Discussion

The study found that Pal, as a social entrepreneur reproduced social capital. His characteristics facilitated reproducing Bonding, Bridging and Linking social capital for ANS. Pal is a social entrepreneur who established a non-profit voluntary organisation with a social purpose to improve the quality of life of village women. He wanted to make them self-reliant workers who have knowledge, skill, and a cooperative attitude. He established his trust based relationship with the village women who were illiterate, confined to the village and victims of local money lenders' exploitation. The village women also suffered from various types of social discrimination and never spoke out. With this background it was very difficult to go against the existing social practices. Pal overcame all these difficulties by his characteristics and changed the women into village workers by helping them to learn how to solve their own problems. He developed the women's social agency which is one of the common elements of social capital. In other words he changed the existing social practice of women and brought about social change. This is social entrepreneurship (Alvord et al. 2004).

Pal believed that a cooperative and serving attitude, hard working nature, and responsible and caring service can improve the quality of life of individuals and of the whole community. He inspired the village women with these values. He is a person of these qualities and he worked hard consistently for years for the village development. He demonstrated his concerns for the well-being of the village women by considering the villagers and village women as his own family members, showing love and respect for them and helping them. The villagers accepted Pal as an example to follow and he became a common bond or leader. The village women associated with him and engaged in collective action. Their main interest was to gain benefit from collective action. But they did not know how to get the benefit. It was Pal, his values, his life example and activities that motivated them to gather around him in order to learn how to get the

benefit of collective action. They came to join 'Pal' - not the ANS. Certainly the social benefits of collective actions motivated them to join but the benefits came later through learning facilitated by Pal. To them Pal is an organisation.

Pal taught values that he believed in, practised these values with the villagers and changed the village women into self-reliant, hardworking, and caring persons. He introduced the behaviour of cooperation, generalised reciprocity, hard work, responsibility, caring for the needy without expecting any self gain and strengthened the trust based relationships among the villagers that helped them to be united in collective action. These behaviours created various norms which were previously uncommon in the village. Such norms include organising collective action by forming a women's group, conducting group activities, collective business activities, and mobility outside the village.

Pal's personal networking with other social structures or Bridging social capital helped ANS to obtain various services, funding and information. Pal used his personal connection with the national voluntary organisations such as LP to get resources such as information and training for ANS and thus, created Linking social capital. But Pal facilitated the women members to build relationships with the members of his contacts. The ANS members maintained Pal's contacts and improved them. Thus Pal facilitated them to maintain the relationship with other organisations. In this way he set the norms of taking responsibility for networking by the ANS members to collect resources for ANS.

Pal never controlled the women group members and relied on them to perform on their own. He allowed them to make mistakes, and to correct mistakes by themselves. He believed that they should monitor each other. That helped to sustain group solidarity. The organisational behaviour of Pal made the workers realise that there won't be anybody from outside to do work for them. If they fail to do so they would suffer, and if they behave responsibly the results would benefit all of them. So it made them responsible. These norms and sense of collective ownership developed the ability of taking responsibility in collective action in every worker. It has been found that Pal developed these norms.

The ability has been reflected in their capacity to now manage their own groups independent of Pal. The village women formed their own groups, took responsibility for managing them and it continued. They organised other social functions also in a responsible manner. They helped the needy and resolved family disputes without any material benefit. The members of the group remained alert to attend any critical situation that the villagers maybe facing. The study found the women's group built their ability to take responsibility in collective action which is social agency — an important element of social capital (Onyx & Bullen 2000). They built their dense networks and trust based relationships through these networks which are also an element of Bonding social capital.

In the process, they helped others and received support from others. They networked with other villagers and helped them in their crisis, collected donations from them and from the local villagers and collected funds for their group. They built their Bridging and Linking social capital. Thus Pal worked as a teacher. He facilitated women to make them responsible village worker so that they can manage their own organisation as a group. Pal acted as a facilitator. Pal learned from various formal and informal sources on the value of collective action and taught the village women how to be organized. He helped them to take their decisions collectively independent of him. Pal monitored the women but never tried to control them. He encouraged the women to resolve their disputes on their own. He networked to collect resources for them and offered them access to his network. He voluntarily worked hard for the development of women and made the women work for this purpose. He encouraged the women to learn and take responsibility. He did work and made them work. Thus Pal's leadership approach is a responsibility building approach.

Pal's approach had a positive impact on organisational sustainability. The study found that Pal promoted learning to be responsible and inspired the village women to be responsible by creating a learning organisation. In the learning organisation the workers remain engaged in the learning process which includes collecting information, analysing and applying the new ideas to solve problems. The women learnt formally and informally from various resources. The women learnt the formal training of accounting in particular. The informal sources include personal experiences from observing the leaders qualities, and examples of Pal's activities - the way he initially managed the

women's group including taking decisions collectively, networking with the villagers and outside groups to collect funds, organising events, resolve the villagers' disputes and carrying out banking activities. Learning from these sources identified the organisation as a learning organisation which is a factor of organisational sustainability (Korten 1980). The learning organisation developed the women's ability to take part in management tasks, to take decisions collectively, and to contribute local resources to their organisation. These three factors are conditions of organisational sustainability (Uphoff et al. 1998) which are currently found in the organisation. It can be argued that the limited formal education, English language skill, and lack of computer skills may put the organisation's future at risk. But the study found the women have been expanding their local activities quite well without these skills. Most importantly their ability to collect local donations and independence from outside funds enhanced the possibility of sustaining the organisation. Thus the leadership style has ensured organisational sustainability.

Pal developed the women's collective ability of managing their organisation through initiating a learning process which helped other capitals such as social and economic to grow to sustain the organisation. The interdependency of these capitals is paramount here. With the power of organisational ability such as conducting meetings and taking collective decisions, handling all loan and accounting related disputes, keeping financial records, running a cooperative shop and managing collective events the ANS women established their networks within and beyond the village. These networks helped them to organize funds and resources for ANS which enriched their experiences or human capital further. Pal initiated a learning process and built a learning organization which created human capital and helped to grow social capital which brought economic capital.

It can be established from this case study that non-SEETO social entrepreneurs with the responsibility building leadership style can facilitate social capital reproduction and can ensure sustainability for an organisation. Table 8.1 summarises the characteristics of Pal as non-SEETO, his impacts on social capital, development of the villagers, and organisational sustainability.

Table 8.1
Characteristics and outcomes of social entrepreneurs
Non-SEETO – ANS

<i>Characteristics</i>	
Social mission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Village development through self-reliant village workers who are responsible, hard working, caring, and knowledgeable
Background and social position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-SEETO, a local village worker, a primary school teacher
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He earned trust by teaching the values of cooperation, and qualities of hard work. He told stories of brave local women and practiced those values and qualities in his personal lives to inspire them • He loved and cared for the villagers • He maintained informal relationships and discipline • He facilitated self-rule • He networked using his social position and encouraged collective networking • He learned and promoted learning
Leadership style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsibility building
<i>Outcome</i>	
Impact on social capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Built norms of cooperation and participation, learning, mobility outside the village and taking responsibility in collective actions • Developed social agency, dense networks and thick trust • strengthened Bonding, created Bridging, Linking social capital • Facilitated to reproduce social capital
Impact on the development of the villagers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developed the empowerment of the villager's • Developed well-being and productivity
Implication for organisational sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Created a learning environment • Ensured sustainability

Chapter 9

Cross-Case Analysis and Major Research Findings

9.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the linkages between the social entrepreneurship and the reproduction of social capital, and the subsequent implications for organisational sustainability. The five case studies elaborated in previous chapters are structured as an emic account, describing villagers' organisational activities in their own language and expression. The use of academic language in these case studies was limited. This chapter compares and analyses the case study findings and takes on an etic format (Headland 1990).

This chapter brings together the five case studies' individual findings in order to provide a complete and comprehensive picture, and to create a platform for deriving conclusions. The same section settings are used here as in case study chapters. These are: social context, social position of social entrepreneurs, activities of social entrepreneurs and leadership style, impact on social capital reproduction, and implications on organisational sustainability.

9.2 Social context

The social, economic, and educational circumstances of the villagers were found to be poor in all cases. With a significant dependence on agricultural activities, natural disasters such as drought or floods have a significant impact on villagers' livelihoods and are near annual events. Agricultural productivity is low due to small and fragmented plots of land and traditional labour-intensive farming practices. Limited and often inefficient transport and communication facilities disconnect the villagers from larger towns and cities where basic civic amenities such as schools, colleges, banks, health centres are located. Most villages are not connected with electricity, which has a far reaching impact on village life. The lack of basic civic and infrastructural facilities has

stymied the growth of non-agricultural activities and employment opportunities in the villages, and trapped them in a vicious cycle of poverty. Villages commonly experience the seasonal migration of small farmers during the dry season and of high school graduates after graduations. Women's level of development is lower than that of men in every village.

Most of the case study villagers belong to disadvantaged castes such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Tribes are significantly more disadvantaged in terms of income, education and health compared to the mainstream population. (GOI 2001) The entire village population where the case study organisation BAS is located belongs to a Scheduled Tribe (*Santals*). The study found that the socio-economic condition of BAS villagers is inferior to that of the other case study villagers. The isolating factor for this particular village is that the native language spoken by these villagers differs from the mainstream language in the state. Of the other case study villagers, approximately 90 per cent belong to the Scheduled Castes and speak Bengali, the mainstream language of the state.

The development initiatives conducted by local governments were not noticeable present in any of the villages studied. The socio-economic condition of the villagers was poor in all the case study organisations, but that of the BAS village was significantly inferior. The socio-economic condition of the village where SMS is operational is relatively superior due to the development activities of another voluntary organisation which operates a primary school, vocational training centre, health service centre, and a deep tube-well to provide drinking water prior to SMS.

The study found that the social contexts of the case study villages is similar to the contexts of previous case studies of Indian villages featured in studies such as Krishna (2002), Krishna et al. (1997) and Smillie & Hailey (2002). The villagers are deprived in terms of income, education and access to information, the status and condition of women is of poorer quality than men, and any initiatives by local political leaders was limited.

Relationship with the government

The relationship of the case study organisations with all levels of the government was found to be similar in all cases with few exceptions. The local government leaders generally took very few initiatives to develop the average villagers' lives, as observed by Krishna (2002). It is only in the case of SMS does this differ. The village where SMS is located was awarded the 'model village' award by the local government in 2002. After this recognition, SMS established an improved working relationship with the local government. However the other case study organisations were not as fortunate. In the case of BAS, the surveillance unit of the Indian central government, the Central Intelligence Department (CID), initially suspected David's initiative as spying, and investigated the purpose and activities of his organisational activities. The study found that David did not establish any working relationship with the local government after this incident. However, the relationship was established by other workers subsequently when the organisation became successful. The study found the two head teachers of the non-formal school were members of the State government committee on child education. ANS also has a limited relationship with the local government. Although the ANS non-SEETO attended the joint forum of local governments and voluntary organisations, he did not receive any assistance from it. The villagers failed to get any assistance from the local government in building hygienic latrines in the village. The local government initially promised to fund part of the project cost if the villagers shared half of the total cost. The villagers contributed their share but the government failed to fund the remainder.

In the organisations where sustainability was at risk, the local government played very little to no role in supporting the organisation's activities. This was true in the case of GMS and Arjun. On the contrary, the local political leaders were using the organisation to achieve their own political objectives with local resources. Arjun intentionally avoided any relationship with them. However, this was not a simple task as the managing committee of GMS includes an elected local government member. Arjun is often engaged in strong arguments with this person, but makes concerted efforts to settle them peacefully. Sen of DGS obtained government funds due to his own personal contacts with high level officials. Sen's relationship with government officials is friendly and productive, possibly due to his former government employee status. Thus,

the study observed various types of relationships with social entrepreneurs and State and local government.

Table 9.1 below summarises the social context of the local villages where the case study organisations operate, as well as characteristics of the respective social entrepreneurs. Activities of the case study social entrepreneurs and outcomes on social capital reproduction are presented in Table 9.2.

9.3 Characteristics of social entrepreneurs

9.3.1 Social position

The social position of social entrepreneurs varied across each of the case studies. David, the social worker and the main person behind BAS (SEETO), was born to a middle-class German family. His father was a professional and his mother was a school teacher. He is an academic at the Viswabharati University and has authored a number of German novels. He translated more than ten literary works from Bengali to German. He is also a member of the Indo-German Collaboration Committee. David has other sources of income and accepts no monetary benefit from BAS. Arjun of GMS (SEETO) also does not receive any financial benefit from the organisation. He is a high salaried State government employee and a moderately known writer in Bengali. He belongs to the same village where he founded his organisation, GMS, but now lives in the city. He comes from a moderately wealthy farming family. Similarly, Sen of DPS (SEETO) is a former State government employee with a high socio-economic position. He owns a consultancy business, and so is also not dependent on DGS for his livelihood. He came from a privileged socio-economic background and his father was a wealthy lawyer in Kolkata.

