

**Social Change and
Development Administration
in South Asia**

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Lutful Hoq Choudhury



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To
My Father
Late Mvi. Serajul Hoque Choudhury

Foreword

In this study the Author attempts to analyse how the process of social change started in the Indian Sub-continent and looks into the various factors that have been hindering or helping this process. Simultaneously, he is concerned with the difficult task of conceptualizing development and modernity which does not deny the specific and contextual character of the developing countries. Next, he examines a more critical issue: “who is managing development and change” and finally he tries to explore what role the intellectual and the government can play in bringing about change and development in contemporary developing countries.

The study is based on the dissertation presented by the Author to the Faculty of Graduate School, University of Southern California, in partial fulfillment for his Degree of Doctorate in Philosophy. Initially, the Author was inclined to name this book as “Social Change and Development: A Sociological Analysis”. Subsequently, he preferred the title of this book to be “Social Change and Development Administration in South Asia”. This highlights the Author’s confidence of the operational significance of his study in understanding the problems of development administration and change and devising policy prescriptions for the same for the South Asian Region as a whole.

We believe that both academicians and practitioners interested in development administration and social change will find the book useful and informative. Since it is written in the Asian context, it is also hoped that it would be particularly valuable to Bangladeshi scholars.

This publication indicates our endeavour to build up Bangladeshi literature in the social science sector, particularly in the field of Public Administration.

Dr. Shaikh Maqsood Ali
Director-General, NIPA
Bangladesh, 1978

Preface

This book makes a study on social change and development in the Indian sub-continent applying multidisciplinary approach. This study is essentially operational in that it seeks to contribute to the acquisition of knowledge which will be useful for designing a policy of social change and development. Although the book is primarily concerned with societies in the South Asian region namely, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, it may provide useful insights and guidance for scholars and practitioners in other developing countries confronted with problems of social change and development.

This book is the outcome of my doctoral research work completed in June, 1973 in the University of Southern California, U.S.A¹ I am very grateful to Professor Neely Gardner, who was Chairman of my Dissertation Committee, rendered valuable advice, guidance and suggestions which contributed enormously to the completion of the dissertation. I am also indebted to two other teachers namely, Dr. E. Glogow and Dr. Banerjee for reading and reviewing the work as a member of the Dissertation Committee and for offering useful suggestions and encouragement.

The book was first published by the then National Institute of Public Administration NIPA with the initiative Dr. Shaikh Maqsood Ali, Director-General of NIPA at that time .He wrote the foreword in it also. I express my gratitude to him and other staff of NIPA who made their efforts for publishing the book.

My thanks are due to Osder Publications for publishing the book again and making it now available to the readers.

Lutful Hoq Choudhury

¹ The title of the dissertation was “Social Change and Development : A Sociological Analysis” (June, 1973) which was approved by the University of Southern California, L.A., U.S.A. for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Publisher's Note

‘Social Change and Development Administration in South Asia’ written by Professor Lutful Hoq Chudhury is one of the pioneering books on development and development administration in the context of post colonial countries in Asia. It is a research based classical work with distinct conceptual framework that addresses traditions and modernity concurrently and in a very coherent way in the development process. The book is full of original thinking and many thought provoking ideas that may be considered as important inputs for both academics and

Practitioners in the development field. Since its first publication by the National Institute of Public Administration-NIPA in 1978 the book has been being used as a text book of development administration by the university students in Bangladesh.

Now the copy of the first edition is hardly available despite of the persistent demand of the book from different corners. On this backdrop, Osder Publications with the kind consent of the author takes initiative to publish the book and make it available to students, academics, researchers, professionals and other readers.

We are grateful to Professor Lutful Hoq Choudhury for his generous consent in our efforts.

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Table of Contents

Introduction	xiii
Purpose of the Study	xiii
Methodology	xiii
Significance of the Study	xiv
Outline of the Study	xiv
Chapter I	
Meaning of Social Change	15
What is Social change?	21
Social Change and Value	23
Chapter II	
Social Change in the Indian Subcontinent:	
Historical Perspective	25
Impact of the British Rule on the Indian Subcontinent	26
Economic Changes	28
Educational Changes	29
Legal Changes	31
Social Changes : The Rise of the Middle Class and its Composition	32
Reactions of the Muslims and the Hindus Towards New	33
Forces of Change	
The Muslim Movement Favouring the New Social Forces	36
Chapter III	
Socio-Cultural and Administrative Obstacles to Change and Development	41
Socio-Cultural Obstacles	42
Social Cleavage and Cultural Isolation of the Elite	42
World-View : Universe Controlled by Supernatural Power, Fatalism and Dependence on Luck	43
Relaxed Time perspective	46
Pre-scientific Mentality	48
Fear and Skeptical Attitude towards Newness	48
Apathy of the People	49
Rigidly Hierarchical Social Relations	50
Absence of Entrepreneurs and Their Low Status	51
Superstitious Beliefs and Ideas	53
Particularism and Factionalism	54
Administrative Obstacles	55
The Colonial Administrative Heritage	56
Mechanical and Low Pitched Administration	57

Improper Differentiation of Line and Staff Functions	58
Over Centralization	59
Excessive Use of Conferences, Meetings and Committees	60
Excessive Exaltation of Generalist	61
Favouritism in Administration	62
Shortage of Technical Personnel	63
Imperfect Team-work	64
Corruption in Administration	65
Chapter IV	
Tradition, Development and Modernity	67
Tradition and Modernity	68
What is Development?	76
Development- A Multi-dimensional Concept	78
Chapter V	
Role of Intellectual in National Development	81
Intellectual and Social Transformation	82
Role of Academic Intellectual	89
Role of Administrative Intellectual	92
Chapter VI	
Developmental Planning: Government, Education and Development	95
Role of Government in Development	96
Education and Development	98
Planning Education for Development	99
Education, Human Resources and Development	100
Strategy of Human Resource Development	105
Chapter VII	
Summary and Conclusions	115
Review of Literature	127
The British Impact on the Indian Subcontinent	127
Obstacles to Change and Development	128
Tradition, Development and Modernity	129
Role of Intellectual	131
Education and Development	133
Bibliography	137

Introduction

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the preset study is to examine and analyse how social change has occurred in the Indian subcontinent; what socio-cultural and administrative factors are hampering this process of change and development; how development/modernization has been conceptualized and who is managing development and what role the intellectuals and the government may play in the process of change and development.

Methodology

The writer has made use of the available concepts and ideas as analytical tools. The writer has attempted to develop the study around the following propositions/assumptions:

- In the developing countries the new social forces unleashed by the West tend to bring about great changes in the traditional mode of thought of the people. They may reject the western model of development, they may recklessly embrace western culture or they may respond to new forces by reviving, reinterpreting, and revitalizing the legacy of the past but, however they must react, they cannot possibly escape from its compelling presence.
- Traditionalism is not always in conflict with development and modernity. The ideological upsurge of traditionalism may give rise to a desire for development and modernity and facilitate the modernization process. It is not tradition as such but the nature of a particular tradition, its form, direction, strength and its ability to accommodate change which helps or hinders development and modernity.
- In developing countries government's heavy involvement in development results not necessarily from any communistic or doctrinaire assumption/ ideological predilection but is the product of the objective situation.
- Goals of development and change in Bangladesh need to be formed within the framework of its value system to gain mass support, participation and co-operation to government's planned programmes and activities.

Significance of the Study

This study covers a very vital and important subject in a systematic, contextual and comprehensive way. The author thinks that social analysis of this type may be a useful contribution in understanding the real problems and issues involved in the process of transformation of a society towards modernity and development. This study is essentially operational in that it seeks to contribute to the acquisition of knowledge which will be useful for designing a policy of social change and development. Because of this reason the assumptions/propositions formulated in the study have not been polished to the extent which would be required were it the objective to contribute to the development of pure theory. Nonetheless, they may be useful for further study and future empirical research. Although the present study is primarily confined to the societies in the Indian sub-continent, it may provide useful insights and guidance for scholars in other developing countries preoccupied with problems of social change and development.

Outline of the Study

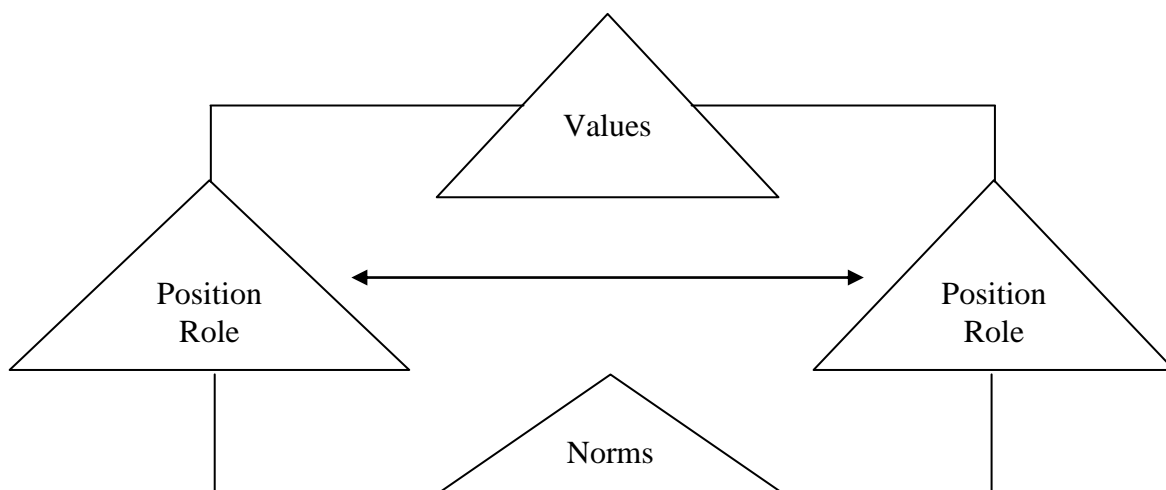
The first chapter presents the theoretical framework for the analysis of social change. The second chapter explores how the process of change and development has occurred in the Indian sub-continent. It also includes the analysis of how the impact of social and technological forces introduced by the British has altered the traditional social relationship in the sub-continent. The third chapter deals with socio-cultural and administrative factors that tend to hamper and hinder the process of change and development. The fourth chapter explores the meaning of development modernity. It also underlines the need of conceptualizing development and modernity which does not deny the specific and contextual character of the developing countries. The fifth chapter discusses what role the intellectuals may play in the process of change and development. The last chapter analyses and explores how the government may initiate, guide and manage the process of change and development specially by along-range educational strategy.

Chapter- I

Meaning of Social Change

Both the terms “Reform” and “Revolution” connote social change. Reformation means alteration in some particular institution and society, while revolution connotes a sudden and far reaching change. It refers to a major break in the continuity of an existing system. One is a quantitative change, while the other is a qualitative change. Revolution is a complete change from the past and its influence pervades the whole society¹.

History is replete with revolutions. Revolutions are of various types. There may be cultural revolution, political revolution, and industrial revolution etc. Here we are concerned with a different type of revolution which is distinct from coup *d’etat*, rebellion and insurrection. In the present study we will use the term revolution in a different meaning and context. Our concern is social revolution which relates to social order and social relationships. It underlines the destruction of the dominance of a few privileged people over the majority. It emancipates the lower classes from economic exploitation and political subordination. It aims at narrowing down the wide gap between the upper class and the lower class by creating a society where the middle class constitutes the majority. Thus social revolution is not merely a violent and profound modification of the social organization but a major shift in the relations between man and man and between groups – social relationships.



¹ Alfred Meusel, “Revolution and Counter-Revolution” Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), Vol. 13, p.367

Social relationship concept

Understanding of the concept of social relationships necessitates a discussion on four concepts such as position, role, value and norm.

Position: It refers to the idea formalized behaviour characterized by designated rights and duties. Position refers to a location in a system of social relationships². Because every position in a social relationship can be viewed in terms of its superiority or inferiority, sociologists tend to equate position with status, rank or hierarchical position. With the increasing complexity and occupational specialization the number of positions increases and formal organizations tend to grow in number. Each individual moves in and out of several positions in his daily round of activities. For example, one may simultaneously occupy the position of a father, employer, buyer, husband and employee. A position acquired by an individual through his abilities, and efforts is called “achieved position”; while position acquired automatically at birth or on reaching a certain age is call “ascribed position”.

Role: Behaviour associated with a particular position is called by sociologist a role. “It is through the occupancy of statuses (positions) by individuals and their performance of roles that the ‘business’ of a society is accomplished. It is carried out in a patterned and organized way through the members of the society occupying statuses and performing roles”³. Beginning perhaps with Linton’s works the concept of role found increasing use in the social sciences⁴. Parsons⁵ and Merton⁶ regard the notion of role essential to understand social action and social structure. A person’s role in the group is the dynamic aspect of his position. As Linton states “when (the individual) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing a role”⁷. In his conceptualization, Newcomb observes that “the ways of behaving which are expected of any individual who occupies a certain position constitute the role... associated with that position”⁸.

² George Theodorson and Archilles G. Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), p.416

³ Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason and Alexander W. McEichern, Explorations in Role Analysis (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 4th printing, 1966), p. 12

⁴ Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936).

⁵ T. Parsons, The Social System (London: Tavistock Publications, 1951).

⁶ R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 1957).

⁷ R. Linton, op. cit., p. 114

⁸ T.M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), P. 280

A person's role in any social situation is defined not by actual behaviour of an occupant of a position but by behavioural standards consisting of attitudes, values and behaviour ascribed by the society to any and all individual occupying this position/status⁹. Neal, Mason and McEachern use the term role segmentation to refer to rights and obligations as well as expectations for behaviours and attributes of a specified position¹⁰. Thus each position carries a number of behaviour patterns/standards which are expected of the person holding that particular position. For example, fathers are expected to behave in certain ways towards their children and the children are also expected to behave in certain ways towards their fathers. Employees are being trained so that they may perform their roles properly. Growing up in a society partly consists of learning what the expected role is in a given position.

Value and Norm: Values are 'abstract' generalized principles of behaviour to which the members of a group feel a strong, emotionally toned positive commitment and which provides a standard for judging specific acts and goals¹¹. In the words of Clyde Kluckhohn "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection of available modes, means and ends of action"¹². Milton Rokeach tends to identify as 'value' "a single belief which transcendentally guides actions and judgments across specific objects and situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate end-states of existence"¹³.

Parsons and Shils, in *Toward a General Theory of Action* have distinguished three "modes of value orientation" which involve commitments to different types of selective standards of evaluation:

- i. The cognitive mode of value-orientation involves the various commitments to standards by which the validity of cognitive judgments is established. These standards include those concerning

⁹ R. Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1945), p.77

¹⁰ Neal, Mason and McEachern, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63

¹¹ G.A. Theodorson and A.G. Theodorson, *op. cit.*, p. 352

¹² C. Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientation in the Theory of Action," T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.), *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 395

¹³ Milton Rokeach, "A Theory of Organization and Change within Value-Attitude Systems," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 24:1 (January 1968), p. 16

the relevance of data and those concerning the importance of various problems. They also include those categories (often implicit in the structure of a language) by which observations and problems are often unconsciously, assessed as valid.

- ii. The appreciative mode of value-orientation involves the various commitments to standards by which the appropriateness or consistency of the cathexis of an object or class of objects is assessed... These standards purport to give us rules for judging whether or not a given object, sequence or pattern will have immediate gratificatory significance.
- iii. The moral mode of value-orientation involves the various commitments to standards by which certain consequences or particular actions and types of actions may be assessed with respect to their effects upon systems of action. These standards define the actor's choices with a view to how the consequences of these choices will affect (a) the integration of his own personality system and (b) the social system in which he is a participant¹⁴.

Human values everywhere are directed toward making judgments of meaning concerning a limited range of objects such as (i) the nature of man, (ii) the relationship between man and nature, (iii) time and space, (iv) man's activity, (v) man's relation with other men. In some culture more weight is given to the economic or theoretical values while in other to the religious and aesthetic values. The culture of the Anglo-Saxon American and that of the American Indian provide an example of this polarity in value preference and behavioural pattern. Value system of a society indicates a rank-ordering of values along a continuum of importance¹⁵.

The individual and group behaviour are largely determined by values and norms. Values provide the generalized standards of behaviour that are expressed in more specific form in social norms. Social norms provide guidelines to the range of behaviour appropriate and applicable to particular position in social relationship. While values tend to determine the relative importance of the positions in a relationship, norms help determine the limits within which the roles may be played. Group norms, folkways, mores, customs and beliefs are all expressions of cultural values determining a people's way of life which tends to

¹⁴ T. Parsons and E. Shils, *op. cit.*, pp.10-11

¹⁵ M. Rokeach, *op. cit.*, p. 16

realize the primary values of its culture. In short, man's cultural existence is essentially a value-determined existence. As Werkmeister aptly says that "though (man) is the creator of his culture, that culture, in turn is a formative force in man's own development, for superimposed upon man's natural drives and inclinations are the value patterns that stem from his cultural existence. And it is only in response to, and in interaction with, these patterns that he himself, individually and as a species, develops his true humanity... It is in and through the dialectic interaction of individual human beings and communally established value patterns that both individual and community are shaped and molded, and that progress becomes possible in human affairs¹⁶. While emphasizing value system we do not minimize the role of material elements of culture such as technology. But such elements like technology, however, important and useful they may be, are essentially passive in the sense that they influence culture only as a consequence of man's actions depending upon how the latter views and uses them. It may be pointed out here that in emphasizing the close relationship between values and human behaviour, social scientists are in no way deterministic, for they do accept the fact that value is, in turn, the product of a host of other factors – technology, historical circumstances and geographic conditions – thus implying a theory of multiple causation and interaction.

A central value system integrates different parts of culture into a systematic and integrated whole. Value-system is the "linking pin" in the total cultural configuration. "Values provide essential organizing principles for the integration of individual and group goals"¹⁷. The notion that the core/central value system integrates all other systems in culture has been supported by the study of an anthropologist. Thompson studies several Indian tribes in terms of the following six systems of variables:

1. The ecological system (the pattern of transaction between the community and its natural environment).
2. The sociological system (the transacting human organism which comprise the community, viewed as a society or social structure).
3. The symbolic system (the communal symbolic system, including language, ceremonials, arts and crafts, mythology, folklore, etc).

¹⁶ W. H. Werkmeister, *Men and His Values* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), pp. 227-228 and 231

¹⁷ Theodorson and Theodorson, *op. cit.*, p. 352

4. The psychic system (the community viewed as a group of transacting personalities in process of formation and self realization).
5. The somatic system (the community viewed as a system of transacting somatic units).
6. The core value system (the community's system of largely implicit emotionally tinged beliefs and attitudes regarding the nature of the world of men, of animals and plants, the relationship between them, and the sources and dynamics of power within that system)¹⁸.

The findings have revealed that the core value system functions as the key integrating mechanism between several inter-dependent systems of variables. The personality system is related to the ecological system, not directly, but indirectly through the core value system; the ecological system and sociological system are related "directly through their reflection of a common set of core values"¹⁹. The functioning of the value system as integrating element in culture has been emphasized by Thompson thus:

A major finding of the IEPA (Indian Education, Personality and Administration) project was the discovery by means of empirical observations and tests, of the key role played by the core value set of variables in the community super system. A related finding was that contrary to the initial assumption of the research staff, the group personality set of variables was not related directly to the social structure, but rather was related to it indirectly by means of the core value set of variables²⁰.

All anthropologists in spite of their difference in conceptual schemes and research methods have arrived at a consensus that values have the following properties:

1. Values possess the property of selectivity, that is, the quality of the ordering the options available in terms of which those who have to make the choices will accept as decisive.
2. Values have the property of substantial continuity from generation to generation.

¹⁸ Laura Thompson, *Toward a Science of Mankind* (New York: McGraw– Hill Book Company, 1961), p. 60

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164

3. Value can and do change: though they have a strong hold upon most human beings.
4. To a very large extent, values are associated with the roles which human beings fulfill in society, or which they aspire to fulfill. In this connection, values have the property of imposing obligations or defining what is socially expected of the person in a certain role.
5. Values have the property of inducing self-evaluation, that is, the capacity of a person to judge the property of his conduct in reference to standards he has learned to apply to himself. These standards are most often derived from the social groups of which he is a member.
6. Values have the property of self-inhibition, that is, the restraint of action considered improper by a process of internalized control²¹.

What is Social Change?

So far we have tried to define and conceptualize position/role and value/norm and show their relevance to human behaviour and social relationship. As a matter of fact, position, roles, values and norms constitute the base upon which social relationships develop. To put it other way, positions, roles, values, and norms constitute the ingredients of social relationships. Social change does not take place unless there is some change in social relationships. And social relationship does not change unless there is some changes in positions, roles, values, and norms of the society. Social change, as we use it here, refers to alternations in both the structure and function of a social relationship thereby underlining changes in position, role, value and norm. Thus there is a connection between social change and social relationships vis-à-vis position, role, value and norm of the society.

When drastic and radical changes take place in social relationships notably in roles, positions, values and norms of a given society, such social changes are characterized as social revolution. Europe witnessed such a revolution. During the period between the fourteenth century to eighteenth century, the Renaissance, the commercial revolution, the religious revolution (Reformation), technological revolution and industrial revolution brought about radical changes in the economic and social relationships of the European society. The Feudal system

²¹ P. E. Jacob, J. J. Flink and H. L. Schuchman, *Values and Their Function in Decision Making* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Studies of Social Values and Public Policy, 1962), p. 19

disappeared and its place was taken over by mercantilism and capitalism. Weber sought to show that the emergence of capitalism in Europe was linked with a basic transformation in social values caused by the Protestant Reformation. The Protestant Ethic, as described by Weber, consists of a belief in the value of work, an emphasis upon savings and thrift and a desire for upward social mobility.²² Thus Weber's analysis points out the relationship between a change in social values and the consequent changes in the economic life and relationship. The radical transformation of the European society is well expressed by Palm:

In place of a social structure in which position or occupation of each individual had been determined by birth, tradition, and law and under which production was carried on to meet immediate needs, there arose the system of production known as capitalism. Capitalism may be considered as a system of production in which the primary concern is profit for the entrepreneur.²³

New classes and groups emerged from changes in the size and mode of production resulting from technological advances due to industrial revolution. Technological advances and increasing industrial development led to the emergence of large-scale and diversified business enterprise which necessitated the creation of an ever-increasing class of managers, technicians, administrators and supervisors. Thus in Europe the expansion of new trade, industry, education and professions due to the exigencies of large scale mechanical production led to the emergence of an increasing number of new groups and categories of people having new positions, roles, who really heralded a new social order – the middle class society – distinct from feudalism and founded not on bondage but free contractual relations.²⁴ This new class of people joined by doctors and lawyers held certain liberal and democratic values which found expression in their socio-political conduct. They treated individual with respect and paid less attention to a religious sanction of authority. Ideologically the new middle class was in favour of intellectual freedom, social mobility, liberal individualism and political democracy. A middle class society thus became identified with a

²² Max Weber (Trans. T. Parsons). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958)

²³ Franklin Charles Palm, *The Middle Classes: Then and Now* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 93

²⁴ B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p.5

highly mobile social order representing a new set of values and norms which tended to dominate the entire society. If the Renaissance, the commercial revolution, Reformation movement and the mercantilism facilitated the growth of the middle class, the industrial revolution contributed to its complete triumph in social and political sphere in Europe. This is the nature of social revolution in Europe.

Social Change and Value

Social change primarily depends upon the process of creative innovative thinking, invention, borrowing, acculturation, and diffusion resulting from new life circumstances and contacts between different cultures of the world. But cultural values normally have a remarkable persistence and cannot be changed easily. Because values are rooted in people's unconsciousness and thus direct their behaviour almost out of their conscious awareness. This does not mean that creation and emergence of new values is completely impossible. "Man can project new and higher values," as Werkmeister says, "only as inadequacies of past valuations become apparent... man's progress depends at all times on a careful re-examination and re-evaluation of the value patterns of his culture – his deepened understanding of what it means to exist as a human being, and of the requisites for that existence, providing the only guide in his endeavours."²⁵

Technological change, according to Lee, can succeed if presented in a framework of cultural relevance taking into account the total configuration and value system of a society. Lee further observes that introduced innovations that run counter to the central value system are most likely to be rejected. Even when they are accepted, they may disrupt the holistic balance of a culture and destroy the fabric of the society²⁶. Experience in technical assistance as described by Niehoff and other foreign advisers seems to confirm this viewpoint.²⁷ Fraser's study showed that those community development projects that tended to strengthen some core local values succeeded whereas those that ran counter to them failed.²⁸ The central role of values in determining the

²⁵ Werkmeister, op. cit., p. 232

²⁶ Dorothy Lee, "The Cultural Curtain," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 323 (May 1950)

²⁷ See A. Niehoff (e.), *A Case Book of Social Change* (Chicago; Aldine Publishing Co., 1966); E.H. Sicker (e.), *Human Problems in Technological Change* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1952)

²⁸ Thomas M. Fraser, "Socio-Cultural Parameters in Directed Change," *Human Organization*, 22: 1 (Spring 1963)

direction of change has been emphasized by Vogt. He writes “The hypothesis I found most attractive on the basis of the evidence to date is that the central value orientations found in the cultural dimension of a society comprise a crucial guideline for the direction of change. What I have in mind is that the cumulative directional processes found in a system do not appear to move in random directions, but are rather highly patterned or channelized, and that what gives them one directional drift rather than another are the value choices made by a society in the course of its history.”²⁹

Though there may exist common elements among the value systems of different societies, each society’s valuation remains distinct and has its own way of changing depending upon how it combines into an integrated whole the domestically created values and ideas and the borrowed ones from abroad. This suggests that the answer to the problem of change involving cross-cultural transfer of developmental models, policies and goals have to be dealt with on a case-by-case basis by studying the value systems of the countries involved in such transaction. In other words, whether developmental models, goals and policies formulated in one culture can be successfully transferred to another culture is likely to depend upon how they can be incorporated into the value system of the importing culture.

²⁹ Eron Z. Vogt. “On the Concept of Structure and Process in Cultural Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist*, 62:1 (February 1960), p. 25

Chapter- II

Social Change in the Indian Subcontinent: Historical Perspective

Most nations today are committed to development of their societies in all its dimensions-social, political and economic. The less developed countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Egypt, which remained poor and stagnant for centuries, are fired by rising aspirations for socio-economic, political development. This quest for forward movement and progress is in essence a revolution¹. This revolution involves “the rise of new social classes, the rise of new political elites, the pressure for choice among a new range of ideologies, the availability of new institutions and instruments for developing new systems of power and for producing and distributing new ideas and new resources.”² In short, the slogan of this revolution is development.

The word development has various meanings to different nations and people. Whatever particular meaning people may attribute to the word development, one thing is clear that they are all dissatisfied with their present condition of life and they want a “Big Change” – the change that will modernize the whole society. Unlike the Russian and the French revolution, the process of modernization in developing countries is relatively slow and peaceful. Transfer of power and dominance from the traditional elite to the emerging middle class is being accomplished with less violence and bloodshed. For example, in Bangladesh the feudalistic pattern has been destroyed through land reforms with no violence at all. In Egypt, Nasser overthrew and dispossessed a landed ruling class, secularized the public life and brought the country’s economy under government control and ownership. The salaried middle class was given predominance. All these changes have been achieved peacefully.

But Nasser, Sukarno, Nehru and Ayub Khan and other leaders in Asia and Africa cannot claim credit for having first introduced the

¹ F. Harbison and C.A Myers, Op. cit., p.1

² M. Halpern, “The Character and Scope of the Social Revolution in the Middle East,” in Polk (ed.), *Developmental Revolution* (Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1963), p.8

elements of change into their traditional society. They are not the first people who made efforts to modernize the country along the Western capitalistic or socialistic pattern. They have only accelerated the process of change which was started earlier by the colonial powers.

With all the bad effects of colonization, one cannot deny the fact that the colonies also derived some benefits, due to their long association with the Western powers who were superior technically as well as economically. “The colonial regimes of the British in India and of the Dutch in Indonesia were fairly beneficent”³. Interesting to note that all men like Nehru, Gandhi, Jinnah and Sukarno who later became great nationalist leaders and who fought against colonialism, had received education in Western institutions. “The English education imparted in schools and colleges established by the British and the Christian mission... opened the gates of Western thought and Western literature to the mass of educated Indians. Some of the British teachers and professors who taught in the schools and colleges consciously and unconsciously inspired their pupils with ideas of freedom as well as nationalism”⁴. Thus nationalism and the growth of the desire for national independence were the real fruits of the colonial educational legacy⁵. It will be no exaggeration to say that the uniform British administration⁶, Western thought, English education and the development of modern communications hastened the growth of nationality and nationalism in the Indian subcontinent.

Impact of the British Rule on the Indian Subcontinent

Colonization has some significance for understanding the process of change and modernization in some countries of Asia and Africa like

³ Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change* (New York: Perennial Library, Harpes & Row Publishers, 1967), p. 8

⁴ Lajpat Rai, *Young India*, New York, 1916. Quoted in K.P. Karunakaran’s *Religion and Political Awakening in India* (Meerut, India: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1965), p. 25

⁵ L. Gray Cowan, “British and French Education in Africa: A Critical Appraisal,” In D.C. Piper and T. Cole (eds.), *Post Primary Education and Political and Economic Development* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964), p. 180

⁶ There was no Indian nationality before the British period. Under the English rule the Indian people began to be subjected to the influence of an efficient and powerful government, bent on introducing uniformity in many spheres, Race, Language, Religion and Social conditions might continue to separate, but political association under one rule began to weld the people of India together. See Sir P. Giffith’s *The British Impact on India* (London: Macdonald, 1952), pp. 237-265.

India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt and Indonesia. For many scholars of today, the problem of inter-action between India and Europe is reduced simply to the dark record of economic exploitation in India and economic drain to England. The present writer does not completely deny such a record but simply considers these images as plausible half-truths that obscure the complexity of culture, contact and acculturation. In this chapter an attempt is made to give an account of the cultural, social and intellectual changes that were brought about in the Indian subcontinent due to contact between the English rulers and the Indian people.

A big change began to occur in the traditional life of those countries which came in close contact with the West and with its business methods, science and liberal humanism. The colonial powers introduced many reforms especially in the field of education, health, transport and administration. While introducing these reforms they were careful not to totally disturb the traditional social order. This was particularly the earlier policy of the British rule in India. The British rulers, observed Wint, 'were disposed not to raise unnecessary enemies by going against the ancient way of the country'⁷. But many reformist movements may have revolutionary implications. Reforms introduced by the colonial powers in the colonies proved to be revolutionary in its effects. Western influence, regardless of its intentions, almost invariably brought about radical change wherever it penetrated, and it is this change that is at the root of the present revolutionary unrest in the developing countries. The British, for example, brought to India those elements which came to constitute modern society, i.e. new bases for economic activity, new social classes, new ways of life which removed traditional societies from the patterns which had been theirs for centuries.

With the advent of the British rule in 1757⁸, Indian society began to change. It was not the first time that India came under foreign power. The Pathans, the Tuglaks, the Lundis and the Mughals were rulers of

⁷ Guy Wint, *The British in Asia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954), p. 51.

⁸ The Act of 1784 made the English government in Britain directly responsible for the administration of India. Before this period the East India Company looked after the Indian affairs.

India for many centuries. But their rule could not affect any radical change in the Indian traditional life. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution but Indian social life remained static⁹. One reason, perhaps, the important reason for this fact was that these foreign powers technologically and economically were at par with the Indians. In other words, both India and these ruling countries were at the same technical and economic stage. But when the Englishman came, India was conquered by a superior power who had possessed a more developed and advanced technology and economy. The British unleashed forces in the Indian social life which moulded the English society in the 17th and 18th century. As a result a process of change set in. The earlier British policy of minimal interference in the Indian traditional way of life changed as the nineteenth century advanced. One cause for such change was the fashionable utilitarian philosophy which called upon governments to credicate superstition and transform all societies into nations of thrifty freemen, having a scientific spirit. The utilitarian ideas were propagated in India first by James Mill, an official of the London establishment of the East India Company and later on by Macaulay, Law member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the eighteen-thirties¹⁰.

Economic Changes

The pre-British Indian economic life was essentially static. There were hardly any competition and stimulus for improvement. The villagers produced what they needed. If a village lacked any customary goods, it used to obtain them by barter from a nearby village perhaps three or four miles distant. But this situation began to change as a result of the introduction of a new type of economy – capitalist economy introduced by the British. India was converted into a supplier of raw agricultural produce and a market for the products of British industry. Some factories and industries gradually emerged in India. New commodities

⁹ Comments of Sir Charles Metcalf as recorded in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, vol. III, Appendix 84, P. 331.

¹⁰ Guy Wint, op. cit., p. 51

The banning of "sati", i.e. the practice of the Hindu widow burning herself to death on the funeral pyre of her husband, was indicative of the English ruler's desire to mould Indian society on the basis of enlightenment and reason. Macaulay advocated a westernizing programme for India that was secular rather than religious.

reached the villages and led to the creation of new wants among the villagers. Money economy gradually replaced the traditional system based on barter and communal self-sufficiency. The village became more dependent than formerly on the outside world. The establishment of railways assisted the economic unification of the country. The overall effects of the establishments of railways in Indian life are well described by Prof. Natesan: "...The habit of rail travel helped to break down the social barriers of caste and community in a vast population. The agriculturalist as well as the industrialist expanded his business through diverse services and facilities rendered by railways..."¹¹. Under the new economic system commercial and banking institutions grew up. Industrialization followed by urbanization tended to disrupt the Indian traditional way of life. The new economic activity took people out of their traditional roles and put them in new positions both of work and of life. Towns and cities sprang up. Large centres of trade and towns also existed in India before the advent of the British rule, but "they were not", as rightly observed by Griffith, "sufficiently numerous to dominate the pattern or change the static character of Indian life"¹².

Educational Changes

Another area of the British impact which went a long way in influencing and changing the Indian society was education. During the British East India Company rule, encouragement was given to the revitalization of indigenous learning and philosophy. Establishment of the College for Fort William in Calcutta in 1800 gave an impetus to cultivation and preservation of classical law, literature and classical culture. Metcalfe, Bayley and Martins, three students at the college advocated social and cultural change for India. But they earnestly desired that England should first help the Indians rediscover the lost roots of their own civilization¹³. "In the eighteenth century, on the eve

¹¹ Quoted in Sir P. Griffith's *The British Impact on India*, op. cit., p. 427.

¹² Griffith, op. cit, p. 473.

¹³ Western scholars who were more sympathetic to oriental culture and stressed the need of meaningfully integrating new western values smoothly into the indigenous old social fabric to produce desired changes are commonly known as the orientalist and their approach to modernization is called orientalism. The orientalist served as avenues linking the indigenous intellectuals with the modern dynamic civilization of the West. Many orientalist like William Jones, H.T. Colebrooke, William Carey, H.H.Wilson and James Prinsep made important contributions to the area of Indian history, philosophy and

of the establishment of British rule, the Hindus had no recollection of their real past, nor any idea of the true character of the classical Sanskrit civilization¹⁴.” Describing the influence of the College of Fort William Susil Kumar De said ‘no doubt, the College of Fort William’s greatest achievement in the history of intellectual progress in this country consists in its revival of the ancient culture of the land¹⁵. Though later on the educational system became more westernized under the vigorous leadership of Macaulay, the College of Fort William and the works of oriental scholars tended to revitalize Hindu learning, philosophy and culture and generated among the Hindu community a new pride in their own culture and philosophy which ultimately formed the basis of the ideology of the newly emerged Hindu middle class.

Under the new British policy of Westernization of Indian educational system, English became the medium of instruction in higher education. Earlier, Persian was replaced by English as the paramount language of government diplomacy and culture in India. The main purpose of English education as eloquently expressed by its exponent, Macaulay – was ‘to form a class who may be interpreters between us (English rulers) and the millions whom we govern: a class of persons Indian in Blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.¹⁶’ It was believed that the growth of such a class of people would bring high standard in government service as well as increase commercial potential. So under the active support of the British government and Christian missionaries, schools, colleges and universities sprang up to disseminate English education, scientific knowledge and liberal humanism¹⁷. The type of education prevailing in pre-British India was almost entirely literary and religious. Hindu

archeology. See David Kopf’s, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, L.A: University of California Press, 1969).

¹⁴ Nirad Chaudhur, *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, 1951, cited in Kopf’s book, p.66

¹⁵ Quoted in Kopf’s *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (1969)’ op.cit., p. 60

¹⁶ Extracts from Macaulay’s *Minute on Education*, 1835 in Edwards Michael, *British India* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968), P. 126

¹⁷ Traditional Yurvedic and Unani systems were replaced by European medicine. Medical colleges were founded in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta to train Indians in western medical science.

higher education was almost a Brahmin monopoly. The new English education was geared to give the Indian students:

A critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton and Shakespeare, a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the higher branches of mathematical science, some insights into the elements of natural history, and the principles of moral philosophy and political economy, together with considerable facility of composition, and the power of writing in fluent and idiomatic language¹⁸.

Legal Changes

The third area which underwent radical transformation under the impact of the British rule was the legal system. The British introduced English Jurisprudence and law courts in the place of the traditional Panchayat system¹⁹. The English concept of the “rule of law” and “equality before law” were radical innovation which enormously influenced Indian life. The introduction of the concept of the “rule of law” brought about the end of the arbitrary authority claimed by different former rulers of India and give people an opportunity to know and assert their rights. “Indians, whose ancestors would have accepted arbitrary execution by earlier despots as part of the natural order of things, denounced internment and externment orders against terrorists in the twentieth century as gross tyranny and thus paid unconscious tribute to the success of the British in introducing a new concept of human rights.”²⁰ Educated people in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are committed to the ideals of the doctrine of equal legal rights for all. It will be no twisting of history to attribute the development of this ideal among the educated people of the Indian subcontinent to the influence of English legal principles. Another most significant contribution of the British judicial administration was the growth of a professional and trained judicial hierarchy. Development of codified

¹⁸ Calcutta Reivew, Vol. 15 in E. Michael, op. cit., p. 119

¹⁹ The Panchayat was the informal village council where everybody knew each other well, truth was open, and public opinion decided the common action and disciplined the local undesirables.

The British produced a uniform judicial system based on English legal principles but paying due regard to Hindu and Muslim law and customs. Codification of civil and criminal law undertaken in the 19th century strengthened legal system in India.

²⁰ Griffith. Op. cit., p. 152

law coupled with the growth of the judicial services, did much to generate that confidence in the judicial system which has survived all recent political changes and upheavals and is still the sheet anchor of the library of the people of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Social Changes: The Rise of the Middle Class and its Composition

All these changes discussed in the preceding pages radically altered the traditional Indian life and facilitated the growth of a new way of life-urban pattern of life. It may be said that for the first time a foreign civilization influenced every detail of Indian life, changed its patterns and created new values. As a result of educational, legal, and economic changes initiated by the British, there soon emerged a new group of people, a new class who came to be known as middle class. The Indian middle classes primarily consisted of the following component groups:

1. The body of merchants, agents, and proprietors of modern trading firms;
2. The salaried executives like managers, inspectors, supervisors and technical men engaged in banking, trading and manufacturing business;
3. The higher salaried officers of a wide group of institutions and societies such as chambers of commerce and other trade associations, cultural and educational bodies;
4. Civil servants and other public servants;
5. Lawyers, doctors, school, college and university teachers, writers, artists journalist.²¹

Sociologically speaking, rule of law and the principle of laissez-faire coupled with the gradual substitution of custom by law and the growth of a highly centralized administrative apparatus, which took over such duties as had traditionally been performed by village communities or large landholders and the new economic system facilitated the emergence of the middle classes including a private enterprise which would have been impossible under the pat regimes. In the Indian subcontinent the bureaucratic and professional middle classes, for reasons discussed below, steadily surpassed the entrepreneurial middle class in growth and importance. The mercantile and industrial elements

²¹ B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 12

which constitute the bulk of the Western middle classes are still a minority, limited for the most part to big cities of the subcontinent²². Reasons for such a development were that the economy was dominated by foreign capital; the traditional Indian bias against industrial occupation and administrative requirements led to the whole educational system being oriented to literary and humanistic education which produced clerks, bureaucrats and social and religious reformers; a rapidly growing demand for literacy produced both a relative and absolute increase in graduates at all levels. New entrepreneur class did emerge in India, but not so rapidly and numerously as the professional-bureaucrat classes. More discussion on the character of the Indian middle classes will follow after we analyse how the different communities in the Indian subcontinent reacted towards new social forces and changes initiated by the English rulers.

Reactions of the Muslims and the Hindus Towards New Forces of Change

In the Indian subcontinent when the new forces of modernity were first introduced by the British, the Muslims opposed them bitterly. Changes introduced by the British hurt Muslim's interests and feelings. "The replacement of the Mughal by the British Empire was far more serious in its consequences for the Muslims than for the Hindus. Muslim nobles had held most of the officers of state, and had ruled vast territories as viceroys of the emperor; Muslim learned men had expounded the law; and Muslims had acquired the largest and most Zemindaris. With the expansion of British power this privileged position disappeared... In areas such as Bengal Muslim landowners were ousted, and their places taken by enterprising Hindu revenue farmers; while in the field of law the substitution of English for Muslim law practically disqualified Muslim lawyers from office."²³ Hence the Muslims developed strong anti-British feelings. They resisted the British rule and boycotted western institutions. During early phase of the British rule the Muslims of India considered it a sin to receive education in a Western educational Institution. The Muslim religious leaders "not only hated the British but also everything that smacked of the British culture, their way of life, their dress, their education and their way of administration. They were making a

²² Misra, *ibid.*, p. 12

²³ Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 306 Abolition of Persian as the official language deprived many Muslims of a natural advantage.

supreme effort to keep the Muslim society away from the hated British culture and were trying to build around it a shell of isolation.²⁴ One Muslim leader, namely Shah Abdul Aziz went so far as to declare India under the British as Dar-ul-Harb:

When infidels get hold of a Moslem country and it becomes impossible for the Moslems of the country ...to drive them away or to retain reasonable hope of ever doing so; and the power of the infidels increases to such an extent, that they can abolish or retain the ordinances of Islam according to their pleasure... and the (Moslem) inhabitants do no longer live as secure as before; such a country is politically a country of the enemy (Dar-ul-Harb).²⁵

Thus the Muslim leaders calling the British colonialist 'Kuffar', infidels, it made resistance against the English rule a religio-political duty of the Muslims.

In Bengal, Moulavi Shariatullah and his son Dudu Miyan of Faridpur who saw the sufferings of the peasants and the utter dislocation of the handloom industry led many revolts against the British. It was on a small scale 'a sort of Indian Luddite movement, a protest of the Muslim craftsmen against the introduction of machine goods.'²⁶ This current of Muslim resistance against British penetration developed to gather momentum which finally exploded in the Mutiny of 1857. It is noteworthy that in the 19th century the purificationist's protest against internal deterioration of (Islam) became linked with the resistance against the encroachment of the British. It is this double orientation – the internal regeneration and the resistance against foreign penetration – that significantly characterizes the inner moods which had prevailed among the then Indian Muslims and the way they reacted toward the new British power and the modern Western value.²⁷ Unlike the Muslims, the Hindus accepted the British rule and welcomed English education and its liberal culture. Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), a Bengali and the first important leader of modern

²⁴ M.A Karandikar, *Islam in India's Transition to Modernity* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publish Company, 1969), p. 140

²⁵ William Wilson Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans* (London: Trubner 7 Co., 1871), p. 140

²⁶ W.C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India* (1947) cited in Karandikar's *Islam in India's Transition to Modernity* (1969), op. cit., p. 135.

²⁷ Kan Kagaya, "Islam as a Modern Social Force," *The Developing Economies*, IV: 1 (March 1966), p. 74

India, ardently advocated Western learning for India and co-operated with the British in the introduction and spread of Western English education and in the abolition of social evils through legislative enactment. He opposed the continuation of indigenous and Sanskrit system of education in India. He was of the view that Sanskrit system of education would keep India in darkness. Rammohan Roy was greatly influenced by the 17th and 18th centuries ideas of enlightenment and rationalism. He started several secondary schools to disseminate English education. He founded Brahma Samaj, a religious body through which he attacked many aspects of Hindu society and orthodox Hinduism.²⁸ Rammohan was the first great Indian “who dealt with the rationalist and liberal challenge of Europe but in doing so he neither rejected the sprit of modern Europe nor succumbed to it but he used it only as a stimulus for discovering the latent humanitarian tradition and ethical monotheism of Hinduism which had been obscured by thoughtless beliefs and meaningless rituals.”²⁹ Rammohan Roy brought the Hindu community into direct contact with the Western humanism and rationalism. Keshub, another Hindu leader who was also an ardent advocate of Western education in India. He felt that Europe could teach India science and practical arts. Because of the early acceptance of the Western English education by the Hindu community, the new middle classes that emerged under new forces unleashed by the British were dominated by the Hindus. In every important sphere of Indian life like government service, professional field, trade, business, etc. major share were enjoyed by the Hindus. Before the advent of the British, the Muslims were in the forefront of the Indian social life. But this Muslim supremacy began to decay under new situation. And ultimately it went into the hands to the Hindu community. Reactions of the Hindus and the Muslims towards changes and new order initiated by the British and its consequences upon the tow communities may be summed up thus: “Resentful of the new (British) order, Muslims tended to ignore it, ‘sulking in their tents’, while Hindus flocked to the government and missionary schools in great numbers than could be admitted. As the time passed, the cultural gap between the two communities widened, until intelligent Muslims realized that English-educated Hindus were

²⁸ Rammohan’s attack on Hindu caste system was directed towards the removal of such barriers as obstructed social mobility.

²⁹ Sankar Ghose, *The Renaissance to Militant Nationalism in India* (Calcutta: Allied Publishers, 1969), p. 16

dominating the scene, both politically and economically. Long before the Muslims bestirred themselves to catch up, however, their Hindu rivals has begun the task of adjusting age-old beliefs and customs to the impact of European learning, and had moreover acquired a new pride in their own culture which made reconciliation with the Muslims increasingly difficult.”³⁰

The Muslim Movement Favouring the New Social Forces

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) and his Aligarh movement contributed a great service in improving the position of the Muslims in the Indian society. “The circumstances that prompted Syed Ahmed to start the movement were (apart from his own progressive approach to religion): the disastrous effect on the (Muslim) community by the various unsuccessful crusades undertaken by the revivalist, British reprisals against the community (because of its participation in the Mutiny of 1857), the essentially futile nature of any attempt to turn the clock back to the ages which had gone by, the need to make the (Muslim) community receptive to the challenge thrown by the new age.”³¹ The Aligarh movement may be regarded as the first major development in Islamic modernism in India which opened the door of the hitherto closed Indian Muslim community to modern Western thought and institutions. In 1863 Syed Ahmed established an institution called the scientific society with a view to translating scientific, literary and historical English works into Urdu and publishing them so that the Muslims who had hatred against the English education could appreciate the merits of the advanced British culture. He also started Muslim Education Conference to give a fillip to the spread of English education throughout India. The aim of Syed Ahmed was to make Islam compatible with Western Science, business methods and its humanitarianism. In order to speed up the adoption of modern ideas and institutions of the British by the Muslims, Syed Ahmed began writing a fresh Commentary on the Quran for a new understanding of the word of God in the light of the necessities of the modern society. After studying the Quran, Syed Ahmed came to the conclusion that there was nothing in Islam and Quran which was against progress. His review ‘Tahdil-ul-aklag’ published many articles

³⁰ Vm. Theodore de Bary and others (eds.), Sources of Indian Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 589

³¹ Karandikar, op. cit., p. 367

to point out that there was now no conflict in the teachings of science and the scriptures of Islam. Syed Ahmed established at Aligarh a Muslim university to disseminate Western knowledge and science along with religious subjects. Syed Ahmed's efforts and Aligarh movement were directed toward re-orienting the Muslim mind and removing social evils from Muslim society and thereby facilitating the emergence of a progressive Muslim middle class society. Under the impact of this movement there "grew up a class of men who were aware of Western thought as well as of their own heritage and valued both sufficiently not to discard either. On the one hand, the loyalty of the Muslims to their faith was not impaired; on the other hand, they took advantage of the new tendencies of human thought as developed in the West."³² Syed Ahmed gave the Indian Muslims what they needed most at that time- permission to be modern. He removed religious obstacles to the growth and emergence of a new Muslim middle class social order. But it is to be pointed out that Syed Ahmed's ideas and interpretations of Islam failed to provide the Muslims initiative and drive and motive to build up a native capitalism and to develop in their own initiative a modern progressive society. Max Weber has shown how Lutherism especially its 'doctrine of calling' and 'worldly asceticism' have led to the growth of capitalism in the West. Luther's new ideas were able to generate some inner moral force among the Protestant which facilitated the emergence of capitalism in the West.³³ But Syed Ahmed merely said that Islam is not inimical to progress and modern life. He did not give any positive philosophy and values which could activate Muslim life toward modernity. He rejected the traditional canon law. But he did not replace it with new one nor have any of his followers done so. Whatever may be the shortcoming of the Sir Syed Ahmed's Aligarh movement one cannot deny the fact that it favoured the modern Western value of critically looking at the traditional life and values and prevented the Muslims from further applying politically the principle of 'Dar-ul-Harb' to British India and finally it succeeded in making the Muslim community accept Western education, professions and institutions and thereby saved them from possible utter ruin.