Sita of SMS (non-SEETO) is not economically independent like David of BAS. She is fully dependent on SMS for her livelihood. Her father was a poor local priest who struggled financially to support her education. She was motivated by her school teachers, devoted freedom fighters, to become a local social worker during her school period. She had to work hard to obtain her bachelor's degree. Initially she joined the local primary school as a teacher, but subsequently left to become a full-time village

worker. She founded SMS shortly afterwards and has worked as its General Secretary since then. She is a *Brahmachari*, that is, she leads a very simple life.

Table 9.1
Social context — Summary of findings

Case study organisation	Socio-economic context of the area	Status of the social entrepreneur	Social position of the social entrepreneur	Social mission of the social entrepreneur
BAS	Poor (worse than the other organisations)	SEETO (David)	Academic	Assist to create self-reliant village workers who are caring, hard working, knowledgeable, responsible and disciplined for village development
GMS	Poor	SEETO (Arjun)	Professional	Assist to create confident village workers who are hard working and cooperative for village development
DGS	Poor	SEETO (Sen)	Project consultant/ Professional	Assist to create village workers who are hard working and motivated to the cooperative value for village development
SMS	Poor (better than the other organisations)	Non-SEETO (Sita)	Former primary school teacher	Assist to create self-reliant female village workers who are caring, hard working, knowledgeable and responsible for village development
ANS	Poor	Non-SEETO (Pal)	Primary school teacher	Assist to create self-reliant female village workers who are caring, hard working, knowledgeable and responsible for village development

Table 9.2

Activities, leadership style and outcome of social entrepreneurs' activities

Organisation/ status of SE	Activities of the social entrepreneur	Leadership style	Outcome on social capital/ development	Organisation al Sustainability
BAS/ SEETO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • earned trust; • maintained familial relationships and discipline; • facilitated self-rule; • networked using personal contacts; and • learned and promoted learning. 	Enabler — created a learning organisation.	Created norms of taking responsibility in collective action. Empowered the villagers.	Ensured sustainability
GMS/ SEETO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • earned trust; • maintained informal relationships and discipline; • innovated and learned; • promoted cooperation and participation; and • networked using personal contacts. 	Benevolent dictator — could not create a learning organisation.	Created norms of dependence on him in collective action. Brought development to the villagers' lives.	At risk
DGS/ SEETO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • earned trust; • maintained formal relationships and discipline; • innovated and learned; • designed plans using local resources; • networked using personal contacts; and • took final decisions. 	Benevolent dictator — could not create a learning organisation.	Developed norms of dependence on him in collective action. Brought development to the villagers' lives.	At risk
SMS/ Non-SEETO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • earned trust; • maintained familial relationships; • remained open and flexible; • facilitated self-rule; • networked using personal contacts; and • learned and promoted learning. 	Enabler — created a learning organisation.	Produced norms of taking responsibility in collective action. Empowered the villagers.	Ensured sustainability
ANS/ Non-SEETO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • earned trust by teaching; • maintained familial relationships; • facilitated self-rule; • networked using personal contacts; and • Learned and promoted learning. 	Enabler — created learning organisation.	Produced norms of taking responsibility in the collective action. Empowered the villagers.	Ensured sustainability

Pal of ANS, another non-SEETO, is a local primary school teacher. He is the founder and General Secretary of ANS. He is better known as the Secretary of the local voluntary organisation affiliated with the national voluntary organisation, *Lokshiksha Parishad* (LP). He accepts a small salary as a token from ANS. His primary sources of income are his teaching job at the local primary school and agricultural activities from a small plot land. Therefore he is labeled as 'non-poor'. His father was a small land holder and income-poor farmer.

The study observed that in general the three SEETOs have better socio-economic positions with wealthy family backgrounds. Among these three SEETOs, two (Arjun and Sen) were government employees. Sen retired from his government job and started a consultancy firm. The third SEETO, David is an academic and writer. All the SEETOs have separate sources of income outside the village organisations they worked for.

The non-SEETOs are mainly local people who came from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Sita's father was a local priest who was income-poor but was respected as a knowledgeable person. She is entirely dependent on SMS for her livelihood. Pal, the other non-SEETO, is a primary school teacher and takes a small amount of money from ANS.

The above analysis established some similarities in social positions among the social entrepreneurs. They have separate social identities and social positions, and wider personal networks beyond the villages. All except Sita are employed outside the organisation they work with. Thus, the social positions of the social entrepreneurs identified in this study have many similarities with other studies where they were employed in professional positions such as university lecturers and government employees (Alvord et al. 2004). However, this research found that these social entrepreneurs differ significantly from those observed by Krishna (2002), who were the young and newly educated village leaders and basically not undertaking any paid work. Again, the social entrepreneurs in the present study are not members of any well-known national or regional voluntary organisations such as Grameen Bank or SEWA (as in case of Alvord et al. 2004). They are altruistic individuals working with the community organisation they founded or strengthened. One way to explain the success of the social

entrepreneurs in general is to examine their origins. Uphoff et al. (1998) and Smillie and Hailey (2001) observed that many social innovators (entrepreneurs) are outsiders or non-locals. However the present study found the social entrepreneurs of SMS and ANS are local people. Their education levels are higher than the average villagers but they are not outsiders.

9.3.2 Social mission

Undertaking a mission to solve an unmet social demand is a common characteristic of social entrepreneurs (Schumpeter 1951; Dees 1998). The social mission states the goal of the development activities to be achieved which can fulfill unmet social demand. Smillie and Hailey (2001) argue that there are two types of social missions:

- (1) technocratic and service oriented; and
- (2) system challenging or mobilizing the poor against the system.

However the philosophy behind the social mission of most of the social entrepreneurs in successful organisations in developing countries is to help the villagers to become self-reliant (Uphoff et al. 1998). They believe in assisted self-reliance. In each of the case studies in this research the social entrepreneurs believed that the village poor needed some form of assistance. The study found that most of the social entrepreneurs took the initiative to assist the villagers in setting up an organisation for their development. This makes them similar to the social entrepreneurs of other studies (Uphoff et al. 1998).

The social entrepreneurs in this study share similarities. The study found the common goal of the social mission of all the case study organisations is the village or the villagers' development. The goal or social mission of social entrepreneurs may originate for various reasons such as vision or ethical motivation (Bornstein 2007), crisis (Thomson et al. 2000) or general unease with the status quo (Prabhu 1999). All the social entrepreneurs in this study were motivated by the poor socio-economic conditions of the villagers and took a mission to improve their lives. As a result, they have similarities with the social entrepreneurs observed by Prabhu (1999) where social entrepreneurs felt unease with the status quo, and in order to be true to their values, they felt obliged to improve the villagers' conditions. This was also the case for Muhammad Yunus, the founder of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh (Krishna et al. 1997).

The vision of the social entrepreneurs in the present study was to significantly improve the overall living conditions of the poor in the respective villages. David wanted to do something positive for the poor when he visited a village in West Bengal. Sita and Pal respectively sought to make the village women more educated so they could defy the social discrimination against them and become more self-reliant. Arjun was upset with the villagers' lack of knowledge and wanted to share his knowledge and a better life with them. Sen was a former government employee in the cooperative sector and had seen how the lack of motivated cooperative workers brought failure to the cooperative movement. So he tried to motivate the workers and to strengthen their community organisations. Hence it is their unease with the status quo and feelings of individual responsibility to help motivate people to engage in village development mission that made them social entrepreneurs.

All the social entrepreneurs in the research have similarities in their beliefs which guided their social mission. They believed that village development is achievable through transforming the villagers into village workers who are self-reliant and possess certain valuable contributing qualities. They took the mission of encouraging village workers to be driven by their beliefs. The focus varied across the case studies. David, Sita, and Pal emphasised self-reliance. Arjun focused on self-confidence, which was essentially the same principal. Sen was an exception — he focused on helping motivated workers.

David held his focus on all villagers, while Sita and Pal focused on women to create self-reliant village workers. According to these three social entrepreneurs, the qualities of a village worker are hard worker, knowledgeable, responsible, and possessing a caring and cooperative attitude. David, Arjun and Sen focused strongly on discipline. Pal also spoke of monetary discipline in maintaining proper records. However Sita did not mention discipline as one of the qualities of self-reliant women.

The main sense of the social mission of the social entrepreneurs such as David, Sita, and Pal is making the poor more responsible for themselves. These leaders facilitated the poor in taking greater responsibility for improving their lives, with the mission of making the poor conscious of their own individual abilities as a human being and potential to solve their own problems collectively. In other words their goal was to

make aware the poor of their quality and limitless potential of a person as human being who can do anything needed to solve his/her own problems. The leaders believed all people have the potential to be self-reliant. Thus the goal is to convince the poor that they too have the same potential as a human being to become self-reliant, and to improve the conditions in their villages as a group. In order to be self-reliant they need to take on the responsibility of solving their own problems as a group by identifying problems, prioritising, preparing implementation plans, and collecting resources to materialize them. The villagers need to be hard working, knowledgeable, disciplined, caring and cooperative.

Arjun wanted to boost the villagers self-confidence and to activate their 'inner power'. As Rahman observed (1990, p 46), "*Self-reliance is a combination of material and mental strength by which one can deal with others as an equal and assert one's self-determination*". Arjun sought to increase this quality within the villagers through his social mission by making the villagers more cooperative and hard working. Sen talked about the motivation of the social workers but did not mention their self-reliance. He wanted to assist motivated villagers to improve their conditions by providing various services and funding.

All of the social entrepreneurs in the study believed the village poor needed some form of assistance in order to improve their lives. The study found that most of the social entrepreneurs took the initiative to set up an organisation devoted to this mission. SEETOs such as David and Arjun, and non-SEETOs such as Sita and Pal established their own organisations. Sen did not set up an organisation, but revived an inactive organisation. There was no significant difference between SEETOs and non-SEETOs in the nature of their social mission according to the case studies in this research; they all undertook the mission to assist the villagers to develop their lives.

9.3.3 Activities

They earned trust

Social entrepreneurs are people with various personal characteristics, qualities and abilities (Mort 2002). The present study found the featured social entrepreneurs earned the trust of the villagers through their individual qualities such as maintaining

consistency between promises and actions. The goals of the social entrepreneurs were to change the villagers into village workers with certain positive qualities that they believed in. In the process of achieving their goals they convinced the villagers that they share the same qualities as village workers. The social entrepreneurs taught the villagers the benefits of cooperative action in different ways. David taught through weekly meetings; Sita through night school; Arjun through GMS meetings; Pal through women's group meetings; and Sen through his consultation office.

At the same time, all the social entrepreneurs made a concerted 'hands on' effort for the villagers to prove that they are hard working, caring, knowledgeable, responsible and disciplined. Hard work is one of the common qualities of social entrepreneurs (Swami 1990). The study found this to be the case for every social entrepreneur, which helped the villagers to bond with the leaders. All SEETOs and non-SEETOs worked hard for the villagers and alongside the villagers. David worked together with the villagers to help them during times of illness. He organised tree plantation programmes and slept in makeshift huts in crop fields to prove his willingness to lead a simple life. Sita left her teaching job to work full-time for her organisation, to collect works for her night school students from the local garments trader, to collect funds from local villagers and personal networks of former freedom fighters, and to organise trainers for vocational skill training for women. At the same time she motivated the village parents to send their girls to her night school. Arjun has worked hard for the villagers and visits the village every weekend. He won a court case against a local wealthy resident over the use of local pond water for the common people. Pal worked to motivate the local women to form their own group and met with them every week to review the progress of their group activities. Sen undertook the same type of activities within his village area. He proved his qualities of hard work, knowledge, discipline, and cooperative behaviour in the process of helping DGS renew its funding which was its only source of income at that time. The study found that the villagers were convinced with the qualities of social entrepreneurs as village workers. They trusted them, accepted them as their leaders and followed their leadership. This was the same for both SEETOs and non-SEETOs.

The social entrepreneurs earned trust by teaching cooperative values and participating in the village development collective work. However, the existing literature is limited on

how social entrepreneurs earn trust within an individual community. Krishna (2002) showed that the village leaders were trusted persons. The present study found that the social entrepreneurs taught the villagers the merits of collective action and values of hard work, caring, knowledge and responsibility. The social entrepreneurs practiced all these values, they played a teaching role and participated with the villagers in their collective actions. All of these qualities helped them to earn the villagers' trust.