³² Istiaq Husain Qureshi, "Islamic Elements in the Political Thought of Pakistan" R. Braibanti and K. Speng'er (eds.), *Tradition, Values and Socio-Economic Development* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961), pp. 225-226.

³³ Max Weber (Talcott parsons Trans.), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958)

Another Muslim who rendered invaluable service to regenerate Indian Muslims is Sir Mohammad Iqbal. He denounced static passivist ethics of resignation. He said life is not to be contemplated, but to be passionately lived which gave the Muslims encouragement to follow and accept modern professional occupation and business enterprise.³⁴ In Bengal, Nawab Abdul Latif established the Muslim Literary Society at Calcutta which called upon the Muslims to learn the English language and the Western sciences and to secure jobs in the Government.

Syed Ahmed and his Aligarh movement, Iqbal and a couple of other Muslim intellectuals paved the way for the Indian Muslims to embark upon modern life. Thus at the beginning of the twentieth century we find the emergence of a new class of people in the Indian Muslim community whose profession, thinking differ radically from traditional life. In city, town and village this new middle classes came to be recognized as superior in social status to the mass of their fellows. In Bengal they came to be known as 'bhadralok'— "the respectable people", "the gentle men". They were distinguished by many aspects of their behaviour— their speech, their dress, their style of housing, their eating habits, their occupations, and their associations— and quite as fundamentally by their cultural values and their sense of social propriety.³⁵ The new middle classes began to have "immense interest in this world, in its processes, in its laws... in a word the world as an area of work and effort where needs and dreams can be satisfied."³⁶

Sociologically, the new middle class may be distinguished by five major characteristics:

1. They possess, or are acquiring, a new higher education as opposed to the traditional religious-based education;
2. Their power, position stems primarily from the skills or professional knowledge they have acquired from their modern formal education;
3. They have been exposed in varying degrees to Western and other outside thoughts, ideas, values and philosophies;

³⁴ Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (Lahore, Ashraf Press, Reprinted 1958).

³⁵ J.H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal* (Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 5-6

³⁶ Barbara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), p. 19

4. They are relatively free of traditional rigid religious dogmatism and of blind worship to past history;
5. Increasingly they refuse to follow the traditional socio-political patterns that have dominated Indian society.

Technicians, doctors, intellectuals, or politicians, the new educated middle classes found the traditions, the skills, ideas of the past irrelevant and redundant under the new situation of life. The Problem faced by the middle classes was how “to prepare for the future, with the example of achievements of the contemporary West.”³⁷ The old people were no longer considered valuable for the younger generation. Youth was emphasized, Radio, movies, newspapers and books allowed young men for the first time to choose their own intellectual and spiritual brothers. Thus the moral and intellectual contact had been broken between generations. Members of the middle class under the British patronage did develop enough power to become independent of and eventually to challenge the predominance of the aristocracy. This class of people as envisioned by Macaulay acted as the main channel for the ‘Westernization’ and modernization of India. It was they who stimulated in India what Robert Bellah has called “the capacity for rational goal setting”, an instrument of a modern outlook.³⁸ Thus the newly emerged middle class people broke the uniform pattern of traditional life and social relationship that had existed all over India and thereby initiated a process of change that is by now encompassing the entire subcontinent. After the departure of the foreign ruler and the introduction of land reforms after independence tended to destroy the reactionary power of the landlords and to provide greater equality and opportunity and social mobility. With the passage of time the newly emerged middle class became the most predominant force in socio-political life in the Indian subcontinent. While it may be true that the main objective of British policy was not the upliftment of India, it is undeniable that by introducing new technology, ideas and institutions the British acted as the unconscious agent of history in hastening the process of modernization in the Indian subcontinent.

³⁷ A.F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965), p. 25.

³⁸ R.N. Bellah, “Epilogue” in *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 195

Chapter- III

Socio-Cultural and Administrative Obstacles to Change and Development

The middle class makes attempts to develop the society along modern lines. It is from within this class that the slogan for system-transformation emanates. Terms like 'Development' and 'Modernization' have their origin in the aspiration, hopes of the urban middle classes. They have been its initiators, its leaders, its executants and also its main beneficiaries. As rightly observed by Kautsky 'scarce resources of prestige, high social position and material wealth are almost monopolized by this group of urban people.'¹ Fluency in English language is one of the most important qualifications for holding office in government, public bureaucracy and business and commercial enterprises in the Indian subcontinent. By denying employment to vernacular speaking public, except at the lowest levels of office hierarchy, the elite maintains its superiority and perpetuates its hold over the masses. This led Mashi-uz-Zaman to consider the English speaking educated modernists as the arch reactionaries in Pakistan and Bangladesh. "The English is their (elite's) instrument of power much as Sanskrit was that of the Brahmin. National politics cannot become representative and democratic without getting rid of English as a medium of instruction and communication with the people."² One may argue with Zaman on this. But there can be no argument on the fact that the use of English by the elite and in government tends to alienate the latter and keep the elite socially and culturally isolated from the masses. This is largely because of the fact that the elites are not a product of organic social growth, but rather a product of alien education more or less imposed on an indigenous traditional system. If we desire to establish democratic society then the

¹ John H. Kautsky (ed.), *Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries* (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1962), p. 18

² Mashi-uz-Zaman, "The English Language and National Politics" *Administrative Science Review*, National Institute of Public Administration, Dacca, 3: 2 (September 1969), p. 66

enemy of democracy, from this perspective is not so much the power of the occupants of the strategic positions in the government bureaucracy but the concentration of power in an elite which integrates the administrative/political structure with a small leadership structure.

The present chapter attempts to identify the socio-cultural and administrative factors that tend to hinder the process of change and modernization in the developing countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Socio-Cultural Obstacles

Social Cleavage and Cultural Isolation of the Elite

The wide gap and the cultural difference and wide economic inequalities between the Western educated urban elite and the tradition-oriented illiterate rural people constitutes a serious obstacle to development.³ This 'sociological dualism', to use the phrase of Boeke, is one of the peculiar characteristics of a transitional society. According to Boeke, 'social dualism is the clashing of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style.'⁴ Member of elite living in the cities and towns virtually have no contact with the masses. They are by and large an alienated class. Elite society is like a 'roof garden society.' It is pleasant to find the flowers and plants on the roof but they have no roots in the social. In fact, to sustain these plants water and soil must be carried out from the ground to the roof. Demands and aspirations of the masses are not communicated by them to the administration or to the polity. Smith has correctly described the failure of the middle class in Pakistan and Bangladesh to evolve a successful ideology to motivate and mobilize the masses to march along with them in transforming the traditional society into a modern one.⁵ The middle class elite has occasionally used religious symbols to gain the support of the people. But the reform movement initiated by the Muslim middle class could not take root in society and failed to evolve a creative syncretism between the modern values and the traditional values, for the movement introduced into the Muslim

³ Gunnar Myradal, *Beyond the Welfare State* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 207

⁴ J.H. Boeke, *Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies as Exemplified by Indonesia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953), p. 4

⁵ W.C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), P. 230

community modern European thought and institution without basing them upon the traditional values and traditional social foundation. The nature of the future politico-social conditions of the country will largely be ‘determined by the evolving pattern of the relationships between an elite that is now oriented to change and a peasantry that is still largely oriented to tradition.’⁶

World view: Universe Controlled by Supernatural Power, Fatalism and Dependence on Luck

Social scientists, particularly anthropologists and sociologists have long been interested in the study of the relationship between man’s conceptions of the world and universe and his behaviour. A person’s conception of the universe, his ideas about the ways of the world and his assumptions regarding man’s position in both constitute his ‘world view’; ‘world view’ may include many of a man’s religious or philosophical beliefs, but is not necessarily synonymous with his religion or philosophy or congruent with empirical evidence.⁷ To put in the words of Foster “the members of every society share a common cognitive orientation which is, in effect, an un verbalized, implicit expression of their understanding of the ‘rules of the game’ of living imposed upon them by their social, natural, and supernatural universes. A cognitive orientation provides the members of the society it characterizes with basic promises and sets of assumptions normally neither recognized nor questioned which structure and guide behaviour... All normative behavior of the members of a group is a function of their particular way of looking at their total environment, their unconscious acceptance of the ‘rules of the game’ implicit in their cognitive orientation”.⁸ Terms like ‘world view,’ basic assumption,’ ‘implicit premises’ and ‘ethose’ may be used as synonyms. Many scholars have studied the various beliefs and philosophies that are found among the villagers in the developing countries. Since

⁶ L.W. Pye, “Community Development as a part of Political Development” “Community Development Review (March 1958), cited in Najmul Abedin’s “Bureaucratic Behaviour and Attitudes and the Politico-Social Environment in Pakistan,” *Administrative Science Review*, National Institute of Public Administration, Decca, 3:3, September 1969, pp. 1-45

⁷ John.H. Kunkel, *Society and Economic Growth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 218

⁸ George Foster, “Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good,” *American Anthropologist*, 67:2 (1965), pp. 293-294

developing countries like India, Bangladesh consist largely of such people, villager's world view'/cognitive orientation are important for the analysis and fostering of development. The major role of 'world view' in the development of the emerging nations is its contribution to the moulding and maintenance of behaviour patterns which contribute or are inimical to change and development.

The 'world view' that seems to be best to account for villager's behaviour, according to Foster, is the "Image of Limited Good" which means that "broad areas of peasant behaviour are patterned in such fashion as to suggest that peasants view their social, economic and natural universes – their total environment – as one in which all of the desired things in life such as land, wealth, power... exist in finite quantity and are in short supply, as far as the peasant is concerned... the average peasant sees little or no relationship between work and productive technique, on the one hand, and the acquisition of wealth on the other."⁹ Most people in tradition-bound societies aspire to only a little more than they already have, Kusum Nair reported after interviewing villagers in many areas of India that they lack any desire to raise their incomes markedly.¹⁰ Villager's lack of aspiration to improve his position significantly which, perhaps, results from an 'image of Limited Good' is an hindrance to broad social change and development.

Anthropologists and sociologists who have studied village life in different parts of the developing world have come across with a recurrent theme: the average villager's fatalism, dependence on 'luck' and his short-range point of view. Under fatalism a person accepts with passive resignation whatever befalls him as part of his kismet or fate. Disease, flood, cyclone, drought cause disaster and death to people who find themselves helpless in the face of such overwhelming forces. This helplessness gives them a sense of impotence that makes it extremely difficult for them to really believe and act on the notion that by changing their method of doing things they can affect their destiny. Along with the feeling of helplessness, of powerlessness, of dependency there is also a widespread feeling of inferiority- the traits which constitute what Oscar Lewis calls the 'Culture of Poverty.'¹¹ A fatalistic outlook meaning whatever happens is the will of Allah or

⁹ Foster, *ibid.*, pp. 196 and 298

¹⁰ Kusum Nair, *Blossoms in the Dust* (New York: Praeger, 1963), p. 99

¹¹ Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Transaction*, 1: 1(November 1963)

God seems to be the best adjustment one can make to an apparently hopeless situation as prevailing in Bangladesh and other developing countries. A study by Elder in India shows that more people are inclined to think that the results of anything are in God's hand rather than the work producing the results.¹² Below is the statistical findings of the study.

	Muslims	Christians and Sikhs	Hindus
Results in God's hands	69%	65%	54%
Results from work	31%	35%	46%
	100%	100%	100%
	N = 452	N = 71	N = 1827

The ways to control events, according to the traditional people is to appeal to spiritual power by religious observances and by carefully following the ways of behaviour that tradition has indicated seem acceptable to Allah. Thus as Horowitz rightly states that "the traditional orientation toward self-resignation and away from social responsibility represents a fundamental commitment to 'nature' as something to be accepted and live with, rather than a series of hurdles to be overcome."¹³ Thus to the traditional people, since nothing can be done with nature, the attainment of individual perfection in spirit and acquiring holiness, saintliness, divinity becomes the ideal rather than controlling the environment and nature. The stereotype of the Hindu as passive and mild, taken as hypothesis, was sustained by evidence based on Indian motion pictures, proverbs, and themes in Hindu culture."¹⁴

With poverty a normative condition and a 'world view' underlying the belief that the universe is something that is essentially unpredictable and uncontrollable and a 'world view' geared to the assumption that man can hardly improve his condition and position in society, it is almost impossible for the villagers to escape the notion that fate and luck, rather than work and objective-systematic thinking determine man's destiny and condition of life. "Good luck, in the from of a fine harvest, freedom from robbery or sickness, finding

¹² Joseph Elder, 'Fatalism in India: A comparison between Hindus and Muslims,' *Anthropological Quarterly*, 39:3 (July 1966), p. 230

¹³ Irving Louis, Horowitz, *Three Worlds of Development: The Theory and Practice of International Stratification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), P. 350

¹⁴ Dharendra Narain, *Hindu Character* (Bombay: University of Bombay Publications, Sociology series, No.8, 1957)

buried treasure, or acquiring a helpful patron, is the principal of hope for improvement in position and conversely, bad luck explains failure... Divine providence, above all, is the good fortune that spells human well-being.”¹⁵ As a matter of fact, too often there is little that the villager can do to change his destiny. But regardless of whether in fact the villager’s welfare lies beyond his control, the belief that it does so is enough to make the prophecy self-fulfilling. For the villagers, the traditional wisdom lies in taking life as it comes.

You who are hurried.

Stay and accept you Censure.

Dairy bread comes from God,

It is not for you to concern yourself.¹⁶

Attitudes of this type must have an effect on society. The idea that everything depends on luck or the will of God or Saint – this idea must be a great check on initiative both at the individual and group level. So “there is no point in community action. The community, like the individual, may hope and pray, but it is not likely to take its destiny into its own hands.”¹⁷ Thus man’s dependence on luck, his fatalistic outlook which stems from his ‘world view’ are detrimental to change and development because they discourage individual and collective initiative and responsibility.

Relaxed Time Perspective

In a modern industrially developed society, time is considered as a factor of production, subject to rational allocation. “This becomes clear when we consider,” writes Herskovits, “the depth to which temporal regularities are imbedded in the ideology of industrialization which arises out of the fact that for industrial processes to be effective, it is essential that time be measured accurately and schedules adhered to with rigor.”¹⁸ But time is not usually considered a factor of importance

¹⁵ G.M. Foster, *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World* (Eoston Little, Brown & Company, 1967), p. 117

¹⁶ Pierre Eourdieu, “The Attitude of the Algerian Peasant Towards Time,” *Medierran Countrymen*, Julian Pitt-Rivers, ed. (Paris: La Haye, 1963), p. 58

¹⁷ E.C. Banfield, *The moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), p. 114

¹⁸ M.J. Herskovits, “Economic Change and Cultural Dynamics,” R. Briaibanti and J. Spengler (eds.), *Tradition Values and Socio-Economic Development* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1961), p. 127

in the developing countries. A highly developed time-consciousness is certainly lacking in Bangladesh and other developing countries. This is especially true among the rural people who constitute the vast majority. Their view of time as not being important may be recognized as a real deterrent to development and progress. In most of the developing societies, as aptly put by Riggs only “lip service is paid to the goals of rationality in the use of time, but extremely unequal distribution occurs in practice. Increasing economic interdependence and beginning of specialization cause many to live in a maelstrom of frenetic activity. Inadequate scheduling of time leads to alternate period of under-occupation and furies of ‘last minute’ work to meet urgent deadlines.”¹⁹ Thus time, accuracy, promptness, precision, all necessary components of the modern industrial civilization have never been recognized a important in an agricultural society and hence have not become values of the society.”²⁰ Consequently, it developing societies like Bangladesh ‘bureaucratic virtues of punctuality, a ‘time is money’ value, and an almost neurotic concern with meeting schedules are not part of socialization.”²¹ The difference between modern society and the traditional society may be expressed as a difference between tow groups who use ‘clock’ time and the other who live by ‘natural’ or astrological time. It would not be an exaggeration to say that many men and women in Bangladesh wear wristwatch for status and as part of ornament or to feel modern rather than as a guide for rational allocation and use of time. Such an apparently contradictory combination of from and practice has been ably visualized by Riggs in his notion of ‘formalism’ meaning forms do not represent reality.²² Nels Anderson is of the view that urbanism is always accompanied by a temporal revolution, in that man must allocate his time and generally develop a new perspective as to its value and appropriate allocation.²³ So in order to bring about change and development in society, the people of Bangladesh and other developing countries will have to develop new patterns of conceiving and utilizing time – their imprecise

¹⁹ Fred W. Riggs, *Administration in Developing Countries* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 113

²⁰ To villagers, life is not to be ticked off by seconds, minutes and hours, They go by the sun, by the seasons, and by the time of planning, cultivating and reaping.

²¹ Robert Presthus, “The Sociology of Economic Development,” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 1:2 (September 1960), p. 10

²² F. Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 15

²³ Nels Anderson, “Western Urban Man Faces Leisure,” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (March 1960), pp. 10-11

and relaxed time-system must give way to the exact and demanding time – system.

Pre-Scientific Mentality

The mentality of the masses in the developing countries is essentially dominated by beliefs and myths. “Not only the mass population,” as rightly observed by Hauser, “but, to a large extent, also the elite, including many who have been subjected to Western influence, have not acquired what might be termed as scientific outlook.”²⁴ Although the culture of many of the nations in South-East Asia contains rational elements, ideas, knowledge and rules etc., it carries in it a large number of astrological, magical, animistic, superstitious mythical notions and beliefs which generate a certain kind of thought and behaviourism which frequently act as a deterrent to technological and effective productive activity by precluding and opposing the methodology, procedures and findings of science.²⁵ No society is devoid of myth – even the most modern. “Myth is universal... since knowledge only partially supplies the answer to the problems which the world poses to the human mind, and since man just in any case find his place in the world and in relation to the world in order to live his life, the gaps of knowledge must be filled with explanatory systems based on myth.”²⁶ The content of the relationship between knowledge any myth varies from society to society. But in the developing countries when the mythological aspect of mentality is compared with its rational aspect, there is no doubt that the former certainly predominates over the latter, qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

Fear and Skeptical Attitude Towards Newness

In general, there seems to be a relationship between a productive industrial society and the natural predilection of its members toward novelty, newness and change. But in most of the less developed countries of the world the situation is just reverse. Novelty and change are looked upon by people with skepticism and suspicion. Sometimes the lower socio-economic groups are considered to be good candidates

²⁴ Phillip M. Hauser, “Cultural and Personal Obstacles to Economic Development in the Less Developed Areas, *Human Organization*, 18:2 (1959), p. 82

²⁵ Hindus will starve and die and still not slaughter cows because of religious beliefs.

²⁶ G. Kavadias, “The Assimilation of the Scientific and Technological Message, *International Social Science Journal*, 18:3 (1966), p. 364

for change since they will be taking no great risk in accepting the new: for they have so little to lose, economically and socially. But experience indicates that “fear renders the poorest people incapable of trying new things. They know that their productive capacities, with traditional means, will provide a bare existence, but their margin of survival is so slim that they feel they cannot risk even a tiny amount of experiment with something that is new and untested.”²⁷ Marriott has described how difficult it was to introduce a new wheat seed in an Indian village. The villagers think that even small alterations in their tightly knit technology may lead to disaster.²⁸ Hence they cannot afford the risk of the unknown. The Indian scholar Dube also in his study on Indian village life found strong forces of conservation among people. He observed that persons with too many novel and original ideas are suspected and invite criticism.²⁹ Dube’s observation equally depicts the village situation in Bangladesh. In Bangladesh the people are also greatly conservative and tend to avoid anything which is new and unfamiliar. So it is obvious as cogently expressed by Foster and “societies where the positive structures against being tempted by novelty are strong—where aphorisms and maxims are quoted to validate tradition and where fear of criticism haunts the would be innovator—a fertile field for a broad program of social change does not exist ...”³⁰

Apathy of the People

Apathetic attitude prevalent among the masses constitute a serious impediment to development. “Only officials will concern themselves with public affairs, for only they are paid to do so. For a private citizen to take a serious interest in a public problem will be regarded as abnormal and even improper.”³¹ This observation of Banfield with slight qualification also applies to the situation in the Indian subcontinent. Reasons for lack of participation and mobilization are not

²⁷ G. Foster, *Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1962), p. 171

²⁸ McKim Marriott, “Technological Change in Overdeveloped Rural Areas,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 1:4 (1952), p. 266

²⁹ S. C. Dube, *Indian Village* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 1955), p. 182

³⁰ Foster, *Traditional Culture*, op. cit., p. 66

³¹ E.C. Banfield, op. cit., p. 87

far to seek. In the subcontinent decisions have always been made for people by others. In the field of administration the decisions have been made by the officers often far removed from the community: in the family by the father or mother or some other senior member of the family and “even in education where books and teachers were law there was (and is) little, if any, class discussion.”³² Since people are not accustomed to make their own decisions, they feel it difficult and psychologically uncomfortable to undertake the task of decision-making.³³ The people look upon government officials for answers and solutions to all their problems. “They are non the receiving end waiting to be told what to do and how instead of taking the command of the situation and moulding their own life and that of the community.”³⁴ The general masses think that the government has enough resources to do everything and that their problems and interest should be looked after by it. “A school wall is cracking up in the rural area; well, the government will set it right. A small bund is needed to save the village from the seasonal floods; why not address a representation to the government, that will do the trick... They would just sit back, smoke huqqas and expect the government to solve their difficulties with a switch of the magic wand.”³⁵ This over-dependence on government tends to kill initiative and confidence of the people in their own abilities and capabilities.

Rigidly Hierarchical Social Relations

Another obstacle to change is the rigidly hierarchical nature of social relation. For the members of the traditional Bengali society, social life takes place within a set of rigidly patterned relationships, defined by tradition, handed down from one’s ancestors. Each individual from his childhood knows his proper place in the society. Vocation rights and

³² H.F. Goodnow, *The Civil Service of Pakistan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 201

³³ The truncated political nature of rural societies, with real power lying outside the community, seems to discourage local assumption and exercise of power, except as an agent of the outside forces.

³⁴ Salma Omar, “Rural Communities, District Administration and Civil Service,” in *Five Articles on Development Administration in Pakistan* (East Lansing, Michigan: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1966-67), p. 50

³⁵ Manzoor Illahi, “Changing Concept of Administration,” *Village Aid in West Pakistan* (Lahore: West Pakistan Government, 1957).

duties and role and status are largely ascribed at birth with a general disregard of economic performance as an important status-conferring variable. To put it other way, the Indian subcontinent has not yet shifted, to use the terminology of the 19th century social evolutionist Sir Henry Maine, from 'status' to 'contract' as its dominant means of role allocation and ordering interpersonal relationships.³⁶ Personal status completes strongly with evidence or technological experience in deciding what is to be done. In organizational context, as Presthus writes 'respect for age results in formal interpersonal relations in which seniority dominates and communications are hampered by the variety of subtle forms used to mediate status.'³⁷ Thus the ascription of role and status coupled with the pressure of a subsistence economy tend to enforce social immobility and hierarchism which inhibit change and development.

Absence of Entrepreneurs and Their Low Status

Dependence on tradition, custom and hierarchy of authority that are characteristic of Bangladesh's traditional society are not conducive to creativity and innovation. Creativity involves, in addition to intelligency and energy, such characteristics as pleasure in facing and attacking new problems, absence of any sense that one must seek someone else's judgment before judging what will work, and a knack of seeing that familiar elements mean new things, lead to new conclusions. But the childhood environment and conditions of life in which the members of traditional society grow up tend to inhibit individual initiative and perpetuate attitudes that resist innovation. As Millikan and Blackmer have pointed out "To an individual who has absorbed with his mother's milk the attitude that it is wrong to speak or even think freely until the duly honoured elders and persons in superior positions have expressed their opinions, the concept of freedom of thought and expression may be an impossible one to accept."³⁸ The

³⁶ Arnold M Rose, "Sociological Factors Affecting Economic Development in India," in Monte Palmer (ed.), *Human Factor in Political Development* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Ginn & Company, 1970), p. 97

³⁷ Robert Presthus, "The Social Bases of Bureaucratic Organization," *Social Forces*, 38(1959), p. 105

³⁸ Max Millikan and D. Balckmer, *The Emerging Nations* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1961), p. 24

paramount requirement for development and modernization is that people themselves must change. Development and modernization will not occur without psychological change in individual thoughts and personality. Development requires creative, innovative persons – entrepreneurs. Joseph Schumpeter, in his analysis of the history of economic development, considered entrepreneurial talent as the key factor in economic growth and he believed that the introduction of innovations such as changes in methods of production or supply provided that important ingredient in generating growth in the economy.³⁹ Albert Hirschman thinks that social attitudes do not affect the growth of entrepreneurship.⁴⁰ This view does not hold true when one looks at Bangladesh where an overwhelming part of the growth of entrepreneurship has been due to certain minority groups like Bohra, Khoza, Ismailis, Memon whose value system is probably different from that of others. This fact necessarily suggests that since entrepreneur class is dominated by some communities and not by others, there is something in the value system of these communities which is conducive to the growth of entrepreneurship. A knowledge of this value system will be helpful to understand the behaviour of entrepreneur responses in the country. Presently, the traditional emphasis on the low status of business-entrepreneurs tends to hold back economic development; for the most talented people will avoid a business career if they can secure suitable occupations elsewhere.⁴¹ Hoselitz has rightly observed that “the traditional low status of artisans, merchants and even industrialists slows down the supply of educated and potentially well-endowed persons, many of whom also have access to accumulated wealth and other assets, to enter into economic activity contributing to the economic growth process of their societies.”⁴²

³⁹ Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1950)

⁴⁰ Albert O. Hirschman, *The Strategy of Economic Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 4

⁴¹ In certain areas of India where the Brahmins find it difficult to enter into intellectual and administrative occupations only then they turn to industrial activity to preserve their position in Indian society. See J. Berna, “Patterns of Entrepreneurship in South India,” *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 7 (1959).

⁴² Bert F. Hoselitz, “Social Stratification and Economic Development,” *International Social Science Journal*, 16:2 (1964), p. 244

Conservatism, traditionalism, authoritarianism and fatalism tend to promote the need for power rather than need for achievement which is essential not only to economic development but progress in other fields as well. Need for power and need for achievement are found to be incompatible. A pilot study conducted in Peshawar shows that achievement oriented and power oriented attitudes are highly, significantly, negatively correlated.⁴³ Among the psychological variables, the one which is most directly and closely related to economic development is the achievement motive. The stronger the achievement motive of the members of a society, the greater its rate of economic development, so it is argued, and has been empirically substantiated by correlating the measures of the strength of achievement motive with the measures of the rate of economic growth of several countries of the world in different periods of development.⁴⁴ Traditionally-oriented societies like Bangladesh fail to produce in their masses a high degree of need for achievement. Traditionalism obstructs development by putting a high premium on ascribed status rather than achieved status, on old ideas and practices as against new ones, on the need for power rather than need for achievement. This emphasis on power and authority in society has its reflection in the administrative norms and practices of the country. An official looks upon his power and authority as a symbol of his 'eliteness.' His power and authority is a sign of his superior identity as an individual. To delegate part of his authority to subordinates is to give up part of his eliteness. Seeking subordinates judgment and opinion before making a decision is to signify and imply that they are as worthy as elite as he. Even to ask them for factual information as a basis for decisions may imply that he is not really worthy enough to bear authority, since he must depend upon subordinates. This fact partly explains why delegation and decentralization and free communication at vertical-horizontal levels are difficult to achieve in an elitist society with an elitist civil service.

Superstitions Beliefs and Ideas

Although religion is not inherently an obstacle to change and development in Bangladesh, some beliefs, practices and superstitions associated with the religion act to discourage initiative and enterprise

⁴³ S.M. Moghni, "A study of Achievement Oriented Attitude and its Relationship to Other Variables among University Students in Pakistan – A Pilot Study," Pakistan Psychological Studies, Peshawar University, 1968

⁴⁴ David McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton: Van Nostrand 1961.)

and objective thinking. In Bangladesh and some other Asian countries, a predominantly religious intellectual tradition along with relative indifference toward the intellectual and practical mastery of nature have persisted.⁴⁵ This tendency tends to persist because of lack of personal incentives and institutional stimulant to develop a technological and engineering tradition, together with the scientific objectivity.

Particularism and Factionalism

Another factor hampering development in Bangladesh and other developing societies is a lack of sense of citizenship among the people. Parochialism or particularism hinders national collective action and hinders the formation of genuine unity of spirit among people which is essential for a modern political society. There is a lack of public feeling and a lack of a sense of shared public responsibilities. It is not rural people alone who structure interpersonal relations in accordance with what has been called the principle of 'personalism.' Typically, all sectors of society including the elite allocate loyalty, effort and concern on the basis of previously established ties and such links as family membership, ethnic group, religious community, locality of origin and other ascribed bonds.⁴⁶ So in practice, as Gregori and Pi Sunyer write, 'the interest of organizational structures that do not affect one directly are subordinated to personal gain, group interests, or perhaps simply ignored.'⁴⁷

Hauser writing on the problems prevalent in south and south-east Asia is of the view that

The atomistic behaviorism which, perhaps, have the greatest retarding influence on economic development include: (1) the comparative lack of discipline, regularity and regimentation as they affect labor force activity; (2) the tendency to mind one's own business' to a point where obligation and responsibility to others is almost completely ignored; (3) the insecurity of physical property as evidenced by wide spread theft and dacoity'; (4) the emphasis on personal rather than organizational practice; and (5)

⁴⁵ Edward Shils, "The Concentration and Dispersion of Charisma, Their Bearing on Economic Policy in Under-developed Countries," *World Politics*, 11 (1958)

⁴⁶ Thomas R. De Gregori and Oriol Pi-Sunyer, *Economic Development: The Cultural Context* (New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1969), p. 40

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

the general lack of national or organizational consciousness or imagery.⁴⁸

This behavioural and attitudinal complex is undoubtedly highly detrimental to the smooth and proper operation of large national organizational structures which are essential ingredients of a modern developed society.

In addition to particularism and parochialism, factionalism, meaning bitter and hostile relations among members of two factions also tends to affect adversely the success of change and development programmes in many developing countries including India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. For example, if the members of one group demonstrate interest in a new programme, the members of the rival group invariably express their opposition, hostility against it, without logic and often even without looking into the programme's real merits. This situation is ably described by Dube as he writes that "The members of the friendly group would support the officials not because they are convinced about the utility or efficiency of the programs sponsored by them, but simply as their part in the obligations of friendship. On the other hand the members of the hostile group would feel it their duty to reject anything offered by officials identified with their rivals, even if they saw merits in the program."⁴⁹ During his association with the community development programmes in India and Pakistan (1955), Foster found that factionalism was one of the greatest problems with which community development personnel had to cope.⁵⁰ "The bitterness of the factious spirit often drives out the desire to improve the village. It becomes more important to cause annoyance to the other party than to get something done."⁵¹

Administrative Obstacles

Public administration is the instrument through which a government fulfils the wishes and needs of the people. Therefore, an efficient

⁴⁸ P.M Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 82

⁴⁹ S.C. Dube, "Some Problems of Communication in Rural Community Development", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 5 (1957), p. 136

⁵⁰ Foster, *Traditional Cultures and the Impact of Technological Change*, *op. cit.*, p. 102

⁵¹ U.L. Goswami and S.C. Roy, "India," in Phillips Roup (ed.), *Approaches to Community Development (The Hague and Bandung; W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1953)*, p. 307

administrative machinery is of paramount importance for carrying out development activities successfully. In developing countries like Bangladesh “perhaps the most important elite modernization roles are the technical and civil services of a country.”⁵² J.K. Galbraith considered a reliable apparatus of government and public administration so essential to development that he would deny the possibility of economic growth without it.⁵³ But unfortunately Bangladesh and many other developing countries do not possess an efficient and well-developed administrative system suited to cope with problems of social change and development planning. The inadequacies of public administration of the country became apparent when it launched its First Five-Year Plan.

The Colonial Administrative Heritage

The administrative system in almost all developing countries are anachronistic. Established long ago to meet conditions which differ greatly from those prevailing to-day, they have not been adapted sufficiently to greatly changed situations. Indian subcontinent provides a good example of this situation. During the British colonial rule the administration and government were primarily law and order oriented. Under the stress of social and economic necessity the colonial authority did some welfare services. But fundamentally the method and orientation of public services remained unchanged so when the foreign rule ended, the countries in the Indian subcontinent inherited a government administration primarily oriented to administer justice, collect revenues, and render basic government services. The administrative system performed these functions with reasonable efficiency. But soon it proved to be deficient and ineffective in meeting the needs of a free welfare society committed to rapid change and development. The basic problems surrounding present day administration in the Indian subcontinent arise primarily from the fact that:

...an administrative system born as an instrument of colonial policy has been carried over with but few modifications and utilized as the machinery for democracy. The administrative requirements of the two forms of government are almost entirely different. One operates on the negative principle of check and

⁵² David E. Apter, *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 166

⁵³ J.K. Galbraith, “A Positive Approach to Economic Aid,” *Foreign Affairs*, 34:3 (April, 1961)

counter-check... The other demands positive leadership, affirmative action.⁵⁴

The major weaknesses of the present administrative system with respect to national development result from the fact that the administrative machinery is still significantly oriented to law and order function in its organizational, procedural, personnel and fiscal aspects. One of the effects of the preponderance of law and order orientation is that development functions of government do not enjoy the same attention, prestige, or authority as the old law and order and finance services enjoy. Thus in the Indian subcontinent, the colonial administrative heritage considers to be the most serious single impediment to the maximum economic use of country's financial and material resources. "While the government policies have a clear and definite bias in favour of development, the administrative system, wedded as it is to the status quo in its procedures, tends to pull in a different direction."⁵⁵

Mechanical and Low Pitched Administration

A system of rigid hierarchical routing of correspondence and other communications tend to delay decision-making. For example, in Pakistan, documents and files must follow a prescribed series of steps through administrative layers. Papers received in a government office are first routed to subordinate clerical personnel for recording and checking against proceeding action. Then they are routed to all interested officials, sometimes on the same level, sometimes upward through multiple layers in the administrative hierarchy. Each officer adds his comments often in considerable detail in this 'nothing process.' Paul Appleby saw a flow chart of the procedure in the Indian state of West Bengal which "showed from 30 to 42 different handlings of a letter when the latter was given consideration. Only within a single department of a ministry; six of these handlings are required in a single office at six different points in the process... and from 12 to 18

⁵⁴ Bernard L. Gladieux, *Re-orientation of Pakistan Government for National Development* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, 1955), p. 1

⁵⁵ Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan (1955-60)* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1958), p. 99

different offices were involved in the whole process.”⁵⁶ A flow process chart in Pakistan and Bangladesh would reveal similar story. Much of the time of high officials in Pakistan is taken merely with the review of papers and files received from subordinates and in passing them on to still higher officers, R. Egger has rightly observed:

The public administration of Pakistan is underpropelled, and its forward thrust is rather completely contained, mainly because the doers in the administrative structure are under so many layers of thinkers, planners, co-ordinators, and plain do-notters, all busily occupied in nothing on files, that the doers are rarely able to secure a green light on an action programme, an appropriation and expenditure sanction in the some fiscal period.⁵⁷

Although Egger’s observation may be little exaggerated but it contains considerable truth. Experienced Pakistani senior officers have estimated that at least half of the present inter-departmental references are unnecessary and with entire safety 60 to 80 percent of all receipts could be disposed of without one line of noting.⁵⁸ Besides writing notes often there seems to be a tendency to shift the file from one office to another or from one ministry to another. The restaurant delays are sometimes unbelievably long.⁵⁹

Improper Differentiation of Line and Staff Functions

In developing countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, administration suffers due to lack of proper differentiation between line and staff functions. In administration there is little appreciation of the fundamental differences between line and staff operations.⁶⁰ Since the line-and-staff idea is new in the Indian subcontinent, so organizational

⁵⁶ Paul Appleby, *Public Administration in India* (New Delhi: Government of Indian Press, 1953), cited in P. Goodnow, *The Civil Service of Pakistan* (New haven: Yale University Press, 1964), p. p. 211-212

⁵⁷ Rowland Egger, “Ministerial and Departmental Organization and Management in the Government of Pakistan,” *Public Administration*, 34 (Summer 1961), p. 166

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 163-165

⁵⁹ Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan*, op. cit., p. 118

⁶⁰ R. Egger, *The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1953), p. 11

functions and relationships have not been fully delineated between line operations and staff functions. As a result, the functions are poorly performed and line functions suffer from reduced leadership. This problem has been expressed in the Pakistan Enquiry Committee report of 1953:

Much of the time of officers, from highest to the lowest, is at present occupied with the affairs of their employees – their recruitment, appointment, pay, promotion, transfer, discipline and conditions of service generally, as well as with grievances of individuals. It is necessary work... but much of it can hardly be called public business.⁶¹

Pakistan's fiscal reform of July 1960 is an attempt towards the development of a line and staff system. Under the new arrangement, each ministry has been provided with a fiscal officer to advise the ministry on all financial matters.

Over Centralization

The system of administration in the Indian subcontinent is by and large over centralized. The end result not unexpectedly is complete congestion at the top which at times causes paralysis of action in development administration. This weakness in the administrative process perhaps results from the gap between the qualifications of top administrative elites and lower level personnel. Moreover, the Government of British India was extremely centralized and things have not changed much even after Independence. The system is founded on belief in the infallibility of judgment if taken at sufficiently high levels no matter how far removed from the scene of action. Egger noticed in the high officials of Pakistan some degree of reluctance to place confidence in subordinates which impedes delegation and increases congestion.⁶² "There is prevalent the mistaken notion that in order to control one's subordinates or an inferior level of government all papers and actions must flow for approval from the lower to the higher level."⁶³

⁶¹ Government of Pakistan, Report of the Administrative Enquiry Committee (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1953), p. 48

⁶² R. Egger, *The Improvement of Public Administration in Pakistan*, op. cit., p. 24

⁶³ B.L. Gladieux. op. cit., p. 3

High officials' distrust of subordinates capabilities deter delegation and tends to increase centralization. High level officials try to do work which should be done by their subordinates because the former do not trust the judgment of lower level officials. Excessive centralization causes high officials to be over-burdened with detail to the neglect of policy formulation and planning. Project approvals are slowed down in the bottlenecks of top level review. Although the system of centralization may well have been successful in achieving its main objective of guaranteeing a sober and conservative decision process for orthodox governmental functions, but it does not meet the requirements of modern government where quick and decisive action is called for bringing about rapid change and development in society.

Excessive use of Conferences, Meetings and committees

In India, Pakistan and Bangladesh excessive reliance has been put on conferences and committees for decision making. Committees and meeting are over-used and sometimes they are of little help to administration.⁶⁴ In the subcontinent, the difficulties and delays of decision making by committees have been compounded by the methods of operation of the generalists who dominate the administrative machinery of the country. The generalists are expected to administer every kind of programme. But since they recognize their limitations in technical fields they often rely on group meeting and group action. The result is proliferation of unnecessary committees. Lewes found in India that when generalist administrators face technical issues about which they know little, they refer the matter to the collective wisdom of a committee of their peers most of whom may be equally ignorant of the issue at hand. Usually the committee appoints a sub-committee which again convenes an advisory committee.⁶⁵ Although the above statement by Lewis is little exaggerated and refers to the Indian situation, still it is applicable to a considerable degree in Bangladesh and Pakistan.

⁶⁴ Jay B. Westcott, "Governmental Organization and Methods in Developing Countries," I. Swerdow (ed.), *Development Administration, Concepts and Problems* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1963), p. 53

⁶⁵ John P. Lewis, 'India,' E.F. Hagen (ed.) *Planning Economic Development* (Illinois: Rechar D. Irwin, Inc., 1963), p. 105.

Excessive Exaltation of Generalist

Recruiting technicians, specialists and keeping them on jobs in government constitute one of the serious obstacles to development in the Indian subcontinent. Most of the senior administrative positions are filled by the generalists— officers who do not specialize in the administration of any particular function, agency or area of government. Higher status and pre-eminence of the generalist are the direct legacy of the past colonial administrative. As Gladieux cogently observes:

The present type of generalist... is becoming an anachronism in modern we fare government which requires depth as well as breadth of knowledge from its... administrators. The concept that with their single type experience the generalist can be all things to all men is simply not realistic or factual. The injunction of broad administrative considerations into programme or policy decisions is necessary at top levels but when such is done with little substantive understanding of the problem or proposal the resulting decision may not reflect wisdom. A secretary to Government who has proved to have a facility or talent for public works administration has no assurance of success when posted, for example, as secretary for Agriculture.”⁶⁶

A modern state requires a multitude of technicians, specialists and other – all of whom must be empowered to make decisions within their respective areas of competence. “The channeling of these decisions to a small number of generalists can only be rationalized by an unrealistic exaggeration of the latter’s abilities.”⁶⁷ Scientists, engineers, and other technicians on whose skills and services depend development activities are accorded comparatively low social and administrative status. Salaries offered by the government to technical people are below their market value. They do not enjoy the same status in policy formulation as the general administrators do. This distinction leads to jealousy, heart-burning and to bitterness within service ranks.⁶⁸ The relegating of technical and professional specialists to a status of secondary rank and prestige have been keeping many capable people from seeking

⁶⁶ B.L. Gladieux, *op. cit.*, p. 3

⁶⁷ H.F. Goodnow, *op. cit.*, p.243

⁶⁸ Government of Pakistan, *The First Five Year Plan*, *op. cit.*, p. 113

government employment. Framers of the Second Five Year Plan warned Pakistan Government that “if this state of affairs continues, the vast development programmes that are being undertaken in the public sector will greatly suffer in execution.”⁶⁹

Favouritism in Administration

Although formal rules prescribe non-ascriptive tests for recruitment, yet familistic consideration greatly dominate appointment of personnel in government. Riggs has used the word ‘attainment’ to describe such a situation. Attainment is a mode of recruitment which mixes ascription and achievement.⁷⁰ Technical competence is not enough to get appointment. Factors like family connections, loyalty to superior also influence recruitment. In traditional societies like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, the extended family, the clan or other primary groups are of special importance to individual members. Family bonds are still strong although some changes might have occurred in the recent past due to urbanization and industrialization. Individual members feel it as moral duty to protect his family and advance its interest. His responsibility to the family takes precedence over any other general obligations to the society. In pursuing this ‘moral duty’ the individuals who hold public offices often appoint least qualified relatives and give licenses and contracts to their family members. In new states like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh “notions of a depersonalized bureaucracy with norms of equity and rationality have unevenly permeated the fabric of society... Loyalty to kin and family member is held a grater virtue than adherence to an abstract impersonal notion of equity.”⁷¹ Only persons who have greater social consciousness and acquired modern values will consider it unjust and immoral to give undue favours to their family members in recruitment or in any government transaction. Sometimes a person may be unwilling to appoint his relatives but soon family pressures would be brought to bear on him to which he finally yields. Western educated officials find themselves in a conflicting situation. Their loyalty to the extended family often clashes with their loyalty to ‘public interest’. In such a situation the person

⁶⁹ Government of Pakistan, *The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65)* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1960), p. 115

⁷⁰ F.W.Riggs, *op.cit.*, p. 167

⁷¹ R. Braibanti, “Reflections on Bureaucratic Corruption,” *Public Administration*, 40 (Winter 1962), pp. 363-365

often suffers from indecision. But the stronger loyalty ultimately wins over the other.

Besides this family pressure to appoint relatives and friends, the officials sometimes by-pass the formal rules of the merit system to recruit those type of persons who would be helpful to reinforce their power position. Some appointing officers are more interested in the impact of appointment on their power position than on the administrative consequences. Thus position and power in the administration are not always allocated on the strength of merit, seniority and experience. According to the Pakistan Pay Commission (1949) “a large number of officers were promoted to posts which in the usual course they could never expected to occupy.”⁷² Certainly if persons are chosen for public jobs keeping in view their family connections, power potential and their loyalty to superiors rather than to their professional capabilities, the result is a loss of administrative efficiency which in turn impede development works. Thus nepotism and favouritism in administration act as a great hindrance to development.

Shortage of Technical Personnel

The shortage of technical and managerial personnel poses a basic obstacle to development in Bangladesh. Development work suffers due to such shortage of competent managerial and technical hands. In many areas this rather than shortage of capital resources or foreign exchange tend to limit the rate of economic development. This problem has some bearing on the educational system of the country. The educational system prevailing in the Indian subcontinent is largely tradition-bound and it is oriented more to the perpetuation of values rather than preparing for changes which development and progress require. It teaches unquestioning obedience to authority. It overemphasizes the humanities, liberal and literary studies. Such a system of education produces literati who only accept, appreciate and memorize ideas but never approach them for revision, critical analysis or inquiry.⁷³ But the

⁷² Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Pay Commission Report (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1949), p.48

⁷³ F. Riggs, op. cit., p. 149

modern society requires individuals with initiative, reasoning, who also possess certain skills and knowledge to participate in the productive operations of the society. Bangladesh needs doctors, engineers, technicians and managers etc. to change the country towards development and progress. An analytical and problem-solving approach to learning must replace the habits of memorization and rote-learning. Members of Pakistan's Education Commission observed in their report: "We shall continue to fall short of our development goals until full provisions has been made for the training and education of skilled personnel at all levels."⁷⁴

No doubt the study of the humanities and social science is very necessary for Bangladesh to deal with the new human needs and social and political problems involved in development process. But there should also be increasing appreciation and concern about the lack of high level trained manpower in production sectors and certain types of knowledge while the country has a surplus of other skills and knowledge.

Imperfect Team-work

Politicians, technicians-specialists and civil servants have generally not "learned to accommodate or to respect the peculiar contribution of each in the co-operative endeavour of government ...Toward technical people the administrative group is disposed to be imperious... the technical man is often frustrated, resentful toward the secretariat..."⁷⁵ Such a situation encourages the substitution of loyalty to a class or service for loyalty to an organization, its programme and objectives. Inter-relationships between the politicians, the generalists and the specialists are usually marked by jealousy and lack of trust and cordiality which impede the team-work among these diverse elements of government and thereby render the administration less successful in tackling the problems of change and development.

Corruption in Administration

Corruption forms and attribute of the fabric of public politics and bureaucratic life in the developing countries.⁷⁶ Myrdal points out that

⁷⁴ Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi: Government of Pakistan Press, 1960), p. 11

⁷⁵ B.L. Gladieux, op.cit., p.2

⁷⁶ Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1961) defines corruption as 'inducement (as of public official) by means of improper considerations (as

those vested with official authority and power, whether, he is a minister, or a legislator or superior official frequently take advantage of their position to make undue gain for themselves, or their family or social group.⁷⁷ And “those who have tried to live as moral men in an amoral society have generally been given way sooner or later under agonizing pressures; the pressure of legitimate ambition which can only be achieved by illegitimate means...”⁷⁸ The Indian subcontinent greatly suffers from corruption which is an important hindrance to economic development and progressive social change.