They maintained caring and informal relationships with the villagers

The social entrepreneurs in all the case studies, except Sen, were able to maintain informal relationships with the villagers and to share their own experiences and emotions. The existing literature demonstrates that social entrepreneurs share their credit with others (Bornstein 2007), they show their concern for the villagers' and the workers' families, but not their emotions (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Their role was like that of a father or '*guru*'. But the present study found that most of the social entrepreneurs did share their emotions with the villagers. Almost all of them are called by family names, such as *David'da*, *Arjun'kaku*, *Sita'di*, *Pal'mama*, indicating personal intimacy. David shared the villagers' hardships by living the same way as the villagers. He attended their festivals and funerals. He took the sick to hospital and made his position equal to that of the villagers. The same is true for Sita, Pal and Arjun — all of them mixed informally with the villagers. The only exception is Sen who maintained a more formal relationship with the villagers. The study found that the villagers accepted Sen as their master and leader because of his trustworthiness and his ability to obtain funds for village development. They associated with him and depended on him, but retained a respectful distance. The villagers called him Mr Sen. However, no major difference is observed between SEETOs and non-SEETOs in their pattern of behaviour with the villagers.

They maintained discipline

One of the qualities of social entrepreneurs is that they establish a system in their organisation (Smillie & Hailey 2001; Thompson et al. 2000). Discipline is needed to maintain a system. In this study, the social entrepreneurs (both SEETOs and non-SEETOs) maintained discipline in most cases. This was particularly true for the male social entrepreneurs. To maintain discipline they even become impolite and rude in some instances. The study observed evidence of Arjun's rudeness to the staff when they

failed to achieve a certain quality. David once closed the organisation for a few months to show his anger to the villagers for violating his imposed code of conduct. Pal and Sen established strict accounting systems and discipline within their organisations. This did not undermine the trusted relationship they held with the villagers. The only female social entrepreneur in this study, Sita, is an exception. The study found an absence of a formal system of maintaining past documents or strict codes of conduct in Sita's organisation, and she is found to be one of the most successful social entrepreneurs within the parameters of the research. Her organisation is the largest in size among the case study organisations. This instance supports the view that there seems to be no direct relationship between discipline and success of the organisation. Further research is needed to assess this particular relationship in more depth.

They remained flexible and open

Flexibility and openness are important qualities of social entrepreneurs as it stimulates new ideas and innovation (Leadbeater 1997). SEETOs and non-SEETOs in this study remained flexible and open to changes, and were found to be altering their strategies accordingly. They showed their openness towards religious issues in particular. For example, Sita established a working relationship with the local Christian church. The same was true for David who, being a born Catholic, found no difficulty in working with people and voluntary organisations with different religious beliefs such as the 'naturalism' of the tribal people and the Hinduism of the Ramakrishna Mission. Arjun recruited Muslim teachers in his school which is located in a predominantly Hindu area. He even arranged for one of the Muslim teachers to eat daily with a Hindu family, which is an uncommon practice in his village. He also encouraged the Hindu and Muslim parents of the school to organise picnics together. Thus Arjun challenged the rigid barrier between Hindu and Muslim communities. The study found that all social entrepreneurs in the case study organisations were open and flexible.

They sacrificed

The study found that the social entrepreneurs made individual sacrifices for the development of the villages. The studies of the social entrepreneurs included instances of sacrifices made in terms of the alternatives foregone, time spent and resources devoted to development (Mawson 2007; Krishna 2002). However there are limited studies which highlight this issue. The SEETOs and non-SEETOs in the study are no

exception. David left his middle- to upper-class lifestyle in Germany to live in the *Santal* villages. Sita remained *Brahmachari* and sacrificed all types of luxuries in her life. Arjun and Sen remained engaged in the villages away from their residences and sacrificed their weekends over a number of years. Pal has been engaged as an unpaid volunteer in the village development works since he was a teenager — he is now more than 70 years of age. Thus, all the social entrepreneurs in the study paid a significant personal penalty for a cause they believed in, though it is difficult to define and measure their level of sacrifice.

They innovated and learned

Innovation lies at the heart of social entrepreneurial activities (Dees 1998; Casson 2005; Alvord et al. 2004). Mr. Yunus of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh created new arrangements and practices to deliver credit to the local women, based on new and innovative ideas. The social entrepreneur of SEWA, Ella, found employment creation as the primary basic need of the area in a barren village in Gujarat district. Innovation does not necessarily include a new idea; old ideas could also be implemented in a new place. But some degree of innovation was needed to implement the old ideas or programme in a new context (Bornstein 2007) as every local context differs. In this sense the social entrepreneurs are all innovative. They use their own ‘know-how’ to run the development programmes in a local context. David introduced ideas such as weekly meetings with the locals to understand their problems; Sita established a night school; Arjun established a quality school; and Sen implemented the pond excavation programme. These ideas were gathered from other organisations where they had been successfully implemented in the past.

Dees (1998) emphasised that one of the tasks of social entrepreneur is to learn. Smillie and Hailey (2002) found that the social entrepreneurs of nine voluntary organisations in South Asia (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) had a high level of formal training and education; and learned informally from the villagers’ dialogue and conversation, from experimentation and mistakes, from staff discussions, and from other voluntary organisations. They also learned from institutional sources such as meetings, workshops and seminars.

The study found the social entrepreneurs such as Sen collected information from a range of sources — from the local villagers, university academics, local government officials, and the Internet. He analysed this information and applied the ideas when formulating projects. He was involved in all of his organisation's projects from design to completion stages. All the organisation's activities required a vast amount of information that requires learning. This was evidenced by how much Sen learned in the process. Arjun undertook the same learning process. He led various development plans at different points in time in the past, but mostly failed. Finally, he succeeded in establishing a quality primary school. Like Sen, he collected information from a range of available sources. He did almost all the required tasks personally — from appointing teachers, to formulating courses, developing question banks, monitoring the teachers' progress, collecting feedback from the parents and preparing future plans. He also organised the annual cultural functions. To perform all these tasks he remained engaged in learning. David, Sita, and Pal also learned from various formal and informal sources. Consequently there was again no difference between SEETOs and non-SEETOs in this context.

They encouraged learning

In the research, both SEETO and non-SEETO encouraged learning. It was found that some of the social entrepreneurs in the study not only learned themselves, but also encouraged the villagers to learn from various formal and informal sources. This was the case for David, Sita and Pal; and in all three cases, their organisations were found to be sustainable. David sent social workers to London to study English and encouraged the workers to undertake formal training in order to gain a range of new skills. The use of computers among the staff was fairly common in both David and Sita's organisations. This enabled the villagers to acquire knowledge in order to take responsibility in collective action. Smillie and Hailey (2002) also found the facilitative leaders encouraged the workers' learning.

They encouraged participation and cooperation, but made the final decision

Social entrepreneurs work both with and for people (Mawson 2007). As the people's leader, they need cooperation and participation to contribute their resources as well as to gain the benefit of the development activities they are associated with. Yunus (1998) described how much he had to encourage the village women to participate in group

formation to get micro-credit in Bangladesh. Krishna et al. (1997) described how social entrepreneurs in the Orangi Pilot Project in Karachi (Pakistan) had to encourage the slum dwellers to participate in the scheme for building sewerage systems for them.

The present study found that all the social entrepreneurs encouraged the villagers to participate and cooperate in collective actions. However, Sen and Arjun always made the final decisions on every occasion. They collected information for various development activities, designed the plan, collected resources, and implemented the plan almost single handedly. They remained contactable at all times by the use of mobile phones, and the villagers never made any decisions without them. Arjun closely monitored all activities within his organisation. He allocated the weekly tasks and monitored the workers closely; he selected each team leader and set the team's rules and regulations. He sent the workers to other organisations to experience development practices and to apply such practices to their own organisations. The case is similar with Sen — he undertook all the major decisions about what programmes should be enacted, where funding was sourced, implementation plans, what should go into the evaluation report to the donor, and how the annual report would be written (he was the sole writer of the report). Thus both Arjun and Sen made final decisions and became controllers. Both of them are SEETOs, but David, another SEETO, did not control the villagers.

They facilitated the self-rule of the villagers

Successful social entrepreneurs manage the organisation by delegating responsibility to different levels of leadership and playing a facilitative and supportive role (Uphoff et al. 1998). The present study found that social entrepreneurs such as David, Sita, and Pal facilitated the villagers in taking responsibility for managing their own organisations. David facilitated the villagers in weekly meetings to identify their problems, formulate solutions, and allocate the required resources to arrive at these solutions, but the villagers ultimately made their own decisions. David offered alternative suggestions if the decision was not unanimous. The workers built their own teams and selected leaders to implement plans. The workers formulated their own rules and regulations and the team members selected their team leader. In the team leaders' meeting, David remained present and assisted with decision-making. Sita and Pal did the same for the women's group meeting. David worked as a co-worker in the monitoring process, and Sita and Pal encouraged self-monitoring. All these activities facilitated the villagers in learning

responsibility and making their own decisions. Sita and Pal are non-SEETOs, and David is a SEETO. Thus, no commonality could be observed in this area.

They used personal networks and allowed access to the villagers to collect resources, and encouraged collective networking

Social entrepreneurs establish networks to collect resources in the same method as business entrepreneurs (Thomson et al. 2000). There are limited studies that shed light on whether social entrepreneurs encourage workers to use their personal networks. Smillie and Hailey (2001) observed how the leaders used their personal connections to collect resources, but it was not clear whether these leaders offered the workers access to their own personal contacts.

The study found that both SEETOs and non-SEETOs networked with other groups, organisations and individuals. For example, David used his contacts with writers' groups and university acquaintances; Sita used her contacts with former freedom fighters; Pal used his position in a local voluntary organisation; and Arjun used his position as a government employee to network with businessmen to gather resources. Sen is a retired government employee and used his prior contacts in government organisations to gather resources.

The study found that Sita, David and Pal not only used their personal contacts to network, but provided the villagers access to their networks. They also encouraged the villagers to establish new networks. These three leaders networked and encouraged networking. David encouraged the villagers to speak freely with visitors, and also with his friends and family members in Germany. He encouraged them to learn English and traveled along with the villagers for different organisational purposes, which helped to establish both his and the villagers' networks. David also taught the villagers to use computers to assist in their networking and continued communication with others. Sita and Pal also encouraged the villagers to establish collective networks.

However, the situation is different in the case of Arjun and Sen. They mostly used their personal contacts for gathering resources and passively encouraged collective networking. Sen encouraged the organisation's secretary to network by providing him with a list of contacts from his network. Arjun and Sen always personally represented

the organisation to the visitors (both domestic and foreign) and donors. They both wrote project proposals for funding and evaluated the progress of projects, and prepared evaluation reports for the donors. Both Arjun and Sen recognised the weakness of the villagers in these areas, particularly in spoken English and an inability to speak knowledgably about the organisation, but took no initiative to improve these skills.

9.4 Reproduction of social capital and leadership style

The study found that the trustworthiness of the social entrepreneurs made them leaders of their respective organisations and established a bonded relationship between the leader and their 'followers' (the workers and villagers). The leaders taught the villagers the values of cooperation, hard work, caring for the needy, and discipline. They personally associated with the villagers, cared for them, showed concern for them and sacrificed their own personal benefits in various forms. The villagers accepted them as their leaders and personally associated with them. The villagers accepted the values of the leaders as their norms, and so the social entrepreneurs built the values shared among the villagers. The different types of leadership characteristics differ in their impact on the relationships between the leaders and followers, and among the followers themselves.

Social entrepreneurs like David, Sita and Pal took the responsibility-building style to facilitate the self-rule of the villagers in managing their organisations. The villagers learned to manage their own organisation 'by doing'. These leaders remained facilitators. They participated and cooperated with each other and made the final decision in collective action. They developed norms of cooperation, generalised reciprocity and participation in collective actions. The leadership style created the norms of responsibility and helped the villagers make their own decisions in collective actions. In other words, they developed a social agency which promotes active and willing participation in collective actions (Onyx & Bullen 2000). Face-to-face interaction and familiarity created the environment, which developed trust-based relationships among the villagers. The villagers strengthened bonds among themselves by sitting together, discussing problems, identifying solutions and making their own decisions. In David's organisation, the villagers in the weekly meeting (School) and the team leaders in team meetings made decisions and solved problems. Women groups of

Sita and Pal's organisations also solved their problems through various collective actions. They learned to trust each other and build firm trust through familiarities and shared values (Newton 1997) which is 'particularised trust' (Onyx & Bullen 2000) or thick trust (Williams 2000). The process created solid network, and 'particularised trust' or 'thick trust' among themselves, which are important elements of Bonding social capital (Putnam 1993; Coleman 1988; Leonard & Onyx 2003).