Harmful effects of corrupt acts are many. As Bayley rightly observes that corruption leads to “a rise in the price of administration. The man who is both tax-payer and also forced to submit to bribery has paid several times over the same service... Corruption (also) represents a diversion of resources from public purposes to private ones.”⁷⁹ However good the plans may be the corrupt administration often leads them to disrepute. Widespread corrupt acts in administration impede fulfillment of government’s developmental plan objectives. As Myrdal observes that corruption introduces an element of irrationality in plan fulfillment by influencing the actual course of development, in a way, contrary to the plan or if such influence is foreseen by limiting the horizon of plan.⁸⁰ The Santhanam Committee report that at a conservative estimate 5 percent of the money spent during the Indian Second Five Year Plan for construction and purchase was lost to the exchequer through corruption.⁸¹ But Nathaniel H. Leff advances a

bribery) to commit a violation of duty.” A bribery is then defined as “price, reward, gift or favour bestowed or promised with a view to pervert the judgment or corrupt the conduct specially of a person in a position of trust (as a public official). Corruption surely includes misappropriation of government funds. In its widest meaning, corruption includes, as one Indian report asserts ‘improper and selfish exercise of power and influence attached to a public office or to the special position one occupies in public life.’” – Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption (New Delhi: Government of India 1964), p. 5. This report is commonly known as the Santhanam Committee Report after its chairman.

⁷⁷ Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama*, Vol. 2 (London: The Penguin Press, 1968), p. 948

⁷⁸ Ronald E. Wraith and Edgar Simpkins, *Corruption in Developing Countries* (New York: Norton, 1964), p. 11

⁷⁹ David H. Bayley, “The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation,” *Western Political Quarterly*, 19:4 (December 1966), p. 724

⁸⁰ G. Myrdal, *op.cit.*, p. 952

⁸¹ Government of India, *Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption* (1964), *op. cit.*, p. 19

provocative hypothesis that corruption contributes to economic development.⁸² Leff thinks that corruption may help the entrepreneurs of the country to overcome the anti-developmental attitudes to the political elite, to by-pass the low priorities attached to development, to reduce uncertainty and thereby create a better atmosphere for investment. Leff seems to formulate his hypothesis on the assumption that the governments of most developing countries are crippled by non-(or anti) developmental policies and institutions and that in such a situation economic growth can best be achieved through corruption. No doubt, Leff has put forward some challenging ideas; but they suffer from many weaknesses. Why should we assume that the governments of most developing states have anti-developmental attitudes and that 'individuals with the desire to corrupt officials are likely to have goals in mind that are any more developmental than those of the politicians themselves?'⁸³ Must bureaucracy, as Leff⁸⁴ asserts, always be more "a lagging sector than a leading sector." Ness' findings relating to the Ministry of Rural Development in Malaysia⁸⁵ and works performed by Pakistan and Bangladesh's Industrial Development Corporations certainly do not give testimony to this assertion.

Corruption and bribery are not the monopolies of the developing countries. Examples of bribery and corruption may be found in America and in other developed countries as well. But "one may be less guarded on the question of the cost of corruption, which many wealth countries can afford to carry without noticing it, but which developing countries can hardly afford at all."⁸⁶ More benefits could have been brought to people in the developing countries if development works were executed more faithfully and if money had been properly spent without corruption.

⁸² Nathaniel H. Leff, "Economic Development through Bureaucratic Corruption," *The American Behavioral Scientist*, 8 (November 1964)

⁸³ Robert O. Tilman, "Emergence of Black-Market Bureaucracy: Administration, Development, and Corruption in the New States," *Public Administration Review*, 28:5 (September-October, 1968), p. 443

⁸⁴ N.H. Leff, *op.cit.*, p. 13

⁸⁵ Galy D. Ness, *Bureaucracy and Rural Development in Malaysia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967)

⁸⁶ R.E. Wraith & E. Simpkins, *op. cit.*, p.172

Chapter IV

Tradition, Development and Modernity

The obstacles discussed in the preceding chapter should be removed to pave the way for change and progress in Bangladesh. Meaningful, genuine change as rightly observed by Erich Fromm demands that the members of a society “must acquire the kinds of character which make them want to act in the way they have to act as members of the (modern) society... They have to desire what objectively is necessary for them to do.”¹ Men and institutions in Bangladesh must change. There must be willingness to function outside the ‘groove of tradition’ to innovate new ideas and institutions to cope with new situations. But this does not mean as Heilbroner directly says that the traditional culture must be utterly destroyed.² Because the traditional society provides “a base of cooperation and security which cannot easily be replaced in the modern world. It offers, above all, a framework of meaning and significance to the individual. To destroy deliberately these virtues in an unthinking drive for modernity would be regrettable.”³

The concerns of this chapter centre not merely on tradition as such but far more significantly on development, on the issue and problem of conceptualization of development and modernity which does not deny the specific and contextual character of the developing countries.

Tradition and Modernity

The present writer objects to the methodological procedure by which the tradition is simply defined negatively in relation to development and modernity. The views that tradition is monolithic and static; tradition and innovation are necessarily in conflict seem to be overly abstract and unreal. As Gusfield writes “It is fallacious to assume that a

¹ Erich Fromm, “Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis,” in Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry R. Murray (ed.), *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1953), p. 517.

² Robert Heilbroner, *The Great Ascent* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1963), p. 66.

³ William McCord, *The Springtime of Freedom: The Evolution of Developing Societies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 10.

traditional society has always existed in its present form... The conquest of foreign powers and the growth of social and cultural movements deeply influenced the character of family, religious belief and practices, and social structure in India over many centuries. Islamic civilization provided vital alternatives to caste and to political groupings. The impact of British culture and institutions has been immense. Tradition has been open to change before its present encounter with the west...⁴ The implicit assumption that a traditional society is incapable of self-sustained growth and development has been disproved. Such over-simplification has resulted from heavily ideological interpretations of the contrast between tradition and modernity, and from undue generalization of the western experience.⁵ Studies on India (Singer, 1960), Japan (Scalapino, 1965) and Ethiopia (Levine, 1965) have indicated several cases and ways in which cultural traditions, rather than posing obstacles to change and development have directly promoted various forms of development and modernization.⁶ Thus the assumption that tradition and modernity are polar opposites rests, as L.I. Rudolph and S. H. Rudolph say “on a misdiagnosis of tradition as it is found in traditional societies, a misunderstanding of modernity as it is found in modern societies, and a misapprehension of the relationship between them.”⁷

It is our basic assumption here that traditionalism functioning as ideology is not always in conflict with development and modernity.⁸ On the contrary, the quest for modernity depends upon and finds support in the ideological upsurge of traditionalism.⁹ Japanese

⁴ Joseph Gusfield, “Tradition and Modernity” *American Journal of Sociology*, 72:4 (1967), pp. 352-353.

⁵ Reinhard Bendix, “Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered,” in Leonard Plotnicov and Arthur Tuden (eds.) *Essays in Comparative Social Stratification* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970), p. 274.

⁶ Milton Singer, “Changing Craft Traditions in India,” in W. Moore and A. Feldman (eds.), *Labour Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960). Robert Scalapino, “Ideology and Modernization: The Japanese Case,” in David Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent* (New York: Free Press 1965). Donald N. Levine, *Wax and Gold: Tradition and Innovation in Ethiopian Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

⁷ Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, “The Place of Tradition in Modernization,” *Development Digest*, IX: 1 (January 1971), P. 62.

⁸ J. Gusfield, *op. cit.*

⁹ Allan W. Eister, “Perspective on the Functions of Religion in a Developing Country: Islam in Pakistan,” *Journal for the scientific study of Religion*, 3:2 (1964).

experience suggests that traditional structure can provide skills, and traditional values can give sources of legitimation which may be used in pursuit of new goals and with new processes. As George de Vos has noted that the Japanese family constituted a powerful source of achievement motivation for the individual. But the Japanese form of this motivation differed from the classical western type in that the guilt at failure was perceived by the individual as a failure to fulfil the expectations of his peers, rather than as a personal failing.¹⁰ The Japanese functioned in these traditional contexts of group-centredness and group-oriented motivation. Thus Japan demonstrated that the traditional system of social relations may play a positive and facilitating role in modernization and development and thereby disproved the earlier contentions of social theorist that a group-oriented social system would not take to western developmental forms so readily.¹¹

In the context of Indian economic growth, the large extended families of Tatas, Birlas, Dalmias are industrial enterprises emerging out of and supported by traditional family units. Social scientists have recently argued that the joint family is not necessarily an obstacle to industrialization and economic development.¹² Most scholars having real acquaintance with social situations in the Indian subcontinent will agree with B. Hoselitz that “the extended family may be a factor positively furthering and supporting the development of viable entrepreneurship.”¹³ J. Berna’s study of India has shown how an artisan facing almost impossible task of obtaining regular bank credit for expansion of his enterprise can look to his family for help with funds and also raise any loans from members of his extended kin group.¹⁴ Besides economic function, the joint family also provides nurturance for the migrating labourere, who might otherwise become anomic in the city, and thus it does serve as valuable stabilizing influence on

¹⁰ George De Vos, “Achievement Orientation, Social Self-Identify, and Japanese Economic Growth,” *Asian Survey*, 5:12 (December 1965).

¹¹ Joseph Gusfield, “Tradition and Modernity: Conflict and Congruence,” *Journal of Social Issues*, 24:4 (October 1968), p. 33.

¹² M.F. Nimkoff, “Is the Joint Family and Obstacle to Industrialization?” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 1: 1 (March 1960).

¹³ Bert F. Hoselitz, “Tradition and Economic Growth,” in Ralph Braibanti and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.) *Tradition, Values and Social-Economic Development* (Durham, N. C. : Duke University Press, 1961), p. 112.

¹⁴ James, J. Berna, “Patterns of Entrepreneurship in South India,” *Economic Development an Cultural Change*, 7: 3 (1959).

personality.¹⁵ As rightly observed by Foster “Reciprocal behaviour, whether between members of a joint family or friends or neighbours, fulfils a number of functions. In times of food shortages, lack of money, life crises such as death, and in many other situations, economic, spiritual, and physical support is provided. The mutual obligations of these relationships take the place of many of the activities of more highly developed state forms: social security and welfare, cooperative and credit facilities and the like.”¹⁶

Many observers say that traditions of the joint family are antithetical to growth of innovation, initiative, venturesomeness and willingness to take risk. But it may be argued that such statements regarding the impact of the joint family on motivations for work and gain is predominantly based on the assumption of a basically western individualistic society. “Traditional norms relating to one’s relations with one’s kin group make persons in “Asian countries interpret their own place vis-à-vis other members of their extended families differently from what would be the way if they held western traditional norms regarding family relationships.”¹⁷ The tradition of Joint family tends to develop the ideals of sacrifice and service as the individual members merge themselves in the family system. The joint family system based upon virtue of service, sacrifice and affection tends to produce that feeling of reciprocity and socio-cooperative outlook in the society which contrasts with the aggressive individualism of the west but which resembles so closely the emerging cultural values (collaboration, interdependence, social responsibility and community feeling) of the post-industrial society as described by E. Trist.¹⁸ People who value traditional reciprocity and community feeling feel that an unchecked growth of individualism will not only lead to a weakening of family and other social ties, but in the end is likely to encourage a

¹⁵ Arnold M. Rose, “Sociological Factors Affecting Economic Development in India,” in Monte Palmer (ed.), *The Human Factor in Political Development* (Massachusetts: Ginn & Company, 1970), p. 93.

¹⁶ G. Foster, *Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1962), pp. 91-92.

¹⁷ Bert f. Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 112

¹⁸ Eric L. Trist, “Urban North America: The Challenge of the Next Thirty Years,” in Warrent H. Schmidt (ed.), *Organizational Frontiers and Human values* (Getmont, Callifornia: wadsworth Publishing company, Inc., 1970) pany, Inc., 1970).

kind of selfishness which would prove detrimental to all forms of social reintegration.¹⁹ It may not be wise for Bangladesh to advocate weakening of the traditional joint family especially when the country has not yet developed an organized and efficient system of welfare institutions. "Indeed, in the overcrowded urban centres of poor countries wherever the joint family has disintegrated, the economic cost of the security that government or industry now has to provide is fairly high."²⁰ Thus as Hirschman says what was a hindrance to progress in one setting and at one stage may be helpful under different circumstances.²¹

Professor Milton Singer has advanced an interesting interpretation of Indian traditional cultural values and their power to provide a positive ethic for modernization of India. Singer argues that the contrast of Indian and Western Cultures in terms of 'spiritual' and 'material' is false. He finds his evidence in the existence of a tradition of material values in India and, as at least, in the role of modern leaders like Gandhi, in utilizing this tradition to justify social reform.

Singer writes:

It is misleading to think that "materialism" has no positive value in India or that "spiritualism" precludes the co-existence of "materialism"... wealth and power have an important place in the traditional culture of India, Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, is worshipped at least once a week, Artha, wealth and power, represents one of the four major ends of life, and there is a science of it in arthasastra... In their everyday behaviour, too, Indians do not show less of that propensity to trade, barter, and exchange than Adam Smith found in the mainsprings of the wealth of nations... Even in the humble village one finds love for fine cloth, bungalows, and precious gems... the desire for land and cattle and ox carts are for the village real desires and express in these local terms his ambition to improve his position.²²

¹⁹ Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Culture and Society in India* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 364.

²⁰ Jagdish Bhagwati, *The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 94-95.

²¹ Albert O. Hirschman, *The Strategy of Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 9.

²² Milton Singer, "Cultural Values in India's Economic Development," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 305 (May 1956), P. 82

No one can deny the fact that Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence, of the necessity of work and the dignity of manual labor, of service to neighbour, of social justice in the distribution of power and wealth, has introduced a vitality into traditional Indian asceticism which activated India's successful struggle for independence and which influences much of the Indian national programme. Thus new reinterpretations, especially that of Gandhi regarding asceticism has brought it quite close to the type of 'this worldly asceticism Gandhi's reinterpretation of India's other worldly asceticism will not, as said by Singer "produce in India 'a protestant ethic' and a spirit of capitalism which will stimulate a development of industrialism similar to the European Counterpart analysed by Weber... (but Singer thinks that) in their indigenous 'materialism,' as well as in their philosophy of renunciation, interpreted by Gandhi as a discipline of action in the service of others, and in their quest for spiritual salvation... may reside the psychological and moral motive forces needed for a democratic and non-violent industrial development of India."²³

Commenting on Singer's views John Goheen has rightly asked that if there were a 'tradition of practical values' in India then why has it not been successful in modifying in any fundamental way the conditions of life of the people.²⁴ This problem can be satisfactorily answered as suggested by M. N. Srinivas, only by historians after a thorough investigation of the social and economic situations obtaining in the Indian subcontinent before the advent of the foreign rulers. Meanwhile one can only make a guess, but there is no way of providing or disproving a guess. Srinivas writes, "India, like many... non-European country, was handicapped because of the power which the Industrial Revolution placed in the hands of European countries. And once Indians lost their freedom, the door was opened to a vast number of ills. It is possible that popular interpretations or misinterpretations of maya... Karma were the aftermath of defeat rather than its cause."²⁵

Islam may also be an ally to the forces of modernization rather than its enemy. It would not be correct to ignore totally the historically

²³ M. Singer, *ibid.*, pp. 86 & 91

²⁴ John Goheen, "A Comment on Professor Singer's 'Cultural Values in India's Economic Development,'" *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 71 (October 1958)

²⁵ M. N. Sriniva, "A Note on Mr. Goheen's Note," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (October 1958), p. 6

revolutionary role played by Islam with its concern for egalitarianism in this world. Shah Waliullah has explained Quranic doctrine of 'taqdir', which in the popular mind has degenerated into a form of arbitrary theistic determinism or even pure fatalism called qismat. According to Waliullah the term taqdir means:

the fulfillment and realization of a person's good potentialities. Individuality is the vessel, so to say, of human values and both of these together constitute what is called the personality. The realization of the total ideals of a personality is its taqdir. In a certain sense taqdir is a deterministic principle because at each stage of development of the individual and the human species a personality has to act within a given context and given potentialities. However, the fulfillment of the potentialities of a certain stage leads to the creation of new potentialities. This means that taqdir itself changes with the development of each new phase.²⁶

Eister's study of religion in Pakistan led him to the conclusion that Islam in Pakistan was not a force hostile to development.²⁷ Islam may act as a great stabilizing and binding force in Bangladesh against disruptions following in the wake of industrialization and consequent urbanization. In a time of rapid social change, religion with its lasting transcendental beliefs and values will not only protect individual psyche from all confusion, meaningless and 'existential nihilism' but can also provide 'peak experience' to enrich our self-consciousness leading towards greater and better human life. To neglect and deliberately destroy and reduce religion into a mere ritualism may encapsulate human mind within a narrow and short-sighted view of life and of the world and thereby deprive man of enjoying higher self-awareness and self-consciousness. Models, rational strategies are not sufficient. We need a vision. Each society needs to develop its own vision of the future based on its own religious philosophy, its social history, its own problems and its own national ethos. By vision we mean a way of looking at the world and dealing with the world; it

²⁶ Hafeez Malik, *Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1963), p. 134

²⁷ Eister, *op.cit.*

answers such questions as what is life and how it is to be lived. It is our contention that religion like Islam incorporating traditional values but encompassing developmental needs can play a significant role in transitions towards modernization and may also shape its goals.

Development connotes, implicitly if not explicitly, a conception of social change, for development is nothing but an aspect of social change. But to be of developmental value, changes must be purposive and directional. The overriding questing will be changes for what ends. To answer this question we require values and ethics. "Development is inevitably treated as a normative concept... To pretend otherwise is just to hide one's value judgment."²⁸ When we talk of development in broad terms without reference to any particular aspects such as economic, material or political we invoke an ultimate, not an intermediate or conditional standard of value. As Denis Goulet has said that "Economic, institutional, and political modernization is desirable to whatever degree it accords with or promises to be useful for obtaining the values held by a given civilization."²⁹ We want to increase material welfare and to evolve such a socio-political system as will lead to the nearer or fuller realization of a state of being which conforms, not only with our desires, but also with our conception of desirable. So development has in the last analysis a social objective and requires a system of values and normative/ethical criteria on the basis of which all kinds of social changes, economic considerations and decisions can be weighed. In other words, development "process images of the good society, prescriptions for obtaining it, and symbols for generating enthusiastic allegiance to it."³⁰

In the last two centuries religion in the West has played no genuine determinative role in the development of modern society. But T. O'Dea thinks that social-psychological situations arising out of technological development make it more and more important for western men to occupy themselves again with those problems of man's ultimate

²⁸ Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development." This paper was presented at the 11th world conference of the Society for International Development, on the theme Challenges to Prevalent Ideas on Development, which met in New Delhi, November 14-17, 1969, under the title Challenges to Development Theories and Strategies, pp. 1-2.

²⁹ Denis Goulet, "That Third World," *The Centre Magazine*, 1:6 (September 1968), p. 49.

³⁰ Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in Theory of Development* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 19.

meaning which are the concern of religion.³¹ Religious tradition is a “stimulant to moral judgment and self-discipline rather than an opiate. It establishes contact between the recipient and the sacred values of his life in society.”³² For the majority Muslims in Bangladesh, their conception of the desirable is largely formed by Islamic ethical values. According to Iqbal, “The sense of Tuhid (unity of God) as a working idea of equality, solidarity and freedom... The state from the Islamic standpoint is an endeavour to transform these ideals into space time process, an aspiration to realize them in definite human organization.”³³

Social changes and government development efforts will appear meaningful to the people of Bangladesh if these contribute to the gradual evolution of society based on traditional values of equality, justice, freedom and dignity and humanism. So the models and goals of development and change in Bangladesh need to be formed within the frame-work of our traditional, ethical and cultural values to gain mass support, active participation and co-operation to government’s programmes and activities. “The history of independent nations has made it clear that unless the new goals are related to prevailing notions, attitudes and values, it is almost impossible to mobilize broad sectors of our transitional societies.”³⁴ Notions of development and modernization expressed within the framework of traditional values have a valuable ideological i.e. legitimating function in relation to new economic, social and political activities.³⁵ Moreover, as Foster says “innovation to be successful, requires among other things a supporting social structure onto which it can be grafted. This simply means that in all societies traditional institutions have recognized role. If new forms can be integrated or associated with these traditional roles, they have a better chance of being accepted than if there is nothing to tie to.”³⁶ We

³¹ Thomas F. O’Dea, “Three Faces of Western Man,” *The Center Magazine*, 2:3 (May 1969), p. 68.

³² Edward Shils, “Tradition and Liberty: Antinomy and Interdependence,” *Ethics*, 48:3 (1958), p. 159.

³³ Quoted by Ayub Khan, “Pakistan Perspective,” in *Pakistan Anthology* (Karachi: Pakistan Publication, 1961), P. 2

³⁴ Soedjatmoko, “Traditional Values and the Development Process,” *Development Digest*, 9:1 (January 1971), p.48

³⁵ Henry Bernstein, “Modernizing Theory and the Sociological Study of Development,” *The Journal of Studies*, 7:2 (January 1971), p. 150

³⁶ G. Foster, *Traditional Culture*, op. cit., p. 162

are not unaware of the fact that the traditional norms and relationships may act in some cases as impediments to rather than as promoter of development in society. It is difficult to say which of the two impacts (impediment or promoter of change) will be dominant in society. The precise determination of this impact probably depends upon the overall ideology of a society and particularly the character and degree of traditionalism implicit in this ideology. However, we may argue that it is not tradition and religion as such, but the nature of a particular tradition/religion, its form, direction and its ability to accommodate change which helps or hampers development and modernity. So it is our contention that traditional religious and cultural values can play a positively significant role in promoting and facilitating development. In adopting this position, we are emphatically not attempting to argue that traditionalism in its pristine state contain within itself all the potentialities, components and ingredients which are necessary for the transformation of a society towards development and modernity. Our point is that we should not destroy everything that is traditional but rather we should build on what is there, and to supplement existing arrangements where necessary. We think that in the constant interaction between tradition and the demands of new life both will help to shape and reshape one another. The notion of tradition-modernity dichotomy needs to be replaced by that of tradition-modernity continuum.

What is Development?

Now let us discuss and analyse the concept of 'development' which has been used for the most part as a rubber concept being stretched and moulded for the purposes at hand. As J. G. Gunnell has observed that "Despite the burgeoning literature on development... there remains considerable confusion about the meaning of the term and the appropriateness of the diverse models which have been recommended for ordering the elusive phenomena the word suggests."³⁷ In addition to the confusion and vagueness regarding the meaning of development, there is the suggestion frequently made sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly, that modernity/development pertains to those economic, social, technological and political characteristics prevalent in a number of advanced western societies and in close proximity to

³⁷ John G. Gunnell, "Development, Social Change and Time," D Waldo (e.), *Temporal Dimensions of Development Administration* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1970), p. 48.

this, is the suggestion that modernity represents a single, unilinear and final state of affairs.³⁸ Thus according to Eisenstadt “historically, modernization is the process of change towards those types of social, economic and political systems that have developed in West Europe and North America from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth...”³⁹ Sometimes development has been defined mainly in terms of industrialization. Milton Esman says “Development denotes a major societal transformation, a change in system states, along the continuum from present and pastoral to industrial organization.”⁴⁰ To many modernizing leaders, industrialization has become both the means and the symbol of modernity. Some people regard the achievement of political and economic independence as development. Still others regard enlightenment and science as essential ingredients of development and modernity. According to A. Comte, positivism/reason as applied to human affairs is the foundation of development. Comte thinks that human society progresses from Theological to Metaphysical stage and finally to positive stage.⁴¹

Max Weber would define development as ever increasing rationality in the affairs to human life and social relationship. Sociologists and anthropologists look upon development primarily in terms of differentiation of role and function. The modernity of a system is a function of the extent of which structural differentiation have taken place. For example, Durkheim emphasized on the preeminent importance of division of labour as the criteria of development. Durkheim’s typology of society based on ‘mechanical solidarity’ and ‘organic solidarity’ is formulated on the basis of how the division of labour had progressed.⁴² Some years before the publication of Durkheim’s ‘The Division of Labor,’ a comparable model, assuming

³⁸ J. P. Nettl and R. Robertson, “Industrialization, Development or Modernity,” *The British Journal of Sociology*, 18:3 (September 1966), p. 281.

³⁹ S.N. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), p. 1.

⁴⁰ Milton Esman, “The Politics of Development Administration,” John D. Montgomery and W. J. Siffin (eds.), *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), P. 59.

⁴¹ Auguste Comte, “The Progress of Civilization through Three States,” A. Etzioni and E. Etzioni (eds.), *Social Change* (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1964).