The responsibility building leaders used their personal contacts to gather resources for the organisation and provided the villagers access to their networks. The villagers also established relationships with the leaders' groups, thus they created Bridging social capital by using the leader's networks. The study found that responsibility building leaders encouraged the villagers to collect funds and resources for the organisation independent of their contacts. David has many connections at an international level which helped him to set bridging relationships for his organisation. The study found that David's friends from his networks with higher social positions visited the organisation regularly and developed friendly working relationships with the villagers. This helped the villagers with resources for collective action. This is an example of Bridging social capital that crosses the demographic division of class (Portes 1998). The study found that the female members of Sita's organisation established relationships with their leaders' networks. One of the female members trained *Santal* women at another similar organisation, as requested by one of Sita's contacts. Similarly, the female members of Pal's organisation met visitors from Pal's networks of other local voluntary organisations and gathered resources for the group. This is Bridging social capital or bridging relationships as this crosses ethnicity (Portes 1998). The villagers established relationships with their leaders' contacts; and provided evidence that David, Sita and Pal helped the villagers to reproduce Bridging social capital. Sita also has extensive personal contacts at the national level through her former freedom fighter teachers. She used these connections to collect resources for her organisation. Pal collected resources for the women's group from a national level organisation using his official position as secretary of another local voluntary organisation.

These three leaders encouraged the villagers to take responsibility for networking and offered them access to their own networks. For example, when the German Consulate wanted to provide funds to BAS, David involved the villagers and passed the final

decision as to whether to accept the offer to them. The responsibility building leaders created the norms of taking responsibility in collective action by facilitating self-rule of the villagers. They built their own personal networks and offered the staff access to these networks to build the organisation's networks. This relationship with other groups with higher social positions and power is Linking social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002). The norms fostered the villagers' ability to bridge and link with other groups independent of their leaders and helped to strengthen their Bridging and Linking social capital.

Arjun and Sen took a different leadership style and did not facilitate self-rule among the villagers. Arjun encouraged the villagers to participate and cooperate under his control. Sen helped the villagers to achieve their goals, but he made all final decision. The villagers became dependent on the leaders to make decisions. The study found that the villagers in the organisations of Arjun and Sen never made any decisions as a group. Arjun occasionally ignored the villagers' opinions, which made them unhappy. In this case, Arjun and Sen developed a norm of dependence. At the same time, they encouraged the villagers to participate and cooperate in the collective actions under their control. The leaders innovated various development programmes and implemented them with the help of the villagers. The villagers followed their leader, generally without question, and developed the norms of hard work and discipline in collective actions. These leaders built a norm of dependence on them.

The study found the villagers cooperated and participated in the collective action. In Arjun's organisation the primary school is performing well — many cultural and social collective activities such as drama, religious gatherings, picnics, cleaning the local pond, and sports take place annually as part of the school. Everything operates under Arjun's control. Sen has the same structure in his organisation. He formulated all of the rules and regulations of forming the Self-help group, which are followed by the group members. Thus this controlling leadership produced the dependence of villagers in their collective action.

Arjun and Sen collected funds and resources for their organisations. The villagers did not establish any relationships with the leaders' networks to collect funds under their controlling leadership style. The leaders did not create an environment conducive to

villagers learning to network independently of them. The villagers are not strong in communicating knowledgeably and fluently in English with the visitors. Arjun and Sen took no initiative to make them more knowledgeable in this respect — they did the work themselves for the villagers. Thus Arjun and Sen reproduced dependent Bridging capital and Linking capital. The villagers remained dependent on their leaders to link and bridge with others.

The study found that the three responsibility building leaders created shared values and norms of cooperation, learning and taking responsibility in collective action. These norms and shared values developed a form of social agency among the villagers as a group. This aspect reproduced social capital. On the other hand, the three controller and helper leaders created norms of cooperation, participation and the norm of dependency on leaders, and reproduced dependent social capital.

9.5 Development impact of leadership

Empowerment

The study found that the leaders initiated various norms which created significant impacts on the villagers' level of empowerment and on their social, economic and political lives. David, Sita and Pal created norms of taking responsibility for the villagers in the collective action to make them self-reliant workers. These norms developed the villagers' ability to make purposeful decisions in collective actions and the ability to implement those actions. The norms of cooperation and participation in collective action, learning, hard work and discipline also indicated the change in the existing social context where the villagers' were lazy, unorganised, undisciplined and uneducated. They never took the initiative to organise and to solve their own problems. Alsop and Heinsohn (2005) and Narayan (2005) argued that a change in abilities, attitudes and social context can influence the empowerment of villagers. Both in terms of abilities and attitudes, the responsibility building leaders empowered the villagers. This was clearly the case in Pal and Sita's organisations where in the past, local women were not allowed to go outside the village for high school study or to work. Now, after they organised themselves, women from these villages are able to do all these things. These events are evidence of their improved abilities to make purposeful decisions

collectively and reflect the change in their attitudes with respect to their participation in collective action - an indication of the change in social context.

On the other hand, Arjun and Sen developed the norm of making final decisions in collective actions, which made the villagers dependent on the leaders. The villagers were passive when it came to taking collective action. Arjun and Sen changed this attitude among the villagers. They made them active in the collective action and encouraged discipline and hard work. At the same time, the villagers developed a dependency on the leaders. They changed their attitude to collective action, but became followers where the leaders are controlling them and giving them instructions. They participated in collective action but not in the decision-making process. This indicates their inability to make decisions in collective action and is evidence of their disempowerment.

All the leaders in this study were found to have made significant contributions to the process of village development. Where the villagers engaged the norm of taking responsibility, they took on the main role in village development and the leaders only facilitated them. Where the leaders made the final decision in collective actions and took a main role in village life, villagers followed the leaders.

Development of the villagers

The study found the empowered villagers helped to bring a change in the well-being of the villagers by improving their health, by offering the children fun and entertainment in their non-formal schools, by enhancing economic productivity through training and production centres, and by running the Home for needy girls. It was observed that the village workers in David's organisation became members of one of the State government committees regarding non-formal education for primary level children. Thus they can influence government policy and develop a political presence for the organisation.

Sen helped the villagers by improving their well-being through the construction of hygienic latrines, deep tube-wells for clean drinking water, and increased the villager's income by excavating the ponds. Arjun helped to set up a quality primary school and offered quality entertainment for the villagers. He provided jobs to the local graduates in

his organisation. This evidence supports the theory that the controller social entrepreneurs also help to bring development in the villagers' lives, as well-being and productivity are considered as two important factors in development (Chambers 1997). However, the controllers could not empower the villagers, which have long-term implications on the sustainability of the organisation.

9.6 Leadership style: Enabler and Benevolent Dictator

In analysing the leadership style of the social entrepreneurs, both SEETO and non-SEETO, the study found two distinct types. David, Sita and Pal followed the 'responsibility building leadership' style whereas Arjun and Sen held 'controlling' styles. David, Arjun and Sen are SEETOs; and Sita and Pal are non-SEETOs. In this instance, no consistent pattern emerges between SEETOs and non-SEETOs in their leadership styles. Further research is needed in this area.

Under the responsibility building leadership style, the social entrepreneurs took on board the social mission of village development by making villagers self-reliant workers. The leaders taught the values of cooperation, hard work, discipline, learning, and to take responsibility for their collective actions. The leaders also practiced these values in their personal lives. They maintained informal relationships, with David and Sita sharing their emotions with the villagers. All the responsibility building style leaders were treated as friends as well as leaders by the villagers. They maintained discipline (except in case of Sita) and facilitated the villagers in managing their own organisations. They used their personal contacts to collect resources and offered the villagers access to these networks to establish networks for the villagers. This style aims to enable villagers to become more responsible.

This responsibility building leadership style has some similarities and differences with the facilitator's leadership style of previous studies (Uphoff et al. 1998; Smillie & Hailey 2001). The styles are similar regarding the philosophy of their social missions. The social entrepreneurs of BRAC in Bangladesh and SEWA in India had the same goal of self-reliance. These facilitators wanted to 'assist' the villagers in their development process to make them self-reliant. The responsibility building leaders in the study also believed in the same philosophy. However, the styles differ regarding the way they

achieved their goals. To pursue their goals, the facilitators of previous studies provided various services to the villagers (e.g. micro credit in case of Grameen Bank; formal training in the case of BRAC; or advocacy in the case of SEWA). The responsibility building leaders in this study provided these services in a different way. They taught the villagers essential values and qualities to be self-reliant village workers. This is also a type of advocacy service, but dissimilar to the one provided by the leader of SEWA. The leaders of SEWA assisted the self-employed poor women to be organised in building political movement to protect themselves from the local police or other forms of exploitation. The leaders of the present study prioritised human development for the villagers and sought to educate them to encourage an individuals innate creative potential. They wanted to build the villagers' creative potential and ability to solve their own problems through practical teaching that contributes to their life experience. They did not motivate the villagers to protest against any particular type of exploitation or to organise a political movement. The responsibility building leaders taught the villagers several values and qualities essential to be self-reliant village workers, and advocated ways of achieving these values by facilitating their self-rule. Through this, the responsibility building leaders provided a different advocacy service than the facilitator leaders.

The responsibility building leaders in this study also maintained informal and familial relationships with the villagers. The existence of leaders maintaining relationships with staff beyond the workplace is not uncommon in the social entrepreneur literature. In many ways, the activities of Sita, David and Pal resembled the tasks performed by a well-known and successful facilitator of Agro Industry, Manibhai Desai, a disciple of Gandhi (Smillie & Hailey 2001). Desai followed a family style of management and was concerned with the welfare of the workers' family as well as their moral and professional growth. He maintained familial relationships with the workers and villagers and he knew about the workers' personal problems beyond the organisation. The responsibility building leaders also shared their emotions with the villagers. They are considered as friends as well as leaders by the villagers whereas the facilitators such as Desai were treated more like a guru. The relationship between the villagers and the responsibility building leaders is more than respect — there is also a relationship of friendship and equality. These leaders lived and worked with the villagers. They were not considered as their '*guru*' or master as in the case of the facilitator leaders.

The study found responsibility building leaders maintained informal relationships with the villagers but maintained strict discipline within their organisations. The exception was Sita, the only female social entrepreneur in the study. The study found that she was generally too flexible in her activities which occasionally placed the organisation at risk. More research is required to identify whether there is any difference between the characteristics of male and female responsibility building leaders.

The responsibility building leaders facilitated the villagers in identifying their problems, and finding solutions. David introduced weekly meetings to facilitate the villagers in identifying problems and solutions. He facilitated the villagers in building teams with team leaders for implementing the programmes. Pal and Sita facilitated the village women to form their Self-help groups and to make decisions collectively. The study found the village women built different individual groups to solve specific problems. In this matter, responsibility building leaders introduced widespread participation and leadership at different levels and ensured self-rule or participatory management (Uphoff et al. 1998), characteristics that are similar to the qualities of Desai.

There are a number of similarities among the qualities of the facilitators and the responsibility building leaders. Facilitators paid personal costs by working hard, maintaining discipline, promoting learning, and facilitate self-rule. Some of them took a vow of celibacy and dedicated their lives to village development (Smillie and Haylie 2001) including David and Sita. Pal has not taken a vow of celibacy, but has been involved in village development activities as an unpaid volunteer since he was a teenager. He is not wealthy, but still accepts a very small amount of money as remuneration from the organisation.

Several characteristics of the responsibility building leaders are similar to the characteristics of facilitator leaders. It can be said that the responsibility building leadership is a different kind of facilitator leadership. The responsibility building leaders do not tend to assist the villagers to organise political movements to change the existing policy, but tried to enhance the villagers' inner strength. Inner strength is one of the aspects of self-reliance (Rahman 1990). They taught the villagers to be self-reliant or to be able to take responsibility in collective action. To pursue their goals these

leaders taught the villagers and also listened to them, worked as coworker and made them to work cooperatively, lived with them and shared their joy and sufferings, learned and make them to learn, helped them to be organized and to take decisions collectively, networked and allowed the villagers to access these networks and encouraged to set up their own. Thus, their leadership was based on the basic principle of 'to do and enable them to do'. Thus the study called them 'enabler' leaders who helped to infuse a sense of responsibility among the village workers. The present study considered the term enabler best suited to describing the leaders who taught the villagers to take the responsibility in the collective action from the beginning of their development initiatives.

Arjun and Sen, the two other social entrepreneurs in this study, followed the 'controlling' style. Sen started with the helping style, but ended up controlling the villagers. Both made the villagers dependent on them.