⁴² Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (Glencoe III, : The Free Press, 1949)

the same direction of development, was presented by F. Tonnies who distinguished community like *Gemeinschaft* and corporate like *Gesellschaft* types of society. The thinking and writings of early social thinkers and sociologists like Comte, Durkheim, Tonnies, etc. were greatly dominated by the general theory of social evolution. But the modern scholars who have dealt with the concept of development make no such appeal to any general social theory. Today development is used primarily to refer to two kinds of societies such as developed and undeveloped.⁴³ For example, Talcott Parsons has focused attention on important contrasting features of developed and undeveloped societies in this polarities of achievement versus ascription, universalism versus particularism and specificity versus diffuseness.⁴⁴ Some writers see development and modernization primarily in terms of man's application of technology to control natural and social environment. According to Mr. M. J. Levy "a society will be considered more or less modernized to the extent that its members use inanimate sources of power and/or use tools to multiply the effects of their efforts."⁴⁵ Economists tend to consider modernization and development primarily in terms of economic growth. But to many people such development as mechanization, industrialization, rationalization, economic growth and urbanization etc. do not have much meaning and significance while they come across with such phenomena in society as value crises, cultural alienation and lack of solidarity, spiritual vacuum and breakdown in morals and manners.

Development – a Multi-dimensional Concept

So we are now in need of formulation a broader concept of overall development fulfilling the material and spiritual needs and aspiration of people. Development be viewed as multi-dimensional rather than completely considering it in terms of one dimension– be it political, economic or cultural. In a developing country like Bangladesh, India and Pakistan where the government has been playing the major role in bringing change and development in a planned way, there is more need

⁴³ F. X. Sutton's *Agricultural Rural Society and Industrial Urban Society: Riggs Agraria and Industria and Redfield's Folk Society and Urban Secular Society* are a few examples of this approach.

⁴⁴ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1951), p. 58

⁴⁵ Marion J. Levy, *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*, Vol. 1 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 11

to be cautious on the part of the government in interpreting the meaning of development lest its efforts bring the society to the same stream leading to the 'one-dimensional society' and transform the individual into 'one-dimensional man' as experienced by the advanced industrial society.⁴⁶ Thus our conceptualization of 'multi-dimensional' and 'overall' development underlines the creation of those values, socio-economic systems, institutions and incentives which will provide people greater meaning and purpose to life and will assure reasonable satisfaction of basic physiological, psychological and aesthetic needs to all members of society irrespective of race, colour and religion, as well as enable them to solve problems and sustain change while having increased control over environment, over themselves and over their own political destiny.

The present bureaucratic elite and the greater number of political elite—the product of socio-educational system evolved during the colonial regime and alienated from the traditional society of the masses tend to view development along the traditional classical western model of industrialization and urbanization. What Mills said in a symposium in Brazil about 'obstacles to development' is meaningful here:

The answer for you is not available in historical Europe or in contemporary North America or in Soviet Russia. Whether it is available among you, I do not know, Perhaps it is good that you encounter obstacles to those kinds of development. My own hope is that you would liberate your cultural imaginations from all these other models... and think freely upon what you really want.⁴⁷

We think that without creative synthesis of the borrowed elements, an attempt at modernization through mere imitation of the 'image' of any developed country will not generate the basic motives toward development and innovative social change. As rightly observed by Inayatullah "imitation does not and cannot release the creative energy in the imitator. It only perpetuates his dependence on the model."⁴⁸ In developing countries an inventive and innovative approach is desirable,

⁴⁶ Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).

⁴⁷ C. Wright Mills, *Power, Politics, and People* (New York; Ballantine Books, 1963), p. 156

⁴⁸ Inayatullah, "Toward a Non-Western Model of Development," Daniel Lerner (ed.), *Communication and Change in Developing Countries* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 102.

since each socio-cultural systems to be transformed has its peculiar needs and special characteristics. Moreover, the question raised by Soedjatmoko is very pertinent here. He asks “Do not the cultural crisis in which the industrial and technologically advanced nations find themselves— whatever their ideology- their spiritual malaise and their high ecological cost raise the question whether Asian development should not search for different directions, based on a different balance between man and nature, man and society, man and technology and man and the supernatural?”⁴⁹ We should raise the question of the desirability and possibility of alternative ‘image’ of development and modernization which could be realized at a lower human and ecological cost and which would be more satisfying to the spiritual, intellectual, material, and aesthetic needs of man in contemporary society. The knowledge of what has happened in history, of what is available from the socio-economic and political, administrative experience of the highly advanced countries, and of what is transferable from the modern science and technological fields, provide opportunities for new possibilities. As Professor Alberto Guerreiro Ramos says “history always presents us an open horizon of multiple possibilities... The task of social science is to discover the horizon of its possibilities in order to contribute to human participation in the making of history and to the conscious transformation of contemporary societies.”⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Soedjatmoka, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵⁰ Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, “Modernization: Towards a Possibility Model,” W. A. Beling and G. O. Totten (eds.), *Developing Nations: Quest for a Model* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1970), p. 38.

Chapter V

Role of Intellectual in National Development

Entrepreneur has been singled out as the hero of development, particularly of economic development. Entrepreneurs have received attention both by economists and historians since Schumpeter. But such single-minded attention on the entrepreneur, as Friedmann rightly says “has led to oversight of at least one major protagonist of change – the intellectual.”¹ The lack of study on the role and task of the intellectual in relation to social change and development is remarkable. There are few works in the existing literature that focus attention specially to the study of the role of intellectuals in building up a new order of society.

Intellectuals are important, according to Coser, because they enrich human culture by generating new ideas. Coser writes “without intellectuals to challenge the established routines and the traditions of the eternal yesterday – even while they maintain standards and articulate new demands– our culture would soon be a dead culture.”² Talcott Parsons,³ D. Lerner, I. D. Pool, G. K. Schuller,⁴ E. Shils,⁵ and other sociologists hold a similar view. They look upon intellectuals as persons who create and maintain the important symbols for the society. Intellectuals critically analyse the existing social system and provides a vision of a more desirable tomorrow. The basic characteristic of intellectual, as Paul Baran suggests, is his concern to interconnect things in the totality of the historical process and the social system in which he lives.⁶ Intellectualism involves objectivity, moderation and

¹ John Friedmann, “Intellectuals in Developing Societies,” *Kyklos*, 13 (November 1960), p. 514

² Lewis A. Coser, *Men of Ideas* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. X

³ Talcott Parsons, “The Intellectual: A Social Role Category,” Philip Rieff (ed.), *On Intellectuals* (New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1969)

⁴ D. Lerner, I. D. Pool and G. K. Schuller, “The Nazi Elite,” H. D. Laswell and D. Lerner (eds.) *World Revolutionary Elites* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1965)

⁵ Edward Shils, “The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis,” P. Rieff, op. cit.

⁶ Paul A. Baran, “The commitment of the Intellectual,” *Monthly Review*, 16 (March 1965), p. 238.

reasoned conclusions based on dispassionate analysis. Intellectuals are persons with an unusual sensitivity to ideals, an uncommon reflectiveness about the nature of the universe, and the rules and norms which regulate their society.

Now the question arises who are the intellectuals? According to Michels, intellectuals are those who are “vocationally concerned with things of the mind”⁷ J. K. Kautsky defines new nation’s intellectuals as “persons with advanced standing in the humanities, sciences, and social sciences. However, it also includes all those natives in underdeveloped countries who have, through contacts afforded by colonialism become aware of the world beyond their own culture area, and have obtained an advanced education appropriate to an industrial country, or who are at present students obtaining such an education.”⁸ Thus doctors, lawyers, scientists, teachers, economists, editors, military officers, poets, philosophers, authors, civil servants and students etc. – all belong to the class of intellectuals.

Intellectual and Social transformation

There are many aspects of the context in which intellectuals function: political, non-political and socio-cultural context. The political context is the one in which intellectuals directly participate and are involved in politics. In the developing countries politics and political activities have gained the primary importance. Socio-cultural area has received least attention from the intellectual. The present study will focus on the role of intellectuals in the socio-cultural context rather than the political. This chapter is about what roles and contributions intellectuals can play in transforming societies of the Indian subcontinent particularly of Bangladesh towards development and modernity.

In the previous chapter we have argued that tradition and modernity are to be considered in a continuum rather than in terms of a dichotomous relationship and that by sneering at everything that is traditional and by mere blind imitation of developmental models of the advanced nations, Bangladesh would not be able to mitigate the existing developmental problems. For a country whose forms of

⁷ Robert Michels, “Intellectuals,” *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: the Macmillan Company, Vol. 8, 1932), p. 118

⁸ John H. Kautsky, *Political Change in Underdeveloping Countries* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 44-45

production and exchange are underdeveloped, according to Guy Barbichon, the decision by its rulers to adopt the advanced nation's developmental models is certainly a dangerous one, in so far as the model may be unrealistic, remote or less satisfactory⁹. Moreover, if we destroy the traditional social ethos and moral values without developing a new social morality acceptable to people, the result will be in the words of Friedmann, "a disjunction of the social will; a certain aimlessness; a lack of stability in social institutions; and a widespread shunning of responsibilities beyond those to oneself and one's immediate family."¹⁰ As Merrill has shown in his studies of the Maori, a rapid disintegration of the traditional life may give rise to general social disorganization, instability and mob mentality.¹¹ Such a social situation provides a fertile ground for the emergence of a totalitarian and dictatorial political regime.

No doubt, from the point of view economic development and modernity, some elements of the traditional culture appear to be outmoded and unworkable. The intellectual of the developing societies are now faced with the following choices.¹²

1. Conscious rejection of modernization, with a view to preserving the traditional culture;
2. Conscious rejection of the traditional ways of life with a view to accepting an alien model of modernization;
3. Deliberate regulation of the content, direction and speed of social change and development, with a view to preserving certain specified elements of the traditional culture;
4. Deliberate regulation of the components of the traditional culture with a purpose of attaining certain specific developmental goals.

We think that easy and smooth road to our development and modernization lies in the revitalization and reinterpretation of the traditional culture according to the spirit of the times as well as in the

⁹ Guy Barbichon, "Innovation or Conformity," *International Social Science Journal*, 20:3 (1968), p. 416

¹⁰ J. Friedmann, *op. cit.*, p. 531

¹¹ Robert S. Merrill, "Some Social and Cultural Influences on Economic Growth: The Case of the Maori," *Journal of Economic History*, XIV (1965)

¹² S.C. Dube, "Formulating the Goals of Change," B. Kuppuswamy and Prayag Mehta (eds.), *Some Aspects of Social Change in India* (Delhi: Sterling Publishers Ltd., 1968), p. 48

light of new modern knowledge technology and experience. The last two, of the four choices mentioned above, seem to be more beneficial for the countries in the Indian subcontinent. Thus the issue before the intellectual is not so much that of overcoming and displacing totally tradition but of finding ways and means of synthesizing and blending tradition and new ideas, technology and knowledge. Religion which is predominant in traditional society will have to absorb and digest the new perspectives and elements that come with new technological and socio-economic forces without loss of its essential vision and integrity. Intellectual efforts should be directed to preservation of what is of great value in Bengali culture, its philosophical and religious mystical tradition and to develop a humane and democratic political system with a view to stimulating afresh our spiritual, philosophical and moral life and providing a sound material base for people to pursue such higher pursuits. So the task facing the intellectual is to find out what is good in the traditional culture and how this can be preserved while making use of modern knowledge and technological development as a means to a better life.

Hu Shih, a modern Chinese scholar has indicated the significant role the intellectual in the developing societies may play when he says:

In its positive aspect, we make only one proposition regarding our attitude toward the old learning and thought, that is, to reorganize the national heritage. To reorganize the national heritage means finding order out of chaos, finding the relations of cause and effect out of confusion, find a real significance out of absurdities and fantasies and finding true value out of dogmatism and superstition... From my personal observations, the future tendency of the New Thought should be to lay emphasis on the study of problems important to life and society, and to carry out the task of introducing new academic theories through studies of these problems... what is the sole aim of the New Thought. It is to recreate civilization.¹³

In Bangladesh, sociologists and other intellectuals, in our opinion should play a dual role – the role of a 'social critic' and that of a 'social engineer'. Sociologists and all intellectuals must ponder, criticize, analyse, interpret, theorize and idealize. Sociologists will be a 'social

¹³ Hu Shih, "the Significance of the New Thought," Ssu-yu-Teng and John K. Fairbank (eds.), *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1893-1923* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1954), p. 525.

critic' in the sense that they would scientifically analyse social changes with reference to certain fundamental values and principles and also must seek to find out in the traditional order what is 'essential' and what is 'non-essential,' what is 'living' and what is 'dead' in view of our changing social needs and conditions. Once positive elements in traditional culture are identified sociologists and anthropologists must find ways and means of emphasizing them in appropriate modern form. Similarly, traditional elements which have been found inimical to change and development efforts should be made to find out as to how they can be made of diminishing importance.

Sociologists will be a 'social engineer' in the sense that they provide guidance, insight, and knowledge as to how to recast and build our organizational and institutional set-up to satisfy the needs and demands of the modern technological age. Sociologists and other intellectuals are to restructure our sense of reality— to add new dimensions to life by engaging in what Dewey called social reconstruction which involves creation and introduction of new values. According to Friedmann in the developing nations the new values should include the following categories:

1. That constant striving is the summum bonum of existence and that the result of such striving is progress infinitely extended into the future;
2. That environment can be successfully mastered and turned to man's advantage through the practice of science and scientific technology;
3. That achievement in performance is a major standard of practical as well as moral excellence;
4. That social and political equality is either a natural right or an historical inevitability;
5. That suffrage should be extended to all adult persons possessing minimum qualifications, and that participation in at least some of the processes of governing a nation is a right no less no less than an obligation of each citizen.¹⁴

Sociologists and other intellectuals in playing both the roles – 'social critic' and 'social engineer' must evaluate social changes and institutional and organizational changes in terms of whether these changes give human life a sense of direction greater measure of meaning and a sense of social purpose, consciousness and solidarity. And the proper procedure for expanding socio-political experience and

¹⁴ J. Friedmann, op. cit., p. 526

value-creation will be necessarily experimental and discursive, for we arrive at unknown, unnamed land by discoursing. But the intellectual must be aware of the fact that such “a reality-creating venture is of value to the extent that without destroying self-awareness, it leads men toward increasing complex realms of being, freeing them to be progressively more playful and political, more active and alive.”¹⁵

Intellectuals role of reality-creation also involves creation of a sense of national cultural identity (self-image) and formulation of an ideology particularly of economic development. Intellectuals will have to ask questions like – what is unique about us as a nation? What is our destiny as Bengalis, Indians and Pakistanis? The creation of a national self-image involves the gradual discovery of our cultural assets and using it as a basis for stimulating a truly national consciousness among people. National integration and consciousness play an essential role in channeling people’s efforts an energy towards development of society. But creation of a distinct national cultural identity and self-images is not easy. The quandary of modern intellectuals in developing nations becomes very great indeed when their country is being overwhelmed by cultural influences from a more powerful neighbour.

Formulation of an ideology is another way in which intellectuals can contribute to socio-economic and political change and development. Such ideology is important because “wholesale social transformation, especially where it is to be achieved with great rapidity, cannot occur without an explanation and a broad scale justification of what is happening, expressed in symbols that claim to be universally valid.”¹⁶ We tend to agree with Soedjatmoko who sees an inadequacy of nationalism alone to become the noetic integrator and canalizer of motivations in the developing area.¹⁷ The limited capacity of secular ideologies to mobilize motivational forces is conditioned by the inexorable relationship of cultural values and attitudes in our society with the religious beliefs. So as E. Shils observes “When everything has been said and done, it is only a new religious impulse within the religion concerned that can give the process of reorientation and redirection a new and real vitality.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Henry S. Kariel, “Creating Political Reality,” *American Political Science Review*, 64:4 (December 1970), p. 1095

¹⁶ J. Friedmann, *op. cit.*, p. 532

¹⁷ Soedjatmoko, “Cultural Motivation to Progress,” Robert N. Bellah (ed.), *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia* (New York: The Free Press, 1965)

¹⁸ Edward Shils, “The Concentration and Dispersion of Charism, Their Bearing on Economic Policy in an Underdeveloped country,” *World Politics*, 11:1 (October 1958), p. 12

A main thrust of Weber's work was that religion (Protestantism) played a significant role in making development possible in the West, that the basic structure of the Western cultural mentality owed its foundation and later its sustenance to religion, and that the Western ideas and feelings relating to what man is and what he ought to be doing are conditioned by religion. Western ideology of economic development preaches the doctrine of the unlimited expansion of nation's capacities for production and consumption. According to this doctrine, happiness consists in doing only: it is the ethic of work that makes existence meaningful. Thus examined closely, the ideology of unlimited expansion turns out to be simply a logical extension of the Protestant/Calvinist doctrine of salvation through works.¹⁹ We think that intellectuals in Bangladesh will have to carve out a developmental ideology within their religion to influence the masses towards achieving developmental goals. What we suggest is that genuine development in Bangladesh would appear to involve not only reducing the conservative role and inhibiting consequences of religion but also involve a renewed development, reinterpretation, revitalization and reconstruction of religion as central and strategic to the entire process of social transformation and development.

Since science is now the 'growing tip' of modern civilization, intellectuals in developing societies will have to secure for science and technology a rightful place among the values of the traditional culture. "This will need accepting European science, but liberating it from its premises of materialism and providing for it new premises of a spiritual view of life from traditional culture. This is not difficult to do... (without looking upon nature as self-existent) if nature, phenomena that it is, is recognized as an aspect, a manifestation of the spirit... science then no longer competes with religion, but takes up a rightful place in the scheme of total life. Investigation of nature then becomes a pursuit of the spirit."²⁰ Such reorientation of the traditional culture is indispensable in order to make Bangladesh a modern progressive society. Moreover, we need a prophet, as A. E. Meyer observes, "of a 'Brave New World,' not like Huxley's but one that is really brave and really new. But before these geniuses can appear upon the scene, the experts in the natural and social sciences, together with

¹⁹ J. Friedmann, *op. cit.*, p. 534

²⁰ Indra Sen, "Traditional Culture and Industrialization in South India," *Traditional Cultures in South-East Asia* (Madras: Orient Longmans' 1958), p. 49

the humanists, must lay the ground work by the same cooperative endeavour that animated the various scientific experts who split the atom. In short, we must achieve a humanism that is truly scientific and a science that is truly humane.²¹

The developing societies like Bangladesh, Pakistan and India need to learn and adopt from the advanced countries many ideas and techniques particularly its science and technology, management and organizational skills and liberal democratic philosophy. The intellectual has a role to perform in such transferrance of ideas and skills from the advanced nations to the developing nations. Intellectuals will serve more than merely a transmitter of ideas and knowledge. They will interpret them and also apply them to solve specific problems of their country. Milton Singer has developed the notion of 'cultural brokers'- (native intellectuals) which is appropriate here. Singer defines the broker as "a new type of professional intellectual... who stands as – tride the boundaries of the cultural encounter, mediating alien cultural influences to the natives and interpreting the indigenous culture to the foreigners."²² The Task of the intellectual, then, is to see through all great cultures and ideologies of the world and to attain the highest possible synthesis among them.

We hold the view that the intellectual has a central role to play in the developmental process of the country. Intellectuals are to be vitally concerned with critical analysis and elaboration of the goals of development. They have to project a positive image of New Bangladesh– of what the nation desires to be, and of what it should be. They must clarify the basic issues confronting the society. They must also analyse development process, as Goulet suggests, "from the inside and 'isolate,' as a chemist isolates an element in a compound, the values and counter-values latent in those processes."²³ Thus the task of intellectuals is to define the problems, formulate the goals and indicate the alternative means/choices that can be made for attaining developmental objectives. Another important task of the intellectuals in

²¹ Agnes E. Meyer, Education for a New Morality, Cited in Harold Taylor's "The Intellectual in Action," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, 14:9 (November 1958), p. 373

²² Milton Singer (ed.), Traditional India: Structure and Change (Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1959), p. 141

²³ Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development (New York: Antheneum, 1971), p. 12

relation to development is that they are to create new system of rewards and sanctions and also prepare guidelines for new behavioural pattern which are essential to different aspects of development process.

Role of Academic Intellectual

Bangladesh is in the process of transition. Many social changes have taken place. But how many of us know the actual nature and direction of change. Where is Bangladesh society moving? Is the direction in which the country is moving a desirable one? Where do we stand and are going with respect to our values and goals? What are the value profiles of various groups and communities? What are the expectations and response patterns of the various groups? What changes are coming first? How are these changes affecting our lives? Only when we will realize the ways in which changes are taking place in society, the factors producing these changes and the speed with which such changes are occurring, can we develop balanced judgment and policies directed to change and development. The social scientist can play a significant role particularly by undertaking research works to throw some light on the questions raised above. From the point of view of above requirement we may broadly identify three different levels where research will be essential. For instance, research at the first level, may be concerned with the general nature and problem of social changes taking place in Bangladesh society; its social and psychological implications and the forces favouring as well as resisting these changes. Research at this level to be primarily directed to gain a clearer insight and understanding the character and scope of social changes rather than towards solving immediate practical and concrete problems. Since in Bangladesh such research is not sufficiently developed the government should urge social scientists to undertake it and it should also encourage the creation of professional research working groups by providing special funds to finance research works.

Research at the second level may be concerned with specific policy problems. Governments in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan are engaged in different fields like education, family planning, industrialization, town planning, public health, rural development. Research at this level will be directed towards development of an appropriate policy in the developmental areas keeping in view the ultimate socio-economic objectives and moral philosophy of the nation along with other variables. The social scientist may help resolve such broad and general policy issues as:

- I. What is the optimum pace at which a specific type of planned change may be implemented?
- II. What is the optimum strategy of decision making in determining the targets and phasing planned change.
- III. What are the optimum patterns of interpersonal relationships, role-structures, and communication nets among the planners, the bureaucratic implementers (official change agent), and the client system?
- IV. What are the optimum weightages and priorities for various parameters of planned change designed to be implemented in a particular community at a particular period of time?
- V. What can be done to bring about attitudes of commitment to planned targets of change, both in the official change – agents as well as in the client system?²⁴

If government agencies or government controlled institutions carry such research they may be exposed to the risk of becoming involved in the political and administrative difficulties if the findings were embarrassing to certain political and administrative groups, or of the development of a perhaps unconscious inclination to avoid research and conclusions which might displease certain political groups and administrative sectors. So independent research institutes, universities, colleges having collaboration with policy-makers may be best suited to carry such research.

Research at the third level relates to the practical application of general policy such as systematic evaluation of the results of a certain policy and programme either in administrative units, region or in the whole country. Such research will reveal to what extent a certain programme/policy has succeeded or failed in achieving its objectives and factors hindering its effective implementation and also overall results of a particular policy/programme. In short, such research will indicate where the plans went wrong and what the planners can possibly do in order to avoid such errors. Evaluation and criticism must be undertaken by independent agencies within the country. As E. Shils has rightly observed “Since so many of the new countries wish to move in a more or less socialistic direction, the criticism which the competitive market and bankruptcy provide in the system of private

²⁴ S.L.B. Bharadwaj, “Planned Social Change,” B. Kuppaswamy and P. Mehta (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106

capitalism cannot be effective. Hence, detailed and constructive criticism from outside the government – in other words, an effective public opinion – is an imperative condition of sound and not merely quantitative economic progress.”²⁵ We consider that the intellectual in general and social scientist, in particular, has an important role to play in evaluating the implementation and attainments of planned change and overall operations of government. For instance, social scientist may undertake study to find out whether and how far government’s economic development policies and programmes fulfill our values of social justice, welfare and equity– the idealism to which Bangladesh is committed. The writings and views of academic and other intellectuals in the form of monographs, books, journal articles and newspaper and periodical articles, etc. can greatly contribute to the guidance and to the critical analysis and appreciation of various governmental activities. It may be pointed out here that although formal occasional involvement of capable university intellectuals as advisors and consultants in government administration can bring a more detached and broader perspective, it cannot be a substitute for above forms of expression of views. Unfortunately, in many developing countries, government officials do not learn to benefit from criticism coming from academic intellectuals; instead they tend to maintain a secretiveness and touchiness which injures efficiency in economic life and political democracy.

The social scientist may contribute to the training of the personnel needed for the national developmental activities. Some of the knowledge and skills required of the personnel for effective participation in socio-economic development are as follows:

- I. cultural sensitivity;
- II. interpersonal and human relations skills;
- III. technical knowledge and Skills;
- IV. planning of change, change process, sources of resistance to change, change strategies;
- v. effective communication.