Arjun took on the mission of encouraging the building of 'confident' men to achieve the goal of village development. To him, a confident man is a hard working and cooperative village worker. He wanted to activate the villagers' inner power, which is also what the responsibility building leaders did. Arjun wanted to make the villagers self-reliant village workers. He encouraged the villagers to work hard, to be disciplined and to participate in collective action. The villagers followed him because Arjun not only encouraged them, he himself practiced all these activities. He maintained familial relationships with the villagers and cared for them, showing concern and respect for them. These qualities made him the leader of the villagers. Arjun's concern for the well-being of the villagers resembles the qualities of the facilitators, but his controlling attitude differed. Arjun always made the final decision. He listened to the villagers' and his fellow workers about their suggestions and opinions in different meetings, but eventually made the decision that he considered best. He encouraged cooperation and participation, but remained a powerful leader. This was one of the contradictions in his behaviour. He could not share his power with the villagers. He set up the organisation for the villagers but could not leave them its ownership. He networked but did not expand the villagers' networks. This appeared to be one of his major weaknesses and made him different from social entrepreneurs who believe in the sharing of power (Bornstein 2007). Due to the lack of participation in the decision making process, the

villagers did not learn responsibility 'by doing'. He did not make the villagers responsible for their collective actions. The study found he learned a great deal and through his innovative ideas, hard work, and professional skills he has been able to change the villagers' lives for the better. Thus, Arjun's characteristics are not similar to the charismatic leaders, who according to Chambers (1997) resist changes, block innovations and reject collaborations. Arjun brought the villagers well-being by offering quality schooling and entertainment. Therefore the study labels Arjun a 'benevolent dictator'.

Sen always thought of helping the villagers who are motivated to the cause of village development. He believed that the villagers need help from the outside. He helped them to pursue their goals. He earned the trust of the villagers, maintained formal relationships with them, and maintained discipline. He learned, worked hard and always took the final decision. He did not actively promote learning among the villagers. He networked extensively to gather resources but did not effectively encourage the villagers to develop their own networks. He repeatedly spoke of the weakness of the villagers in talking confidently to outsiders but never initiated remedial actions. He also brought development for the villagers and can also be referred to as a 'benevolent dictator'.

The characteristics of Arjun and Sen as benevolent dictators are found to be similar to the mediator leaders of Krishna's studies (2002), based in the northern states of India, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. These mediators were trustworthy, hard working and educated. They played intermediary roles between the villagers, development agencies, and government officials. These leaders became instrumental in bringing peace, economic development and democratic participation to the villagers. However, the villagers were dependent on these mediator leaders. The mediator leaders of Krishna's studies resemble the cases of Arjun and Sen in this study. Krishna's study is not clear on whether the leaders attempted to reduce the villagers' dependency on them or whether they sought to encourage the villagers' knowledge in taking responsibility for their own tasks. 'Enabler' leaders made the villagers responsible, knowledgeable and self-reliant, whereas the mediators made the villagers dependent on them. It is this distinction that marks the difference between the 'enablers' and mediators/'benevolent dictators' types of leaders.

9.7 Implications of leadership style on organisational sustainability

The sustainability of a development organisation has been defined as "*the ongoing dynamic process of continuing the valued results of development activities*" (Viswanath 1995). It focuses on the long-term continuation of the outcomes of development activities. Development activities that only have a short-term positive outcome are not sustainable.

The study found David, Sita and Pal reproduced social capital by creating a learning organisation. Arjun and Sen produced dependence since they could not create a learning organisation. The study analysed the implications of the sustainability of these organisations.

Organisational sustainability requires four types of capital:

- (1) social capital,
- (2) human capital or knowledge,
- (3) financial capital, and
- (4) natural capital.

The present study has limited relevance to analyse natural capital and focused on social capital and its impact on the two remaining types of capital. All these capitals "*are interconnected in complex ways, and likely to be complementary, rather than substitute*" (Onyx & Leonard 2007, p 11)

David, Sita and Pal reproduced social capital. The villagers of these leaders' organisations developed social agency or the ability to make decisions in collective action. The villagers managed their organisations through consensus in meetings. The *Santals* in David's organisation took part in the managing committee; most of the villagers attended the weekly meeting to identify their problems and to solve them. The same thing happened took place in the women's group in Sita and Pal's organisation. The responsibility building leaders created learning organisations to assist the local population to manage their own organisations and satisfied the conditions required for organisational sustainability.

However, Uphoff et al. (1998) emphasised the local contribution to fund organisational activities in order to sustain an organisation. The study found the local villagers in Sita and Pal's organisation have been donating money to the case study organisation. The female members in both of these organisations regularly collected donations from the locals whereas in David's organisation, the underprivileged *Santals* do not donate much, but are paying student fees in the non-formal school, and paying the charges for various vocational training courses. This is considered contribution to the local fund and maintains their ownership of the organisation, which is required for organisational sustainability.

In Arjun and Sen's organisations, the villagers have not learned how to manage themselves independently. It was found that most of the villagers' contributions and collections of funding were limited. They depended on their leaders. The leaders could not create a learning organisation. This aspect has not satisfied the condition for organisational sustainability and places the organisation at risk after the leaders withdraw.

David, Sita and Pal created a learning organisation and ensured all capital needed was obtained in order to sustain development (Dale 2001). In the learning organisation, the villagers learned to take responsibility for their own tasks such as strengthening their bond within the community, bridging with other similar groups to strengthen relationships and to link with groups with higher social status.

To make the organisation a learning organisation, the responsibility building leaders took the central role of teaching the villagers — teaching them different values and qualities by practicing the same in their personal lives. They facilitated self-rule so that the villagers learned 'by doing'. They networked with other groups and organised various resources for the development of human capital. This includes bringing in the expertise of trusted professionals from the leaders' own networks and offering the villagers access to their networks. The villagers established relationships with the leaders' groups. This relationship helped the villagers to develop their Bridging social capital and human capital.

Since these capitals are related to each other and iterative by nature the production of one capital helped to grow other capitals. In these cases, mostly human capital started the process. As previously analysed, the villagers made decisions independently of their leaders in David, Sita and Pal's organisations and proved their ability to form all three types of capital. They demonstrated human capital or knowledge to maintain and extend the current level of social capital. The knowledge of the villagers also ensured the availability of financial capital. The study found that human knowledge played the main role to build social, human and financial capital. The villagers learned to build relationships not only within their communities but beyond. In David's organisation the villagers even travelled overseas to maintain their relationships. In Sita's organisation the village women travelled in other states to exchange their expertise. In Pal's case the village women established their connection with the neighbouring villagers, with the bank officers and with the officials of other voluntary organisations. They collected resources such as training and funds through these relationships which enhanced further their human capital. It ensured the sustainability of their respective organisations. Thus these three leaders took responsibility for building leadership and created a learning organisation ensuring organisational sustainability.

Arjun and Sen produced the villagers' dependence on them in collective action. The villagers participated and cooperated in collective actions that improved their lives under the instruction of their leaders. Arjun and Sen took a controlling leadership style and failed to create a learning organisation. The villagers did not make any decision on their own. The villagers bonded together under the instruction of their leaders. The leaders bridged and linked the villagers with other groups in order to collect financial capital. The villagers have limited human capital to maintain social capital and to collect funds or financial capital. This indicates that the villagers have limited social, human, and financial capitals that are required to sustain the organisation (Dale 2001). This places the organisations at risk when the leaders withdraw.

9.8 Conclusion

So far this thesis has analysed the characteristics of social entrepreneurs in the five case studies of rural voluntary organisations, and establishment links with social capital reproduction. The study found no consistent differences between them. Thus, as per the

findings of this study, both types of social entrepreneurs (SEETO and non-SEETO) can reproduce social capital and sustain the organisation if they follow the 'responsibility building leadership' or 'enabling leadership' style.

It was found that the socio-economic context of the organisation is poor in terms of the harsh environment with unpredictable natural forces, employment opportunities, transport, communication systems, basic amenities (such as pure drinking water), hygienic latrines, and health and education services. Government initiatives are almost non-existent in these villages. In one of the villages, the tribal population suffers isolation and discrimination due to their use of their native language, which is different from the mainstream Bengali language.

The relationship between the case study organisations and government is varied. Sustainable organisations such as SMS and BAS maintained working relationships with government after achieving some success. ANS was unable to secure any assistance from the government. All the organisations that ensured organisational sustainability have different types of relationships with government. It is also similar in the cases of GMS and DGS, where organisational sustainability is at risk. Arjun (GMS) maintained some sort of relationship with local government leaders, but often had disagreements with them over the violation of organisational rule. He admitted that he would not actively seek any assistance from the local government. Sen (DGS) maintained a strong relationship with the government, mainly due to his personal connections as a former government employee.

The social entrepreneurs of BAS, SMS and ANS took the responsibility building leadership style and developed shared values and norms, thick trust among the villagers in collective action which helped to build organisational ability or social agency of the villagers as a group and strengthened Bonding social capital. By using their personal contacts, networks with other similar groups and other higher social status groups are developed and strengthened by the responsibility building social entrepreneurs. They offered the villagers access to their networks and encouraged them to establish relationships with other members of the networks and helped to create Bridging and Linking social capital. These social entrepreneurs therefore facilitated the reproduction of social capital. On the other hand, GMS and DGS took a controlling leadership style

that created a dependency on them by the villagers. The social entrepreneurs used their personal networks to bridge and link with other similar groups or groups with higher social positions for resources necessary for organising collective action. In these cases, the villagers could not develop any relationships with these outside groups and became dependent on the leaders. The controlling leaders developed dependent Bridging and Linking social capital. The study found that the villagers' organised various collective actions to solve their problems under the control of the leaders.

The study found no significant differences between the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in the context of poor communities in rural West Bengal. Both have the ability to influence social capital reproduction with their particular leadership style. The implications of these leadership characteristics on organisational sustainability also varied across each of the case studies. The research observed that both SEETOs and non-SEETOs reproduced social capital and ensured organisational sustainability within the three case study organisations (BAS, SMS and ANS). They strengthened and developed social capital by creating norms, trust and social agency. The social entrepreneurs took responsibility building leadership style and created learning organisations to ensure organisational sustainability. Social entrepreneurs in two organisations within the case study research group (GMS and DGS) followed controlling leadership styles that adversely impacted their organisational sustainability.

The analysis of the implications of organisational sustainability highlights that responsibility building leaders develop the social agency of the villagers as a group. They facilitated the villagers in making their own decisions in collective action independent of the social entrepreneurs, and ensured a greater degree of organisational sustainability. The controller social entrepreneur leaders encouraged the villagers' dependence on them and placed the organisation at risk after their withdrawal.

It was found that the social entrepreneurs in the study have qualities that resemble the qualities of the existing studies, to a certain extent. They changed the lives of the villagers for the better and changed the cultural practices and economic lives of the villagers with their innovative ideas and hard work. Thus these leaders are social entrepreneurs, but not all of them could ensure the sustainability of their organisations.

Chapter 10

Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

The objective of this study is to investigate the relationship between social capital and social entrepreneurship. The study analysed how the characteristics of social entrepreneurs impact social capital reproduction, improvements in the lives of the poor, and the subsequent impact on organisational sustainability. The study selected five rural voluntary organisations in West Bengal, India as case studies to understand these links. This research followed both emic and etic approaches (Headland 1990) at different stages. It followed the emic view to refer the data and used the villagers own words to interpret the aspects that are meaningful to them. The case studies are presented as much as possible from the perspective of the villagers using language appropriate to them. But while analysing the case study findings and comparing them with each other the study reverted back to the etic form of discussion in order to reflect on it at a more abstract level.

The purpose of this final chapter is to highlight the major findings of this research to answer the research objective. Subsequent sections of this chapter explain the major findings of this study, significance of this research in general, significance of this research from a development perspective, and also identified potential for further research.

The concept of social capital over the decades has drawn considerable world-wide attention, particularly with the publication of Putnam's work (1993). Subsequently Hooghe & Stolle (2003) argued that one of the reasons for the popularity of social capital theory lies in its positive impact on community life to reduce community problems, restoring peace, enhancing development and making government more effective. Social capital is also conceptualised as a societal resource that links citizens to each other and enables them to pursue their commonly shared objectives more

effectively (Stolle 2003). The many dimensions of this social resource which enable people to join together to solve their problems are not new. People world-wide have long been involved in cooperative action such as mutual support and the sharing of benefits for resolving social problems in their own communities (APPC 2006). India is no exception, where people have joined together to undertake voluntary initiatives in order to resolve their social problems within their own communities (Majumdar & Majumdar 1957).