Social scientists can provide training in most of the above areas.

²⁵ Edward Shils, “The Intellectual, Public Opinion and Economic Development,” *World Politics*, 10 (January 1958), p. 241

Role of Administrative Intellectual

Of special importance to us is the role of the intellectual in the administration of the country— conceptualization of government as catalyst of social change and development makes it almost imperative to redefine the role and function of civil servants in society. E. Shils has observed that “perhaps never before in world history have intellectuals had such responsibilities and opportunities for the exercise of authority and creativity with the central institutions of their own societies.”²⁶ The officials and administrators who are being called upon to implement national development plans would have to assume an active role of leadership and also have to function as innovators and agents of change in society. This has called for a significant departure from the traditional view of the civil servant’s role and function in the administration of the Indian subcontinent. The civil servants in Bangladesh and other developing countries must change over from a ‘bureaucratic’ to an active ‘social service’ and ‘change-agent role.’

Administrator will be required to engage himself consciously and directly/indirectly in the task of bringing about social change and development either by initiating policies and decisions aiming at change and development or implementing change and development programmes. One of the consequences of such redefinition of the role of administrator will be to transform the administrator from a desk-worker to a field worker; from a person dealing primarily with papers and law and order to a person who has now more directly to deal with human beings and social services. Public officials now will have to assume such new roles as business executive, dispenser of social services, administrator of economic policy, planner and industrial manager. Assumption of these new roles demands a fundamental change in the outlook of the civil servant towards their work. In the new role and according to the new welfare-state philosophy, they were not to feel and work like ‘bureaucrats’ and mercenaries, but as vital part of a great national transformation. Individual and group achievements of officials are to be evaluated not by impressive official reports and records, but by the resulting benefits at the grass-roots levels. Formulation and implementation of developmental works is not to be considered as a mere routine duty, it must be taken up with a sense of missionary zeal and dedication. The officials should serve the

²⁶ Edward Shils, “The Intellectuals, Public Opinion and Economic Development,” *ibid*, p. 235

people and be devoted to the masses, their education and socio-economic welfare rather than reaching out to seek fame, power, material gain, position and limelight. It may be pointed out here that the future of democracy in the Indian subcontinent and the success of the endeavours which the government has been making in achieving the goal of socio-economic equality and development will depend not merely on the wisdom of the legislators, but on the honesty, the efficiency, dedication and incorruptible character of administrators.

But it is no exaggeration to say that under the pressure of the bureaucratic structure and environment most of the new entrants in the superior civil service gradually give up their prior intellectual orientation and commitments acquired earlier as a student and tend to develop personality and behavioural characteristics more in line with bureaucratic orientation and values which emphasize on conformity, stability, hierarchical status, power, etc. Thus once an intellectual enters into the government bureaucratic structure he either adapts to the demands of the bureaucratic environment and loses his qualities of intellectualism (concern for improving society through critical analysis, concern for new ideas and values, concern for generally) or soon becomes disillusioned with bureaucratic structure and environment and leaves it.

It is very difficult to change the established bureaucratic norms and patterns of civil servants' thinking and action in a short time, but a beginning towards that end must be made. All public administration training programmes, conferences, seminars, development and public administration literature must emphasize the necessity of such a change. The great challenge facing the developing countries is to design new organization structure which will not only attract individuals with great intellectualism but will also stimulate creativity and wide-ranging explorations.

Development projects and programmes to be successful need someone with entrepreneurial skills both at its planning and implementation stage. Skills required of public officials are complex. They should be able, as J. A. Ponsioen outlines:

1. to recognize the useful elements in complex situations. This means they should be able to analyze practical situations...;
2. to discover needs which are not yet satisfied;

3. to oversee complex systems of means and tools needed to satisfy the defined needs; they need a capacity of synthesis and combination;
4. to define which means and tools are found in the situations at hand and which means and tools have to be added from elsewhere;
5. to gain co-operation of those who dispose of these present and foreign means and tools; this is a capacity to build good human relations;
6. to organize this co-operation so as to gear it to the common purpose. This is the capacity of management.²⁷

The greatest challenge facing the civil servants particularly developmental planners is the task of evolving an administrative structure that would be equal to the task of fulfilling the goals and objectives of development. In this connection the civil servants will have to evaluate critically the existing administrative system of the country and appraise its suitability for carrying out government's new developmental action programmes. The officials will have to develop new operational principles, new criteria of effectiveness, efficiency more in keeping with the needs and requirements of a democratic welfare state. The most significant change necessary in this sphere is switching-over from authoritarian methods to democratic methods of work. This involves inner democratization of the administration, and the replacement of the traditional paternalistic attitude to problems of national welfare by a more positive philosophy of partnership between the people and the government. Democratic method of operation requires that people associated with an organization must work as a team. This also necessitates that the traditional concept of authoritarian 'boss-subordinate' relationship must yield to the new concept of cooperative and democratic relationship among the employees of the organization. The role of superior officials and civil servants is not to oversee and inspect the work of their subordinates but to work along with them to solve the practical problems and difficulties. To appreciate each employees' problems and difficulties and to exchange ideas and experience among the employees, discussions and consultation will have to be used increasingly in the organization.

²⁷ J. A. Ponsioen, *National Development: A Sociological Contribution* (The Hague: Mouton 1968), p. 213.

Chapter VI

Developmental Planning: Government, Education and Development

Mere slogans and speeches by political leaders are not sufficient to bring about development. Actions based on sound social planning are necessary to achieve rapid development in society. To put it other way, deliberate social guidance, manipulation will be necessary if we intend to bring about appropriate changes in our society at the appropriate time. This task brings us to the question of the role of social science knowledge and social engineering in bringing about planned changes in society. By social engineering we mean “the deliberate application of systematically accumulated knowledge and theory about the nature of man and his institutions for the purposes of influencing the behavior of man and his institutions.”¹ Unfortunately, there are people in Bangladesh both within and outside the administration who tend to think that societal control is neither possible nor beneficial. But the idea that men can control, guide and improve social life through intelligent planning has developed along with the development of sociology. Lester F. Ward was one of the earliest social scientists in America to state the fact that “the data and laws of social science are chiefly useful in promoting social betterment and finding a short cut or utopia, which can otherwise be reached only by the slow and wasteful methods of naturalistic evaluation.”² Ward’s basic contribution to sociology lies in his doctrine regarding the solution of social problems and maladjustment through government activity. He observed that government must be the chief instrument of control of the social process and in ‘social telesis’— conscious improvement of society. The contemporary debate has swung from change vs. non-change to the methods employed in controlling and directing forces in change.”³ In

¹ Donald N. Michael, “Technology and the Human Environment,” *Public Administration Review*, 28:1 (January-February 1968), p. 58.

² H.E. Barnes (ed.), *An Introduction to History of Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 188.

³ W. G. Bennis, K. D. Benne and R. Chin (eds.) *The Planning of Change* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), p. 1.

other words, the modal question has swung from should we seek to plan change to how to plan particular changes in particular settings and situations with a view to eliminating problems created by the lag between technology, knowledge and the non-material aspects of our culture and thereby paving the way for a better and richer human existence.

Our aim in this chapter is to suggest that in developing nations government has much to offer in analysing the problems of change and development and, also in helping bring it about, specially by a long-range educational strategy. While emphasizing on educational strategy, we do not underestimate role of other strategies.

Role of Government in Development

In Bangladesh the government has assumed major responsibility for development and social change. This is especially the case in Bangladesh where the legislature and local government councils tend to be weak, organized interest groups are just emerging, and the public sector commands the services of a large percentage of the educated personnel. As W.C. Neale cogently notes that in developing nations government has to undertake planning and execution of development works because there is nobody else to do this kind of responsibility. He writes "If left to local businessmen to come forward with projects to further the development programme, nobody comes forward. If left to local government authorities to take advantage of new opportunities provided by national government, local government authorities do nothing. If left to local economic organizations to create new projects in response to development plan, these organizations themselves do not bring forth projects, often because the organizations do not exist."⁴ Under the above circumstances the government seems to be the best, if not the only, agent which can activate in a coherent manner the many social, economic and political and technological changes involved in development. Thus in developing countries like Bangladesh, India and Pakistan government's heavy involvement in development results not necessarily from an ideological predilection but is the product of the objective situation.

⁴ Walter C. Neale, 'The Economy and Development Administration,' F.W. Riggs (ed.), *Frontiers of Development Administration* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1971), p. 334.

In view of government's critical role in development, administration and civil servants will have to be development-oriented rather than law and order-oriented. This conceptualization of administration as 'development administration' refers to the management of developmental programmes: to agricultural administration, public health administration, educational administration, community development and social welfare administration and the activation of economic development plans. To describe the concept in the words of E. W. Weidner, development administration is "the process of guiding an organization toward the achievement of development objectives. It is action oriented, and it places administration at the center in facilitating the attainment of development objectives."⁵ Development administration involves institution building which seeks to introduce new values, norms and patterns of action in keeping with the changing technological and functional requirements of the society.⁶ We need to know a lot more about the characteristics of an efficient and capable development administration.

Administrative functions as decision making, communication and control may take different forms in development administration a compared with traditional public administration. Structural looseness, integrative group membership (task force) and group problem-solving methods on the basis of interprofessional and interdisciplinary grouping are necessary for for the administration involved in innovation, change and development.⁷ In short, if government is to learn to solve problems it will have to develop new administrative machinery, structure and institutions and new administrative habit, processes in order to utilize all available knowledge, technology and to fulfill the desires, interests and aspirations of an new evolving social system.

If government is to identify, analyse and solve problems, public administration must bring into fusion all of the relevant available

⁵ Edward W. Weidner, *Technical Assistance in Public Administration Overseas: The Case for Development Administration* (Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1964), p. 200.

⁶ Milton J. Esman and Hans Blaise, "Institution Building Research: Some Guiding Concepts," *NIPA Journal*, 5:2 (June 1966).

⁷ Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 10:1 (June 1965), p.19.

knowledge and skills, public desires and political forces to evolve better and effective policies. It would not be beneficial for our society to relegate social scientists and other academic intellectuals to an observer's role and to deny them participation or leadership in forming policies and in influencing direction of social process and social changes. The government which fails to associate social scientists and intellectuals and men of knowledge and relies solely on administrators for policy-making hardly make much headway in this highly complex technological world. As a matter of fact, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and other intellectuals should be centrally involved in policy-making. In Bangladesh special institutes or centres geared not to research and knowledge –building per se, rather devoted to problem solving efforts may be created. Public officials may be deputed to the institute from time to time, while the institute's specialists may also spend time with relevant government agency thereby becoming oriented to the environment, conditions and constraints involved in problem solving. What institutional and organizational arrangements for collaboration between scientists, social scientist and intellectuals and civil servants and administrators are necessary to facilitate effective fusion and integration of knowledge and action in government are critical areas of more research and careful analysis in Public Administration discipline.

Education and Development

In Chapter III we have emphasized on the need of formulation of multi-dimensional and overall concept of development which underlines the creation of those values, socio-economic systems, institutions and incentives which will provide people greater meaning and purpose to life and will assure reasonable satisfaction of basic physiological, psychological and esthetic needs to all members of society, as well as enable them to solve problems and sustain change while having increased control over environment, over themselves and over their own political destiny.

To put it other way, 'Development is growth plus change; change in turn is social and cultural as well as economic and qualitative as well as quantitative.'⁸ Attainment of such development calls for new

⁸ United Nations, the United Nations Development Decade: Proposal on Action, Report of the Secretary General (New York: U.N., 1962), p. 3.

attitudes, values and social relationship. It requires new skills and knowledge to keep the society moving towards increasing development. Emphasis in Bangladesh and other developing areas needs to be heavily placed on the restructuring of conventional pattern of thought and conception, the making of a 'New Man' who would be compassionate, committed to intellectuality and predisposed to pragmatism and empiricism. The present writer believes that development and social change can best be achieved by giving prominence to men and human resources rather than 'things'.

Now the problem is how we develop the 'New Man' with new values, attitudes, and acquire new knowledge and skills that the modern society requires without discarding totally our cultural tradition and heritage. Education and training are considered to be the most effective instruments for modification of the content of men's minds and for reconstituting and developing a society. Education is the master determinant of all aspects of change and development. Education can endow people with knowledge, training, spirit of initiative and social responsibility which will enable them to cope efficiently, imaginatively and creatively with the problems of change and development. In short, education is the key that unlocks the door to development and modernization.⁹

Planning Education for Development

Most of emerging countries including the Indian subcontinent remained under foreign rule for many decades. It is no twisting of facts that the educational system that developed under the patronage of the colonial power served more the interest of the ruler than the ruled. True, the colonial powers established many schools, colleges and universities to disseminate modern knowledge. This was done in a very small way just to fulfill their needs of running the day to day administration of the country. Gary Cowan has ably analyzed the nature of British and French educational systems in Africa.¹⁰ The colonial system produced an educated elite that was able to replace the

⁹ F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 191.

¹⁰ L. Gray Cowan, 'British and French Education in Africa: A Critical Appraisal,' O Connell and Scanlon (eds.), *Education and Nation – Building in Africa* (New York; Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), pp. 178-199.

former administrators upon independence, but it did not produce the economic structure into which mass education could be integrated. The education system developed by the British was “meant to prepare the youth for government service, predominantly in the clerical cadres and was not oriented to the political, social or economic needs of an independent nation.”¹¹ Prior to World War I there was nominal technical, industrial or scientific education in India, and the little that was provided was limited in scope, in quality and in effectiveness.¹² The educational system in Bangladesh provides little scope for new experimentation and investigation. It is not oriented to preparing individuals for changes and for problem-solving which development and progress require. New nations need engineers, doctors, technicians, judges, managers, journalists, scientists to help society in solving problems and sustaining ever increasing changes. But most of the developing countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh suffer from a shortage of certain types of skills and knowledge while they have a surplus of other skills.

Leibenstein has examined this problems form a theoretical viewpoint.¹³ It is necessary for the developing countries to reorient and recast their whole educational system, keeping in view the changing situation of human life an society. The education and training needs of modern society are too diverse, too dynamic and often too expensive to be left to the informal arrangements or to chance. Government, therefore, has had to find way and means to produce and maintain a kind of working force needed to meet development demands. Hence human resource development and educational panning have been accepted as public policy in many developing countries including Bangladesh.

Education, Human Resources and Development

Broadly speaking development of human resources means increasing the knowledge, skills and capacities of all the people of the society. In

¹¹ Government of Pakistan, Proposal for a New Educational policy (Islamabad: Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 1969), p. 1.

¹² Robert I. Crane, ‘Technical Education and Economic Development in India Before World War I.’ C.A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman (eds.), Education and Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1963), p. 167.

¹³ Theoretical Foray,” C.A Anderson and M. j. Bowman (eds.) *ibid.*, pp. 51-62.

economic terms it may be described as the formation of human capital and its effective investment in the development of economy. To use the words of Werts: 'Manpower in the economic sense is the managerial, scientific, engineering, technical, craft and other skills which are employed in creating, designing, developing organizations, managing and operating productive and services enterprises and institutions.'¹⁴

In political terms human resource development helps integration of wide groups into the new political systems, social and political mobilization, and also helps people to behave and participate responsibly as citizens in the political processes. Eisenstadt's article 'Education and Political Development' deals with education and political modernization and the complex interrelation between the two.¹⁵ Silcock discusses the role of education in the political development of south-east Asia with primary reference to Malaysia.¹⁶ From the social and cultural points of view, human resource development prepares people to lead a better, meaningful and intellectually sophisticated life by getting rid of ignorance, prejudices and superstitions. In public administration context, human resource development helps producing officials with necessary knowledge, skills and attitudes to cope with the task of change and development.

There seems to be an inter-relationship between social change, politics, economics and education.¹⁷ The goals of modern society are political, economic and social. Human resource development is a necessary requirement for achieving all of them. As E. Shils rightly observed education creates modernity in polity, economy, society and culture.¹⁸ If a country is unable to develop its human resource, it can hardly develop anything of great significance whether it be a sense of

¹⁴ Werts, "Cope an Elements in Manpower Planning," in Report of the Seminar on Manpower Problems, U.S. Department of Labor, ICA, April-July 14, 1961, p. 50.

¹⁵ S.N. Eisenstadt, "Education and Political Deelopment," D.C. Pipeer and T. Cole (eds.), Post-Primary Education and Political Development(Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964).

¹⁶ T. H. Silcock, "The Role of Education in the Political and Economic Development of South-East Asia," D.C. Piper and T. Cole (eds.), *ibid.*

¹⁷ Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds.), Education and Nation-Building in Africa, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Edward Shils, "Modernization and Higher Education," Myron Weiner (ed.) Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 81.

national unity, higher standards of living, or a modern political and social system.

The uses of such concepts as 'human capital' and investment in man' in recent literature on economic development attest to growing realization that education and training are as important in contributing to productive capacity as physical capital. Manpower may be considered as an economic resources just as material, equipment, power and money are economic resources.¹⁹ Adam Smith, for example, emphasized the importance of education in "The Wealth of Nations." His concept of 'fixed capital' includes "the acquired an useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of society."²⁰ Alfred Marshal also considered educational expenses as a national investment. He observed that "the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings."²¹

Today modern economists are giving widespread attention to the process of investment in man and his development. North America, Soviet Union and Japan have put great stress on development of human resources. The Soviet Union is spending 7-8 percent of its gross national product on education. Economic progress in these countries is largely the result of tremendous efforts they have made in educating and training their people at all levels. Although exact calculation are difficult, some scholars believe that about 60 percent of economic growth in the West during the last few decades results from the efforts of education and research.²²

There appears to be a correlation between the level of literacy rates and the level of income. Strumillin shows that differences in the earning power of people with or without education are very great.²³ T.W. Schultz, after analyzing the relationship between expenditures on education and income in the United States for the period 1900-1956, observed that investments in education were actually more productive

¹⁹ Werts, op. cit., p.50.

²⁰ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the nature and Causes and nature of the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1937), p. 263.

²¹ Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1930), p. 216.

²² Barbara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), p. 139.

²³ S. Strumillin, "The Economics of Education," *International Social Science Journal*, 15:4 (1962).

than investments in such goods as factories or railroads. Denison presents a detailed discussion of the relationship of education to growth in the United States and Europe.²⁴ Harberger's article "Investment in Men versus Investment in Machine," estimates and compares the overall economic rate of returns to investment in physical capital and rate of return of investment in education.²⁵

In spite of the importance attached to investment in man by a number of economists, some development planners, particularly in the developing countries, usually give only peripheral consideration to the analysis of human resources. The developing countries have ambitious plans to develop their countries. They set up many targets and goals. But actual accomplishment in certain fields falls far behind the plan objectives. One important reason for such failure in achieving plan objectives is that much attention has not been paid to developing individuals with knowledge, skills and the incentives necessary to run a productive expanding economy.

Lack of appreciation of the need of mobilizing human resource through education for development purpose in the developing countries is partly due to the fact that the concept of education as a public investment is new to them. Many political and educational leaders refuse to accept this idea. They firmly believe in the traditional role of education. To them, education is for perpetuation of cultural values and for helping individuals to realize their full human potentialities for their own sake. Unlike the traditional 'cultural approach' to education, the new 'manpower requirement approach' stresses the need "to foresee the future occupational structure of the economy and to plan educational systems so as to provide the requisite numbers of personnel with the qualifications which that structure demands."²⁶

²⁴ Edward F. Denison, 'Measuring the Contribution of Education and Economic Growth,' in OECD's *The Residual Factor and Economic Growth* (Paris: OECD, 1964). Bowen summarizes well the growing literature relating economic contribution of education in the article 'Assessing the Economic Contribution of Education: An Appraisal of Alternative Approaches,' in OECD's *Economic Aspects of Higher Education* (Paris: OECD, 1964).

²⁵ Arnold C. Harberger, 'Investment in Men versus Investment in Machine: The Case of India,' Anderson and Bowman (eds.) *op. cit.*

²⁶ H. S. Parnes, *Forecasting Educational Needs for Economic and Social Development*, OECD, The Mediterranean Regional Project, (October 1962), p. 15.

Although some people find a conflict between his new manpower interest in education and the traditional view of the role of education, there is, in reality, no such conflict between them. If we accept the goal of rapid economic development and reorient education to promote it, we need not reject a humanitarian concept of the role of education. Moreover, the manpower approach does not necessitate that all education and training in society be directed towards achieving economic goals. The cultural approach is necessary because economic growth is not the only objective of societies. On the other hand, the manpower approach is also necessary for rapid economic development. In fact, both approaches must be taken into consideration together in formulating national educational policy. It is possible to design human resource development system in such a way that will contribute to the increased production of essential goods and services as well as preservation and enhancement of cultural heritage and individual freedom, dignity and man's worth.

To be sure, mere developed human resources do not ensure economic development. Physical capital, physical location, terms of trade and political relationship with foreign countries are some of the important variables influencing the economic growth of a particular country. Human resource development, therefore, does not explain everything of development. But this does not invalidate our contention that is one of the necessary conditions, for all kinds of development and modernization— social, economic, political and cultural. Japans' experience and to some degree Russia's experience tends to confirm this generalization. In both these places the government spent a very high proportion of the national budget on education and 'social overhead capital' at the beginning of industrialization. But on the other hand, in Europe industrialization preceded the building of railroad, dams, scientific institutions and technical schools. Economic development facilitated educational advances and to a degree initiated them. McCord warns us "of those theories which arbitrarily allocate the highest propriety to say, education or to other enterprises which are not in themselves directly productive."²⁷ So the rewards of investment

²⁷ William McCord, *The Springtime of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 66.

in a school rather than a factory must be carefully weighed in terms of a nation's particular circumstances and situations.

Strategy of Human Resource Development

No society has unlimited means to develop human resources, so every nation has to make choice in the use of limited means available for human resource development. As rightly observed by Vaizey, the more important question is what kind of education should we have rather than how much of education in total.²⁸ So there is a need to build a strategy for human resource development after careful determination of priorities reflecting the major goals of the society, not merely its economic objectives. This demands more than adequate statistics. Knowledge of economics and familiarity with education are not doubt necessary. But what is more necessary in the developing countries to formulate effective education plans is sound judgment based on experience as well as ability to perceive complex relationship between social, political, religious and economic factors.

In the developing countries, including Bangladesh, education is in its growing state. It reaches only a small minority of the population. Referring to the educational situation of the developing area Adam Curle observed "(emerging) countries are underdeveloped because most of their people are under developed, having no opportunity of expanding their potential capacities in the service of the society."²⁹ Only about 17 percent of the people in Pakistan and Bangladesh is literate, of which less than half could go beyond the primary stage of education.³⁰ In 1947 expenditure on education was less than 1 percent of the gross national product. In the next ten years it reached only 1-2 percent. By 1966-67 the figures rose to 1.23 percent. Nevertheless, this investment in education is far fro satisfactory compared to over 5 percent investment by many developed countries such as United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., Japan. Table I indicates Pakistan Government's

²⁸ John Vaizey, "Towards a New Political Economy," in OECD's, *The Residual Factor and Economic Growth* (Paris: OECD, 1964).

²⁹ Adam Curle, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas," *Harvard Educational Review*, 32:3 (Summer 1962), p. 300.

³⁰ Pakistan Government, *Twenty Years of Pakistan* (Karachi:; Pakistan Publications, 1967), p. 411.

expenditure on education as percentage of gross national product and of national income over a number of years.

Universal primary education has been accepted as a national goal. Over the 10-year period from 1958-62, the number of primary schools in Pakistan increased from about 45 thousand to 66 thousand and the enrollment at the primary level (Classes I to V) from 460,000 to 840,000. The potential enrollment was 10,916 million. The poor quality of primary education is more striking than its meagre quantity. As rightly observed by Shils "For much of the underdeveloped world... (educational) deficiencies are of quality, not quantity."³¹ The bulk of the primary school teachers are unqualified which means that they have had practically no training as teachers and perhaps little more than six or seven years of primary schooling themselves. The drop-out or wastage rates in primary education in Bangladesh are very high. Statistics show that 76.8 percent of those who enrolled in Class I could not go to Class V. Table II shows the number of drop-outs in Bangladesh at the primary level.