Studies have shown successful social entrepreneurship in voluntary organisations in developing countries (Uphoff et al. 1998). Social entrepreneurs are providing innovative ideas and taking the initiative to foster success (Bornstein 2007). Social entrepreneurs act as catalysts to bring social change (Alvord et al. 2004) with their innovative ideas and social arrangements, giving relatively less attention to the business criteria (Dees 1998). However there are limited studies which establish links between social entrepreneurship and social capital reproduction in voluntary organisations. Uphoff et al. (1998) observed that many successful social entrepreneurs were outsiders (non-locals). Alvord et al. (2004) and Krishna (2002) also only considered outsiders as social entrepreneurs. There are leaders of successful voluntary organisations who changed the lives of the villagers for the better and are insiders (locals). These leaders have been considered non-SEETOs in this study in order to compare their characteristics with SEETOs. The dependence of the villagers on social entrepreneurs for reproducing social capital is also a matter of concern. Dependence on a single person can pose problems for organisational sustainability when that person withdraws. This study analysed the implication of social entrepreneurs' role in organisational sustainability.

10.2 Major findings of this study

The study addressed a new area of social entrepreneurship – ‘social entrepreneurs external to organisation’ or SEETO. They are entrepreneurs who help the villagers to be organised; but they are non-residents of the villages, non-managing committee members, and they do not take any benefit from the organisation they work for. They work as external agents to the voluntary organisation. Alternatively, non-SEETOs are internal entrepreneurs in that they are residents of the villages where the voluntary organisations are located; they are members of the managing committee and accept

material benefits from the organisation. Social entrepreneurs play the role of a catalyst to transform the villagers lives (Alvord et al. 2004). In this sense the current study found both SEETOs and non-SEETOs as social entrepreneurs.

The primary motivation of this study was to link the activities of social entrepreneurs with social capital reproduction. It investigated the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs and compared them with one another. Though their characteristics are similar, they differ significantly in the area of their networking capacity. The SEETOs were found to be extensively connected at a local, national and international level. They have relationships with government and non-government groups, individuals as well as private businesses. However, only one from the five case studies is focused on government funding whereas the others are privately funded. Conversely, non-SEETOs demonstrated wider connections at the local level.

The main research question posed at the beginning of this thesis was:

“What is the relationship between social entrepreneurs and social capital, and how do the resulting organisational activities affect village development, and its implications for organisational sustainability in rural voluntary sector organisations in India?”

The research question was divided into sub-questions to reflect the more specific aspects of the study:

1. What are the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in rural voluntary sector organisations?
2. How do these characteristics affect social capital in the concerned organisations?
3. How do the resultant activities affect the development of the poor?
4. What are the implications of the characteristics for organisational sustainability?

10.2.1 What are the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs in rural voluntary sector organisations?

The study found that there were no major differences in the characteristics of SEETOs and non-SEETOs. However, no consistent pattern is observed in their leadership styles. They demonstrated two types of leadership style — the ‘enabler’ and the ‘benevolent dictator’ in the case studies’ socio-economic context. The study found that three social

entrepreneurs (one SEETO and two non-SEETOs) belong to the category of enabler leader and two other social entrepreneurs (both SEETOs) belonged to the benevolent dictator group. The main characteristic of the enabler leader is to make the villagers self-reliant village workers who can take the responsibility of solving their own problems collectively. To achieve this goal the enabler leaders took a social mission of bringing village development through the self-reliant villager or village worker, earned the trust of the villagers, maintained discipline and informal relationships with the villagers, facilitated self-rule, and promoted learning. They used their personal contacts to collect resources and encouraged the workers to use their networks and also to establish their own networks. The enabler leaders can be referred to as a type of ‘facilitator’ leader from the existing studies (Uphoff et al. 1998).

At the same time, the characteristics of two social entrepreneurs in this study categorised them as benevolent dictator leaders. These leaders took the final decision in all organisational activities and developed a dependency between themselves and the villagers. These leaders are not ‘charismatic autocratic’ leaders (Chambers 1997) who controlled and blocked the development of the organisation. They helped the villagers change their lives for the better, thus they are benevolent dictators. In order to pursue their goals they earned the trust of the villagers, encouraged them to cooperate and participate in collective action, maintained informal and formal relationships, cared for and respected the villagers, maintained discipline, learned and innovated with new ideas, used their personal contacts, social position and ability to collect resources, and made final decisions in all organisational activities. They retained as much control as they could, which resembled a business entrepreneur (Prabhu 1999) rather than a social entrepreneur. The main characteristic of the social entrepreneur is his/her power sharing attitude (Bornstein 2007). The villagers could not develop the ability of taking collective action in the village without their leaders.

10.2.2 How do these characteristics affect social capital in the concerned organisations?

Social capital is defined by Putnam as the “*features of social organisation such as trust, networks and norms which are important factors to facilitate coordinated actions*” (1995, p. 67). Onyx and Bullen (2000) argue that social capital development needs social agency or a ‘can do’ attitude and capacity. It is a capacity of the poor to work

collaboratively to solve collective problems. In other words it is a capacity to take responsibility through collective action.

The study found that the villagers in three case study organisations, under their enabler leaders, developed the capacity to take responsibility through collective action. This capacity is called social agency (Onyx & Bullen 2000). The leaders here made themselves trustworthy to the villagers and trusted the villagers' ability to manage their organisation; trust breeds trust (Cox & Caldwell 2000). The villagers trusted their organisational capacity as a group. The leaders taught the villagers various values such as cooperation, hard work, discipline, knowledge and to take responsibility collectively. The leaders proved that they personally possess these qualities and set the norms of cooperation, hard work, learning, and the norm of taking responsibility in collective action among the villagers. Following these norms, the villagers developed their social agency. The villagers organised various collective actions and developed dense networks which built thick trust. These are also elements of Bonding social capital (Putnam 1993; Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Onyx & Bullen 2000).

The study also found the enabler leaders encouraged formal and informal learning within their organisations. The villagers learned and set new relationships with groups outside their community using the leaders' contacts, and also on their own contacts. The groups include similar groups overseas and in other parts of the country. The overseas groups and individuals are of a higher social class than the villagers. They offered the villagers professional and technical knowledge to support their collective actions. These groups developed working relationship with village community groups. This is Bridging capital, as Burt (1998) purported. The villagers established relationships with similar groups with different religious beliefs, which is also Bridging social capital (Gittel & Vidal 1998; Woolcock & Narayan 2000). The villagers established relationships with social groups of higher status and power such as government and national voluntary organisations, which is Linking social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002; Szereter 2000; Woolcock 2001). Thus the 'enabler' leaders reproduced Bridging and Linking social capital.

On the other hand, two benevolent dictator leaders in the study could not develop the ability of the villagers to take collective responsibility. They took the final decision.

They did not facilitate taking collective decisions by the villagers; the villagers only followed the leaders' instructions, and so they built the norm of following the leader. The benevolent dictator leaders create a dependency of villagers on them in collective actions. They used their personal contacts, social position and abilities to collect resources and fund their organisations. Both leaders had relationships with other social groups with a higher social status and power. However, the villagers had limited relationships with people of these networks. The villagers had limited abilities to talk knowledgably and other abilities to establish relationships with these groups, so the benevolent dictator leaders created *dependent* Bridging and Linking social capitals. In many ways, the benevolent dictator leaders resembles the 'mediator leaders' of Krishna's research (2002) who activated Bridging and Linking social capital and made the villagers dependent on them.

10.2.3 How the resultant activities affect the development of the poor?

The goal of the enabler leader was to assist the villagers in becoming effective 'village workers' who can take responsibility in collective action to solve their problems. The study found the enabler leaders built the ability of the villagers to take responsibility in collective actions. The villagers became 'village workers'. In other words, the study found the leaders created the ability of the villagers to take purposeful actions in collective action and also changed the villagers' passive attitude toward collective action. Changes in the abilities and attitudes of the villagers towards collective action are considered important factors that can change the empowerment of villagers (Narayan 2005). Thus the enabler leaders helped to empower the villagers, which is one of the requirements of development (Chambers 1997).

The study found the empowered villagers took various collective actions and helped to bring changes for the well-being of the villagers by improving their health, by offering the children fun, and enjoyment in their non-formal school, by running a Home for the needy girls and by enhancing economic productivity through the training and production centre. Thus these leaders empowered the villagers who helped to bring well-being and productivity.

Alternatively, the benevolent dictators developed the norm of following the leaders by making final decisions in collective action. The leaders organised various collective

actions. The villagers participated in the collective actions under their leaders' control and did not make any decisions collectively. This practice made the villagers dependent on the leaders. It indicates their inability to make any purposeful decision in the collective action and indicates their lack of empowerment or disempowerment.

The benevolent dictator's activities contributed to the development process of the villagers. Activities like the establishment of a quality primary school, construction of hygienic latrines, construction of deep tube-wells for drinking water and providing quality entertainment enhanced the well-being of the villagers. The income generation programme increased the villager's income and productivity. Thus the benevolent dictators also helped to develop the villagers' lives as with leaders in Krishna's (2002) study through mediating activities.

10.2.4 What are the implications of the characteristics for organisational sustainability?

The study found the enabler leaders have ensured organisational sustainability but the benevolent dictators' organisations are at risk. The enabler leaders created learning organisations, which is one of the conditions for organisational sustainability (Korten 1980; Smillie & Hailey 2001), where the villagers learned informally and formally. The villagers learned to take part in management and the decision-making process, and to contribute to the fund. These are the conditions of organisational sustainability (Rahman 1990; Uphoff et al. 1998). Thus enabling leaders ensured organisational sustainability by creating a learning organisation. This learning or human capital development helped the organisation to develop social capital and financial capital. Dale (2001) argued capitals are interrelated and the utilisation of one capital can develop another capital. The study findings confirmed this statement. It is found human capital assumed a major role to start this interrelated link and helped to produce other types of capitals. The benevolent dictator leaders learned themselves and developed *dependent* Bridging and Linking social capital as well as financial capital. They could not make the villagers learn informally and formally independent of their leaders, thus failing to create a learning organisation.

The implications of sustainability might not be so clear-cut in practice. The enabler leader such as David not only built the organization as a learning organization, his

German connection seemed to be a significant influence on the sources of funding the village organisation. If the German connection and the related funding sources are weakened in the future it may risk sustainability. Similarly, the relationship of BAS with the local government to run their child development fund and the membership of the two non-formal school teachers in the State government committee further enhanced the sustainability of the organisation. Any change in their relationships may have impacts on organizational sustainability of BAS.

In Sita's case the local government resource and funding as well as the national VO played important roles to sustain the organisation which could be withdrawn at any time. It is expected that the possibility of this type of crisis situation could be avoided by the villagers' ability to link with external rich groups to collect resources and funds.

Again, it is possible for an organization where a social entrepreneur is a benevolent dictator, to sustain itself if provision is made for succession such as employment of an efficient outside manager for GMS. In the case of DMS, if a new multipurpose economic development project is successfully implemented by the non-SEETO its sustainability can improve. However, for long-run sustainability the local villagers can not depend fully on efficient successor/manager/consultant who are outsiders. Ultimately the villagers have to take their own responsibility to sustain the organisation. In other words, the learning organizations created under the 'enabler' leadership ensured this sustainability requirement.

10.3 Significance of this research

This research has addressed a new area of relationship or connection between social capital reproduction and social entrepreneurship in voluntary organisations which has not been investigated. Research in this area has been limited, possibly due to the knowledge that the concept of the leadership role in voluntary organisations is somewhat contradictory. Voluntary organisations belong to civil society where the equality of the members' status is a basic principle (Chatterjee 2002). In such a situation, all members are assumed to play an equal or democratic role in the decision-making process and leaders have very limited significance. Anecdotal stories (Jain & Jain 2004) have found that leaders have an important role in voluntary organizations.

One of the recent studies based in India of Dongre and Gopalan (2008a) confirmed the leaders' importance. They found that 38 per cent of the surveyed population in India believed the governance responsibility of voluntary organisations lies in the hand of the leader. In another study, the same authors (Dongre & Gopalan 2008b) found the proportion was higher in China (52%), Indonesia (40%), and Philippines (40%). Therefore focusing on the leadership role, the study has added knowledge to the existing literature of voluntary organisations. It is expected that the study findings will help to raise interest in this area and provide motivation for further research. The study has multi-faceted significance — it added new dimensions to the existing theory and knowledge, and developed a modified research methodology. So the study claims the following contributions.

Contribution One

One of the important contributions to the existing knowledge of the present research is to confirm the findings of other studies, and highlighting of other findings as unsustainable. Krishna (2002) argued that the factors needed to reproduce social capital vary across different contexts. Edward and Folley (1998) argued that the analysis of medium level institutions such as political parties can demonstrate the influence between civically engaged people and institutional performance. The activities of political parties solve the conflict among different social groups with conflicting interests in a peaceful way, and decide “*who will play, the rules of the game and the outcomes achievable by different groups*” (Folley & Edward 1996, p 47). They play the role of mediating agents among the different conflicting groups that improve institutional performance. Following this line of argument, Krishna argued different context needs different factors to reproduce social capital. The newly educated village leaders acted as mediators between the villagers and government development programmes which activated social capital, brought economic development and enhanced the democratic participation of the poor villagers. The newly educated village leaders activated social capital in Krishna's study (2002). The present study confirmed these findings and showed that in a poor socio-economic context the leader has a role to reproduce social capital.

The research also confirmed the findings of LiPuma and Koelble (2009), based in post-colonial South Africa who argued that social capital reproduction needs different factors

other than civil society in this particular context. The society in this context is divisive and individualistic due to the effect of the past colonial state policies. These policies developed different unequal sections in the society based on income and wealth, and rural and urban base. The growth of solidarity-based civil societies is not visible there, and so the context needs different factors to reproduce social capital. The present study confirmed this argument in the Indian context.

Contribution Two

The study highlighted some points of Putnam's study (1993) based in Italy. The leadership of social entrepreneurs was found to be a driving force to take initiative to build social capital in the present study context. They facilitated building trust, norms and network-based relationships, which then helped collective action. Putnam (1993) argued that trust, norms and networks are only features of social organisation that help to build social capital. This is not sustainable in the present study context. In a poor socio-economic context, villagers need some help to start collective action. Help in the form of facilitating activities of the leaders produced the villager's impetus to start the collective action. These leaders built the social agency (Onyx & Bullen 2000) or the organisational ability of the villagers. The leaders taught the villagers and facilitated them to learn cooperation and organisational activities. The function of associations as a 'learning school for democracy' (Putnam 2000, p 394) may not be sustainable here. An organisation can not become a learning organisation automatically. Putnam (2000) argued it is the virtue of civil society to socialise the participants into the norms of generalised reciprocity and trust. However the current study found the leaders' qualities and attitudes towards these values and practicing the same in their personal lives helped the villagers to follow and learn these values. Thus the leaders played a central role in transforming an organisation into a learning organisation under the present study context. Here these leaders have a direct role in reproducing the social agency of the villagers, which is one of the components of social capital.

Contribution Three

The study analysed the activities of social entrepreneurs in voluntary organisations rather than their activities in the villages. This changed the unit of analysis from the village to the structured organisation and thus added a new dimension to the existing theory.

Krishna's study (2002) focused on leadership activities, their positive impacts on social capital formation, and the economic development of the individual and the village, but has not analysed the issue of sustainability of development. Social entrepreneurs, in Krishna, are the product of newly spread education facilities and public media in the villages. They have qualities to form networks with government and other development agents such as banks, insurance agencies and other trades. The villagers depend on them to make decisions and to meet the higher level officials through them regarding their development activities. Krishna's study has not analysed what the villagers will do after their leaders' withdrawals. Rather he expected that the villagers will get new leaders if the present one retires, which is a theory dependent on chance factors. The present study analysed how the social entrepreneurs developed the villagers' organisational capability, or the sustainability of the social capital which the leader reproduced. This aspect increased the strength of the study.

Contribution Four

Krishna (2002) has not analysed the different types of social capital such as Bonding, Bridging, and Linking separately. The present study analysed the leader's influence on reproduction of all types of social capital, and their implications on organisational sustainability. Thus the present study provides a more holistic perspective on the relationship between social capital reproduction and social entrepreneurship.

Contribution Five

The study provided a greater understanding of the process of data collection in remote villages where the presence of city-based researchers is not a common occurrence. The villagers are generally not open with unknown persons. The researcher's local escort, language and local attire helped her to openly and comfortably communicate with them.

Contribution Six

The study contributes new knowledge and theory to the understanding of the social entrepreneur leadership by developing a new concept — 'enabler' leadership style. The social entrepreneur leader teaches the poor villagers about the values of taking responsibility in collective action and facilitates them in practice to take responsibility. It differs from the existing mediator leadership concept (Krishna 2002), where leaders

act as mediators between the villagers and the government and other development agents to implement development programmes. It also differs from the facilitator leaders outlined by Smillie and Hailey (2001) who provided technology services, credit, training, and advocacy to the villagers to start the development initiatives and facilitated them to manage their organisation. The 'enabling' leaders did not provide any services to start up their development initiative but asked villagers to take responsibility as a group to find ways to solve their problems. They taught the villagers the values of cooperation, hard work, learning, discipline, and also practiced such values in their personal lives. This 'teaching' (or educating) service appears similar to the advocacy service offered by the leaders of previous studies. For example, facilitators in SEWA, another organisation in India, advocated organising poor self-employed women to stand against the harassment they received at the hand of the local police (Uphoff et al. 1998). The 'enabler' leaders went beyond such micro issues and taught the villagers to take responsibility in collective action and to be self-reliant village workers in a macro sense. Thus the teaching provided by the 'enabler' leader differs from the advocacy of the facilitator leaders. To achieve their goals the 'enabler' leaders took a social mission of bringing village development through self-reliant villagers or village workers, earning trust, maintaining discipline and informal relationships, facilitating self-rule, and promoting networking by using their own personal networks and learning.

Contribution Seven

The study provided knowledge and insight into different types of Bridging and Linking social capitals. It found that the characteristics of social entrepreneurs and their benevolent dictator leadership styles can generate *dependent* Bridging and *dependent* Linking social capitals. Under such situations the villagers' groups are fully dependent on their leaders to bridge and link with other groups, and they do not develop the intellectual capacity to network independently of their leaders. This raises concern about the sustainability of these social capitals as they are entirely leader depended. This is a new concept in the social capital literature.

The study illustrated the significant role of human capital in creating social and financial capitals. This aspect added knowledge to the role of human capital in building social capital. The study found the villagers learned to take responsibility in collective action, which resulted in various development activities. This proved that they have

social agency. Social agency strengthened their bonding or social capital among themselves due to their increased interaction in collective action. So their learning of organisational activities helped them to strengthen Bonding social capital. They learned to network with other groups, which is Bridging and Linking social capital (Aldridge et al. 2002; Lin 2005). The stock of Bridging and Linking social capital created the opportunity for various professional and technical knowledge opportunities for the villagers to contribute to their learning and development of human capital. This includes using the expertise, skills and information of trusted professionals such as academics, doctors and agriculturists. The villagers have developed their learning through formal training and their life experiences, and have consequently been able to collect more funds or financial capital. As a result, human capital helped to develop all of the other three forms of capitals for the villagers. Roseland (1999) argued that significantly more attention needs to be directed towards social capital, in that social capital enhances returns on investment in other forms of capital. The study shows human capital has a central role to develop other the other three forms of capital and also confirms the study findings of Onyx and Leonard (2007).

Contribution Eight

An interesting observation formed from the study is the impact of social capital, which differs from other studies. The relationship between the leaders and the villagers were found to be horizontal, or relationships of interdependence — not vertical. This relationship facilitated the villagers in learning self-rule. This particular type of ‘enabling leadership’ reproduced social agency or social capital. The primary development impact of this social agency falls on the empowerment of the villagers. The social agency of the villagers made the villagers powerful agents or empowered actors in their collective actions. Thus this social agency brought a social change or change in the villager’s ability and attitude towards collective action. The outcome of the social capital reproduction in the present study has not been limited to economic development, democratic government, resolving disputes or taking advantage of new opportunities as previously stated through the work of Putnam (1993) and Krishna (2002), Hooghee and Stolle (2003), Islam et al. (2006) and Knack and Keefer (1997) . The research found that the outcome can just as likely be social development such as empowerment of the villagers. There are limited existing studies in this area.

Contribution Nine

This study provided valuable insight into the characteristics of social entrepreneurs linked to social capital reproduction by using a qualitative case study approach, which enabled a deep analysis of the phenomenon. The findings, though specific to the context of India, can be extrapolated to make broader generalizations in other developing countries. One of the important strengths of the research is its use of descriptive, detailed and deep case study analysis that provided rich detail and information. Krishna (2002) relied mostly on the survey technique based on brief questionnaires and short interviews. Although this questionnaire survey covered a large number of participants, it lacked detail. The current study preferred details rather than spread, and used in-depth interviews with the main informants and other sources (e.g. published data, participant observation and photographs) to achieve triangulation. The research used various sources of data and series of interviews with different informants in order to validate the information. This process increased the validity and reliability of the findings.

Contribution Ten

The strength of the study also lies in its analysis of a new type of social entrepreneur — the SEETO or ‘social entrepreneur external to organisation’. The SEETO in this study is an altruistic individual, non-resident, non-member of the organisation’s managing committee who does not take any benefit from the organisation where he works. He/she is an ‘outsider’ social entrepreneur with a number of differing characteristics. The idea of an outsider social entrepreneur is not new, and its existence has been referred to in various studies with various types (Uphoff et al. 1998; Smillie & Hailey 2001). Their various types have not yet been analysed systematically. The present study analysed one type of social entrepreneur, the SEETO, and their characteristics. In order to understand their role more clearly, comparisons have been made with the activities of non-SEETOs within the same context. This type of research has not been undertaken in the past.

Contribution Eleven

Another significant contribution of the study lies in one of its findings that social entrepreneurs can be a local person. Several studies in the past on social entrepreneurship in developing countries (for example, Alvord et al. 2004; Smillie & Hailey 2001) considered only the outsiders or non-local leaders as social entrepreneurs. The present study contradicted this and demonstrated that the local successful leaders

also can have the characteristics and impacts similar to that of an outsider social entrepreneur.

10.4 Further research possibilities

This study aimed to focus on an under-researched area. It generated some interesting findings which has important significance for organisational development. However, the findings of this research are limited by its scope as they are based on case studies of five voluntary sector organisations in rural India. Hence it has the potential to generate several new areas of research.

Some of the possible broad research questions that can be generated from this study are listed below:

- Are non-SEETOs social entrepreneurs?
- Can only a poor socio-economic context create an ‘enabler leadership’ style?
- Are SEETOs able to produce more Linking social capital than non-SEETOs?
- Are SEETOs primarily ‘controller’ and non-SEETOs primarily ‘enabler’ styles of leadership?
- Are non-SEETOs academics and SEETOs government employees in sustainable organisations?
- How can social entrepreneurs earn trust of the villagers?
- Does the gender dimension of ‘enabler’ social entrepreneur affect organisational effectiveness? (That is, whether female or male ‘enabler’ social entrepreneurs are more effective for both male and female group organisations)
- How do voluntary organisations build their stock of Bridging and Linking social capital?
- Do sacrifices made by social entrepreneurs have any relationship with organisational effectiveness?
- Do male and female enable leaders have different organisational characteristics?
- Will the findings of this study have similar importance and relevance to other developing countries?
- Are the findings true to the urban-based voluntary organisations in developing countries?

10.5 Implications of this research from a development perspective in India

India is still plagued by poverty, though it has achieved high economic growth in recent decades. More than one-quarter of India's population is considered poor, with a significantly higher proportion of poverty in rural areas, discriminating social taboos against women, poor health and education services, and a lack of clean drinking water contribute to the worsening of the poverty situation. The benefits of government programmes hardly reach the poor. In general, the collective initiative of the local people or social capital is limited and ineffective to change their condition.

This study found that there are individuals who undertake deliberate initiatives to change the villagers' poor condition by seeking to change their attitude towards collective action. Some of these individuals are non-residents of the village (non-locals), and some are locals. They took initiatives to organise collective action by the villagers and brought social and economic development. These people are altruistic individuals with qualities of social entrepreneurs, driven by their values and who were dissatisfied with the poor situation of the villagers. They motivated the villagers with the values of cooperation and facilitated them in a systematic way in their collective action. They established horizontal relationships with the villagers and worked as co-workers in collective action. They used their personal contacts such as friends, family and professional networks to collect resources and facilitated the villagers in establishing relationships with members of their networks. The process facilitated the social agency of the villagers for organising collective action for development. They are enabler social entrepreneur leaders.

In the poor socio-economic context, 'enabler' social entrepreneur leaders in voluntary organisations played a different role. These leaders did not act as mediators between the government programmes, government officials, financial agencies (such as bank and insurance institutions) and the villagers. These leaders did not mobilize the villagers to demand any particular need from the government or to protest any existing policies. The 'enable leaders' only educated the villagers with some human values and made the villagers self-reliant workers so that the villagers could take responsibility for resolving their own problems without depending on government programmes. The leaders here

facilitated the villagers in identifying their own problems and then in solving them. They did not require any political leader to solve their problems. They needed a leader whose mission was completely non-political.

The implications of this study also suggest that social capital is dependent on other capitals in bringing development into this context. Social capital remains ineffective due to the scarcity of funding or financial capital in some of the case study organisations. In some other organisations, a lack of human capital prohibits the building of social capital and the mobilization of financial capital. In all of the case study organisations, the role of human capital emerges as the most important element to building social capital. It is clearly established that where human capital is in abundance, financial capital has been organized and social capital remains active. The formal and informal education of the villagers from various sources including the leaders' teaching and participation in collective actions, are the crucial factors to bringing development in this context.

Social entrepreneur leaders can enable the villagers to take responsibility in their collective actions and facilitate their development. The more there are of such leaders, the larger possibility of strengthening the stock of social capital. It can be argued from the current study findings that stronger leadership leads to a better society, and a stronger economy. Putnam (1993) argues that strong society leads to a strong economy and a strong state. However, this study found that, under a poor socio-economic context, enabling leadership is essential for strong economic development, in addition to voluntary organisations or society. The study also identified that the other type of social entrepreneur, the benevolent dictator, does not serve this purpose — they generate dependency among the poor instead of developing their empowerment.

Previous studies (for example, Smillie & Hailey 2001 and Robinson 1991) found that leaders have different styles of relationships with the Indian government — some are confrontational and others are friendly. The present study also observed a similar pattern among the case study organisations in the advent of the development initiatives. The government hardly provided any funds or resources to the case study organisations at the beginning. All the organisations undertook their own development programmes and collected funds from non-government sources. However, when the organisations gained control of the environment, only then the government came forward to offer

assistance. In order to expand and sustain development initiatives further the support of government services in terms of infrastructure, higher education, and health are essential.

At the same time, relationships between the voluntary organisations and other local and national voluntary organisations were found to be very strong. The private sector including individuals and for-profit organisations provided regular resources to these case study organisations, but in order to garner assistance from these organisations the villagers need to be linked with them. The study found that the enabling leaders worked as links to these higher level organisations and developed the villagers' ability to be linked with them.

The study findings can be generalised to a limited extent as they are based on a limited number of case studies from one region in India. The study found the existence of three 'enabling leaders' out of the five case study organisations. It can be reasonably expected that there are a large number of such 'enabling' social entrepreneur leaders in the rural voluntary sectors in India. The activities of these enabling leaders in large numbers can make a major difference to social and economic development outcomes in India in the future.

Appendix A

Request for preliminary information on social entrepreneurs

Dear

Research study: “Social Capital and Social Entrepreneurship: Analyzing Links and Implications for Sustainability in Third Sector Organizations in West Bengal”

My name is Saswati Basu and I am a research student at the University of Technology, Sydney in Australia. I am conducting research into activities of Voluntary Organizations in India and would welcome your assistance. This research has been funded by University of Technology Sydney.

The research would involve interview of leaders, staff and beneficiaries of small and rural-based voluntary organizations in India and also villagers in respective areas. Face-to-face interviews with leaders of organizations should take about two hours approximately. Although each interview session is expected to continue for about two hours, it may be necessary to have more than one session of interviews if the concerned person agrees to do so. Under any circumstances, total interview time will not exceed 3-4 hours.

Interview should take approximately twenty minutes for other groups.

The interviews cannot be conducted without your direct assistance and involvement. We are willing to provide you the results of our findings at the end of the study.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at my address given below. A self-addressed envelop is attached.

Moreover, if you are willing can you please provide some basic information on your organization’s leader as per the format attached? Please note that personal details are not needed.

Please remember that you are under no obligation to participate in this research.

Yours sincerely,
Saswati Basu

████████████████████
██

Basic information on your organization's leader

(Please note that the leader is not necessarily be the formal head of the organization)

Name of the organization

.....

What is the position of the leader who works and helps most actively in strengthening your organization?

- 1. Is he/she a board member of your organization? Yes / No
- 2. Is he/she a primary member of your organization? Yes / No
- 3. Is he/she a paid staff of your organization? Yes / No
- 4. Is he/she a volunteer worker of your organization? Yes / No
- 5. Is he/she an honorary accountant of your organization? Yes / No
- 6. Is he/she a non-member and unpaid local person? Yes / No

Can you please describe his/her position in the organization in one sentence?

.....
.....
.....

Appendix B

Consent Form for interview participants

I _____ agree to participate in the research project named Social Capital and Social Entrepreneurship: Analyzing Links and Implications for Sustainability in Third Sector Organizations in West Bengal (UTS HREC approval reference number 2006-271A) being conducted by Saswati Basu School of Management, Faculty of Business, University of Technology; PO Box, 123; Broadway, NSW 2007, Australia . Funding for this research has been provided by the School of Management.

I understand that the purpose of this study is to know the activities of people who run local Voluntary organizations. I understand that my participation in this research will involve interview lasting not more than two hours approximately in one session.

I am aware that I can contact Saswati Basu at her local address _____ or her principal supervisor Professor Jenny Onyx (612 9514 3633) in Australia if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that Saswati Basu has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that does not identify me in any way.

_____/_____/_____
Signature (participant)

_____/_____/_____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: 02 - 9514 9615, Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au), and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix C

List of questions for face-to-face interviews

List of questions for face-to-face interviews with leaders of each organization

1. What organizational goals did you want to achieve?
2. Did you ever motivate/encourage staff/beneficiaries/village people to achieve any of these organizational goals?
3. To achieve these goals did you encourage them to be engaged in planning, organising and monitoring process?
4. How did you motivate them? Have you used personal dialogue, conversations, encouragements and appreciation? Could you please explain the activities in the whole process?
5. How did you motivate them formally? Did you take any initiative to organise social events, seminar, and workshops or to introduce financial rewards as incentives or any practice? Could you please explain the activities in the whole process?
6. Did you ever play the role of a third party mediator in resolving dispute and conflict or play as consultant?
7. Who are these two parties involved?
8. Why they have chosen you as third party mediator?
9. What were your activities to achieve a negotiated goal? Can you explain the whole process of a few cases you involved in over the last few years?
10. How much time you spent to achieve a negotiation?
11. Did you ever encourage them to resolve conflicts without your help?
12. Did you involve in monitoring the progress of any program or activities?
13. How do you collect information or feedbacks from beneficiaries, staff and village people? Could you explain the process?
14. How do you analyse the information? Do you take help from your staff? Could you explain the process?
15. How do you share and apply the solutions? Could you explain the whole process?

Questions for the staff of the selected organizations

Identification Code:

Did the leader tell you about the goals of the organization when you visit him on any occasion?		
Did the leader tell you what to do to achieve organizational goals?		
Did the leader arrange any seminar, workshop, meetings etc. to explain you what to do for your personal and social benefit?		
Did the leader arrange any social and/or cultural events which express the same idea what he had said?		
Did you receive any monetary benefit as reward for your good performance in the organization for which the leader has taken personal initiative?		
Did you receive any recognition for your good performance from the leader?		
Have you ever been punished for wrong doing for which the leader has taken personal initiative?		
Did the leader impose his ideas on you?		
Did the leader ask you to suggest your ideas?		
Did the leader ask any question to identify problem?		
Did the leader listen to your problems you are facing now?		
Did the leader apply the suggestions provided by you?		

<i>Did you take help from the leader regarding the following issues:</i>		
In resolving disputes with development agents such as bank, insurance company, government officials etc.		
In explaining rules and regulations of development activities for government and non-government programs or in giving various information regarding development services.		
In helping to meet formalities required to take part in various development programs of government and non-government organizations.		
Escorting to various offices outside the village		
Mediating dispute with villagers, staff and beneficiaries		
Mediating to resolve conflicts among family members of staff and beneficiaries		

Comments, if any:

Questions for the villagers where the selected organizations are located

Identification Code:

Did the leader ask you about the principal needs and		
--	--	--

problems in the villages?		
Did the leader ask you about promising and reasonable solutions?		
Did the leader ask you about how should costs be appropriated?		
Did the leader ask you about how responsibilities would be allocated and shared		
Did the leader ask you about what technologies are likely to be effective and accepted?		

Comments, if any:

Questions for the beneficiaries of the organizational development program

Identification Code:

Do you think the organizational activities helped you and your family to change life for the better?

Appendix D
Photos from case study organisations



D.1: The Weekly Meeting - villagers and the BAS workers discussing their problems



D.2: Kiosk-like class-rooms of the non-formal primary school - BAS



D.3: Students are having fun in the non-formal primary school - BAS



D.4: The brick-built road made by the villagers – the only connection to the city - BAS



D.5: The quality primary school of GMS



D.6: Brotochari activities of GMS primary school



D.7: The music school of GMS



D.8: Cultural function - GMS



D.9: Vegetable farming under the Pond Excavation Programme of DGS



D.10: Members of Women's Group are discussing their problems - SMS



D.11: Boat – the only transport to go to the nearby city town - ANS

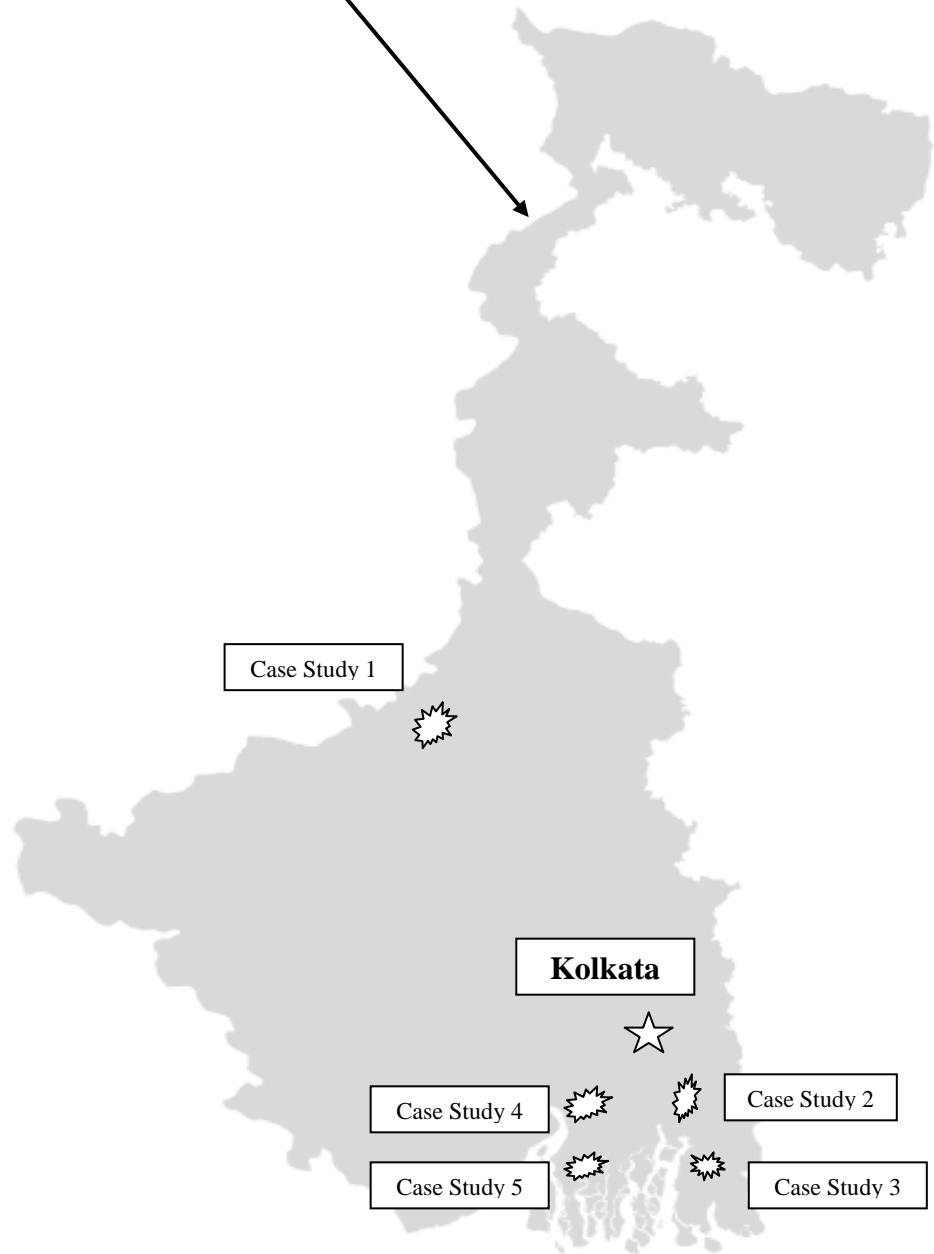


D.12: Female *Brotochari* instructor of VAC (ANS)



Appendix E
Location of Case Study Villages
– West Bengal, India

West Bengal



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