Universal retention calls for progress in eliminating wastage by preventing children from dropping out before completing the primary course. It is to be pointed out here that unless parents see a clear cut economy and advantage for keeping children in school, they either allow or force them to drop out. As now by far the majority of rural children only get primary education, its concentration on agriculture and crafts seems highly desirable."³² Moreover, this type of education may be supposed to be more attractive to the villagers, so that they will send their boys to schools. The logical consequence will then be that rural schools will also differ regionally, related to agricultural potentialities. Thus as a strategy, on the lower levels, general intellectual development has to be combined with practical work orientation; for this will make education functional to rural life, while classical education is said to push the boys from rural areas to urban areas and to make them look for clerical jobs for which there are very few opportunities for employment.

³¹ Edward Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³² J. A. Ponsioen, *National Development: A Sociological Contribution* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), p. 276.

Table I : Government Expenditure on Education as Percentage of Gross National Product and of National Income.

(Million Rupees)

Years	G.N.P at market prices	National income	Expenditure on education	Expenditure on education as percentage of	
				G.N.P	National Income
1962 – 63	40,468.0	36,020.0	559.7	1.38	1.55
1963 – 64	43,478.0	38,425.0	649.4	1.49	1.69
1964 – 65	48,265.0	42,459.0	728.5	1.50	1.71
1965 – 66	52,634.0	46,304.0	784.1	1.48	1.69
1966 - 67	60,183.0	56,140.0	742.2	1.23	1.32

Source: Report on the Progress of Education in Pakistan 1967-68 Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Central Bureau of Education, Presented at the XXIst International Conference on Public Education, Geneva, July 1968

Table II: Drop-outs at the Primary Level

Year	Class enrollments (thousands)					No. of drop-outs (thousand) I -V	No. of drop-outs as % class enrollment
	I	II	III	IV	V		
1952	1456	512	334	225	139	1443	91.2
1953	1538	532	524	221	157	1452	90.2
1954	1497	542	340	239	169	1265	88.2
1955	1407	543	350	250	179	1208	87.1
1956	1389	601	353	252	178	1278	82.7
1957	4160	564	365	264	194	1364	88.5
1958	1419	574	594	294	221	1276	85.3
1959	1529	619	400	298	233	1174	83.4
1960	1664	659	406	309	239	1150	82.8
1961	1744	689	434	321	247	1213	83.1
1962	1720	737	469	343	259	1161	81.8
1963	1763	801	488	377	297	1231	80.5
1964	1742	829	568	462	353	1311	78.8
1965	1701	833	589	513	405	1330	76.8

Source: Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, DPI, Bangladesh

At the secondary level of education, drop-outs do not pose any serious problem; by 1965 the rate of retention was about 79 percent from Class V to Class X.³³ But the problem facing secondary education in Bangladesh is that orientation of the academic schools is too narrowly limited to preparation for entrance examination to the universities and

³³ Bangladesh Government, Drop-outs at the Secondary Level, Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, Directorate of Public Instruction.

thus secondary graduates are poorly prepared to enter employment directly. Secondary education in Class IX and X should be viewed as terminal rather than merely preparatory to university or higher education and should thus be largely oriented to the needs and requirements of industry, agriculture, commerce and government.

Bangladesh is perhaps relatively more advanced in higher education than in either primary or secondary. In most cases there is ample opportunity for well qualified students of secondary schools to attend higher educational institutions within the country. But higher level education in Bangladesh is beset with many problems of different nature. The major problems in higher education are the following:

1. Overemphasis on faculties of humanities, law, arts, and underemphasis on science and other technical and vocational subjects. A rough estimate indicates that about two-thirds of the students at the degree level were concentrated in arts and humanities and only one-third were in commerce and science.
2. Low quality of education resulting from poorly trained teachers and poorly equipped laboratories.
3. underdevelopment of intermediate technical and sub-professional education.

High enrollment in law, humanities and arts reflects in part the orientation of students toward white collar employment and perhaps also reflects the cultural traditions of the country. The study of the humanities and social sciences is essential for Bangladesh to cope adequately with socio-economic, political and human problems involved in change and development. The study of social sciences and the humanities will “educate people to have long-range perspectives, to think in terms of many variables related to each other as probabilities rather than certainties,” and will also help people in acquiring “logical skills in recognizing and working through the ethically and morally tortuous dilemmas implicit in the assignment of social proprieties.”³⁴ Since the identification and resolving of ethical issues is as much a matter of extra-rational factors— historical accident and traditional values – as of purely rational assessments, the deep familiarity with the

³⁴ Donald N. Michael, *The Unprepared Society: Planning for a Precarious Future* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 108.

history of ideas and of comparative ethics will be of great help to people dealing with change and developmental problems.³⁵

Thus social and political pressures tend to stress the importance of the liberal, non-scientific humanitarian type of education, whereas economic consideration demands great emphasis on science and technology. The task facing the education and development planners is a formidable one. For example, form leadership requirements of Bangladesh “we have at one and the same time to breed the type of administrator with an interest not only in the humanities— in philosophy, literature, economics, politics, in history..., but with some understanding of science, its history and philosophy, and of the direction in which science is moving.”³⁶ But presently, the intellectual activity in developing societies like Bangladesh is marked by its relative indifference toward the intellectual and practical mastery of nature and of the relatively weak feeling for concrete reality.³⁷ Education in Bangladesh must create a curiosity among the people about the natural phenomena, physical and biological. One way of achieving this, as suggested by E. Rabinowitch, is to integrate and infuse the social sciences, humanitarian studies, art and literature with science, scientific facts and ideas, and science should be taught not merely as an autonomous system of ideas, but in relation to the other disciplines that traditionally mould the attitude of growing generations toward society.³⁸

One may agree or disagree with Rabinowitch but no one, perhaps, will disagree with the statement that society which neglects science and technology can hardly gain any significant measure of development in national life in the modern age. As a matter of fact, no modern society can be conceived without science and technology. One of Bangladesh’s paramount goals should be to develop the temper of science. As N. Prasad rightly says “an economic take-off is possible only when it is preceded by a technological take-off.”³⁹ But technological ‘take-off’

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Leon Bagrit, *The Age of Automation* (New York: New American Library, 1965), p. 71.

³⁷ E. Shils, “The Intellectuals, Public Opinion and Economic Development,” *World Politics*, 10 (January 1958), p. 236.

³⁸ Eugene Rabinowitch, “Science and Education,” *Bulletin of the Atomic scientists*, 14:9 (November 1958), p. 345.

³⁹ Narmadeshwar Prasad, *Change Strategy in a Developing Society: India* (Meerut: Meenakshi’ Prakashan, 1970), p. 64.

requires scientific information and technical skills coupled with scientific attitudes and a methodology based on empiricism. To meet the economic needs and to develop the temper of science and technology in the country, Bangladesh should establish a centre on the pattern of Massachusetts Institute of Technology or the California Institute of Technology. Creation of such a centre would not only provide necessary technologists for developmental needs but also help diffusion of scientific and practical attitude in the society.

The Bangladesh government needs to develop the science policy to “influence the direction and rate of the development of scientific knowledge through the application of financial resources, administrative devices, and education and training.”⁴⁰ Science policy as described by Jones is “concerned essentially with the optimal use of science and technology as agents of economic growth and social development”⁴¹ The government should develop science and technology policy covering the whole chain of research, development, invention, innovation and diffusion. Within the government structure there should be some organizational set-up to look after science policy—the formulation of strategy, its administration and operational control. The government might create a National Science Council with the following functions:

- I. Co-ordination of applied research in the scientific and technological area including scrutiny of scientific and technological developmental projects;
- II. Promotion of applied scientific research and utilization of knowledge gained in research at home and abroad in the technological and scientific field;
- III. Provide guidance to search institutes in the country in the field of applied scientific and technological research;
- IV. Co-ordination of utilization of manpower for scientific and technological research.

Areas around which research interest may be focused may include national health, welfare, security, agriculture and industry and advancement of science and technology in the country and transference

⁴⁰ Edward Shils, (ed.), *Criteria for Scientific Development Public Policy and National Goals* (Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1968), p. IX.

⁴¹ Graham Johnes, *The Role of Science and Technology in Developing Countries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), P. 34.

of technology from abroad. Science policy must be prepared within the guidelines of the overall national developmental plan.

The educational problem before Bangladesh is both qualitative and quantitative –education fewer students with better qualified teachers and larger numbers with unqualified teachers. The low income countries like Bangladesh lack the resources to support the cost of simultaneous, elaborate and equalized development at all points – primary, secondary, technical, vocational and university. In formulating a strategy of education, political leaders and development planners will have to make two basic decisions regarding how much of the economy's resources should go into education, as oppose to other productive enterprises and how should the government distribute the available resources among different types and levels of education? Eisenstadt has warned by staying “if... demands for general education are made in situations of high political and relatively low economic expansion, they may create pressures that tend to undermine the conditions for successful continuous modernization.”⁴²

The questions confronting Bangladesh are: should Bangladesh go for universal education or should she concentrate to development of high level manpower. There is no easy answer to these questions. The problem is much more deep and complicated than it appears to be. On the one hand, educational opportunities have to be extended to all the children in villages and towns of Bangladesh. The rationale of universal education is that an illiterate society tends to cling to past productive practices and techniques by rigidly adhering to custom and tradition. On the other hand, it has to be made sure that increasing number of highly trained personnel is available to undertake the professional task of a modern society as managers, doctors, teachers, engineers, administrators, scientists and business leaders and journalists. The development planners and educationalists of Bangladesh have to find the answer to this dual need to formulate sound educational policy for the country.

The criteria for fixing priorities in balanced educational programmes are difficult to determent. In this respect several questions may be raised. What should be the proportion of emphasis on different levels of formal education – primary, secondary and higher education? What should be the orientation and emphasis of formal education at various

⁴² Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 43.

levels? To what extent should the vocational and technical education be developed? In what form and in which circumstance should technical and scientific training be given priority? Why, when, where and what extend should resources be devoted to the formulation of human capital rather than physical capital? What are the requirements for teachers? And what measures can be adopted to increase the general efficiency of the educational system? How can incentive be modified to improve the contribution of education to changes in desired direction?

Arthur Lewis has provided succinct and broad outlines of a sensible education policy suitable for a developing economy. He remarked ‘the balance between primary, secondary and higher education; between general and vocational studies; between humanities and sciences; or between institutional and inservice training— all these need to be blended in the right proportions if education is to be a help rather than a hindrance to economic development.’⁴³

In Bangladesh, India and other developing countries of Asia lower status is attached to occupations most critically needed for development. For example, government officials and often military leaders enjoy more status and prestige in society and administration than engineers, doctors, scientists, university teachers etc. The status of school teachers, technicians, agricultural assistants, nurses and other sub-professional groups is much lower. There is need of establishing a greater parity of status between the higher civil service and the universities. “The traditional respect for the scholar and teacher in Asia is a valuable asset which has become dilapidated as a result of the reverence in which powerful secular authority is held; it is most desirable that it be renewed in an appropriate modern form.”⁴⁴

This brings us to the fundamental question as to how to bring people to those kinds of occupations and activities most critically needed for development. Presently, wage and salary levels are primarily fixed on the basis of certain prescribed academic degrees rather than productivity or job requirements. So the problems of incentives and

⁴³ W. Arthur Lewis, “Education and Economic Development,” Cowan. O’Connell and Scanlon (eds.) op. cit., p. 201.

⁴⁴ E. Shils, “Intellectuals, Public Opinion and Economic Development,” op. cit., pp. 251-252.

proper utilization of manpower should be taken into consideration while formulating strategies for human resource development.

In building incentives for critically needed occupations/jobs there is a choice between the conscious manipulation of wage and salary structures versus dependence on market forces. Most of the advanced countries have been successful to raise the status and prestige of the critically needed occupations without destroying free choice and individual liberty. Since preference for urban living and white collar occupations and forces of tradition tend to distort the market for critical skills, no developing country can completely rely on market forces to provide the incentives for its people to engage in the kind of activities most critically needed for development. Thus it necessitates to provide various kinds of financial and non-financial inducements to influence the allocations of manpower in the desired direction.

To implement the socio-economic plan it is necessary to make sure that trained manpower is available at appropriate time, in sufficient quantity and quality. In some African countries, an overemphasis on primary education has created a group of individual young men who can read and write but find no jobs. In contrast, one African nation built a complete sewing machine factory, but the government could not find workers with necessary technical skills to run it.⁴⁵ These examples point to the need that government must closely coordinate educational planning with socio-economic planning. So in Bangladesh government will have to integrate human resource planning with general planning for socio-economic development.

⁴⁵ W. McCord, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

Chapter VII

Summary and Conclusions

Herein we have attempted to analyse and examine how the process of social change has stated in the Indian subcontinent; what factors are hindering the process of change and development; how to conceptualize development and modernity which does not deny the specific and contextual character of the developing countries; who is managing development and change and; finally, what role the intellectual and the government can play in bringing about change and development. Contextual thinking has been found very useful as a tool of analysis for examining and analyzing the problems of change and development throughout this study. This study was primarily operational in that it sought to contribute to the acquisition of knowledge which will be useful for designing a policy of social change and development.

In chapter one we have attempted to show how the impact of social and technological forces like capitalistic money economy, rationalism, science and liberal humanism and rule of law etc., introduced by the British in the Indian subcontinent has altered the traditional social relationship by giving rise to a new group of people, a new class who came to be known as middle class whose thinking and profession tend to differ radically from traditional life. This class of people acted as the main channel for change and modernization. The newly emerged middle class people broke the uniform pattern of traditional life and social relationship that had existed all over India and thereby initiated a process of change that is by now encompassing the entire subcontinent.

We have hypothesized that in the developing countries the new social forces unleashed by the West tend to bring about great changes in the traditional mode of thought and behaviour of the people; they may reject the Western model of development, they may blindly imitate Western culture or they may respond to new forces by reviving, reinterpreting and revitalizing the legacy of the past – but, however, they must react, they cannot possibly escape from its compelling pressure. In this study we have seen how the two important communities in the Indian subcontinent, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims have reacted towards new social forces and changes initiated

by the British. The Hindus welcomed English education and its liberal humanism. The Muslims though in the beginning opposed the changes, later on accepted them. Our analysis tends to indicate that both the communities in India refused to embrace recklessly Western culture and responded to new forces by adjusting age-old beliefs and customs to the impact of Western learning and technology.

In the second chapter we have endeavoured to identify a number of socio-cultural and administrative variables that tend to hinder the process of change and development. Social cleavage and cultural isolation of the elite and the wide economic inequalities between the Western educated urban elite and the traditional-oriented illiterate rural people, according to our opinion, constitutes a serious obstacle to development. The nature of the future socio-political conditions of Bangladesh will largely be shaped by the evolving pattern of the relationship between an elite oriented to change and modernity and the masses that is largely oriented to tradition.

We have found that in developing countries like India, Bangladesh and Pakistan with poverty a normative condition and a 'world view' underlying the belief that the universe is something that is essentially unpredictable and uncontrollable and a 'world view' geared to the assumption that man can hardly improve this condition and position in society, it is almost impossible for the villagers to escape the notion that fate and luck rather than work and objective-systematic thinking determine man's destiny and condition of life. The average villager's fatalism, dependence on luck are detrimental to change and development because they discourage individual and collective initiative and responsibility.

The present study has indicated that although the culture of many of the nations in South-East Asia contains rational elements; ideas, knowledge and rule etc., it carries in it a large number of astrological, magical, animistic, superstitious and mythical notions and beliefs which generate a certain kind of thought and behaviourism which frequently act as a deterrent to technological and effective productive activity by precluding and opposing the methodology and findings of science. We have discussed how the ascription of role and status coupled with the pressure of a subsistence economy tend to enforce social immobility and hierarchism which inhibit change and development. We have indicated that conservatism, traditionalism, authoritarianism and fatalism tend to promote the need for power rather

than need for achievement. Need for power and need for achievement are found to be incompatible. A pilot study conducted in Peshawar shows that achievement oriented and power oriented attitudes are highly, significantly, negatively correlated.¹ Thus traditionalism obstructs development by putting a high premium on the need for power rather than need for achievement which is essential not only to economic development but progress in other fields as well. We have also analyzed how people's fear and skeptical attitude towards newness, their particularism and factionalism, their apathetic attitude as well as their imprecise and relaxed time perspective ('natural' or 'astronomical' time rather than 'clock' time) have been functioning as hindrance to change and development.

Bangladesh and many other developing countries do not possess an efficient and well-developed administrative system suited to cope with problems of social change and development planning. The major weaknesses of the present administrative system in the Indian subcontinent with respect to national development result from the fact that the administrative machinery is still significantly oriented to law and order function in its organizational, procedural, personnel and fiscal aspects – heritage of colonial administration. A system of rigid hierarchical routing of correspondence and other communications tend to delay decisions-making. The system of administration in the subcontinent is by and large over-centralized which has led to complete congestion at the top. Such congestion at the top at times tend to cause paralysis of action in development administration. High officials' elitist feeling coupled with their distrust of subordinates capabilities deter delegation and tend to increase centralization.

The shortage of technical, scientific and managerial personnel in Bangladesh poses a basic obstacle to development. This problem is further compounded by the fact that scientists, engineers and other technical/specialists persons on whose skills and services greatly depend development activities are accorded comparatively low social and administrative status. In our opinion, the relegating of technical and professional specialists to a status of secondary rank and prestige in the public service have led to heart-burning, jealousy within service ranks and have discouraged many capable people from seeking government employment. Disparity in status between generalist and specialist has been reduced to some extent in Bangladesh after

¹ S. M. Moghni, op. cit.

independence. Corruption forms and attribute of a fabric of public politics and bureaucratic life in the developing countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and India. We have discussed the harmful effects of corruption on development. Other administrative factors which, in our opinion, hinder development efforts are improper differentiation of line and staff functions, excessive use of conferences, meetings and committees and imperfect team-work.

The concerns of the Third chapter have centred primarily on the issue and problem of conceptualization of development and modernity which does not deny the specific and contextual character of the developing societies. We have objected the methodological procedure by which the tradition is simply defined negatively in relation to development and modernity. We have explained that the views that tradition is monolithic and static; tradition and innovation are necessarily in conflict seem to be unreal as studies on India and Japan have indicated several cases and ways in which cultural traditions, rather than posing obstacles to change and development, have directly promoted various forms of modernization and development. The present study tends to point out that traditionalism functioning as ideology is not always in conflict with development and modernity. On the contrary, the ideological upsurge of traditionalism may give rise to a desire for modernity and development and legitimize new economic, social and political activities required in bringing about the transition towards modernization. We have emphasized the fact that it is not tradition as such but the nature of a particular tradition, its form, direction, strength and its ability to accommodate change which helps or hinders development and modernity.

In adopting the above position, we have emphatically not attempted to argue that traditionalism in its pristine state contains within itself all the potentialities and ingredients which are necessary for the transformation of a society towards development and modernity. Our point was that traditionalism and modernity are not so mutually exclusive as most often thought of. They may reinforce one another. Traditionalism can render immense help to modernization process by social integration and mobilization of resources for new goals and policies. We have observed that developing societies like Bangladesh and Pakistan should not destroy everything that is traditional because rapid disintegration of traditional social ethos and moral values without developing a new social order and social morality acceptable to people

will perhaps result in general social disorganization, social aimlessness, instability and mob mentality— a kind of social situation which provides a fertile ground for the emergence of a totalitarian and dictatorial political regime. Therefore we have suggested that we should build on what is there and supplement existing arrangements where necessary. We are of the view that in the constant interaction between tradition and the demands of new life both will help to shape and reshape one another. Our analysis has pointed out the need of replacing the existing notion of tradition modernity dichotomy by that of tradition modernity continuum.

Despite innumerable literature on development there exists considerable confusion about the meaning of this concept which has been used for the most part as a rubber concept, being stretched and molded for the purposes at hand. Sometimes development has been defined primarily in terms of industrialization. To many people development represents a unilinear state pertaining to those economic, social and technological and political characteristics prevalent in a number of advanced Western societies. Still others regard science and enlightenment as essential ingredients of development and modernity. Sociologists logists and anthropologists look upon development primarily in terms of differentiation of role and function. Development, as we have viewed it, underlines a systematic change which includes social, political, economic and cultural transformation. If we emphasize just one factor only – be it political or economic and neglect other variables, we are bound to fail. Therefore, we have felt the need of formulating a broader concept of overall development fulfilling the material, spiritual, intellectual and socio-psychological needs and aspirations of people. Development must be viewed as multi-dimensional rather than considering it in terms of one dimension. Our conceptualization of ‘multi-dimensional’ and ‘overall’ development underlines the creation of those values, socio-economic systems, institutions and incentives which will provide people greater meaning and purpose to life and will assure reasonable satisfaction of basic physiological, psychological and esthetic needs to all members of society irrespective of race, colour and religion, as well as enable them to solve problems and sustain change while having increased control over environment, over themselves and over their own political destiny.

We have pointed out that the concept of development cannot be treated without some kind of values/norms. To treat otherwise is just to try to hide one's values/norms. In our opinion, development requires a system of values and normative/ethical criteria on the basis of which all kinds of social changes, economic considerations and decisions can be weighed. Models and rational strategies are not enough for transforming a society. We have observed that in developing countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan religion incorporation traditional values but encompassing development needs can play a significant role in transition towards modernization and may also shape its goals. But before religion can play such a historical role it will have to absorb and digest the new perspectives and elements that come with new technological and socio-economic forces while retaining its essential vision and integrity. Thus genuine development in Bangladesh would involve not only reducing the conservative role and inhibiting consequences of religion but also involve a renewed development, reinterpretation, revitalization and reconstruction of religious thought as central and strategic to the entire process of social transformation and development. Our arguments underline the desirability, even the necessity, of religion being involved in the development and modernization process. If such a strategy is followed the path towards development and modernization would involve less terrorism, violence and disruption – in short, less human and social costs. Nationalism alone is not enough to integrate and canalize motivations in developing countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan. The limited capacity of secular ideologies to mobilize motivational forces is conditioned by the inexorable relationship of cultural values and attitudes in our society with the religious beliefs. Therefore, we have felt that models and goals of development and change in Bangladesh need to be formed within the framework of its value system to gain mass support, participation and cooperation to government's planned programmes and activities. What can or cannot be transferred from advanced nations to Bangladesh is likely to depend upon whether or not the development models, policies and goals formulated on the basis of the value system of advanced nations can be incorporated into the value system of Bangladesh.

In view of above facts we have concluded that easy and smooth road to our development and modernization lies in the revitalization and reinterpretation of the traditional culture and value system according to the spirit of the times, situations as well as experience. The situation

calls for deliberate regulation of the content, direction and speed of change and development in order to preserve certain specified elements of the tradition culture as well as deliberate change and regulation of the elements of the traditional culture with a view to attaining certain specific development goals. Thus we have found that the issue before the intellectual is not so much that of overcoming and displacing totally tradition but of finding ways and means of synthesizing and blending tradition and new ideas, technology and knowledge. The intellectual, we have observed, will have to direct their efforts to preservation of what is of great value in Bengali culture, its philosophical and religious-mystical tradition and to development of a humane and democratic political system with a view to stimulating afresh our spiritual, philosophical and moral life and providing a sound material base utilizing modern knowledge and technology for people to pursue such higher pursuits.

In the intellectual circle of the developing societies like Bangladesh and Pakistan goals and plans for development are often verbalized. But behind this verbal façade what we actually notice is that the intellectuals devote little effort to its materialization. Intellectuals do not perform the kinds of functions and maintain the kinds of relationships with their fellow-countrymen that are necessary for modernization and development of the society. The situation requires the services of a kind of intellectuals who would appreciate the values of traditional society and be psychologically and culturally close to their fellow-countrymen while having mastered the knowledge the advanced nations can offer in natural and social sciences. In chapter four we have tried to outline the kinds of role and function the intellectual should perform transforming societies of the Indian subcontinent particularly of Bangladesh towards development and modernity.

We have conceptualized the task/functions of intellectuals mainly in terms of three roles— the role of a ‘social critic,’ the role of ‘social engineer’/‘social designer’ and the role of a ‘cultural broker.’ The intellectuals will be a ‘social critic’ in the sense that they would critically and objectively analysis social changes with reference to certain fundamental values/principles and also seek to find out in the traditional order what is ‘essential’ and what is ‘non-essential,’ what is ‘living’ and what is ‘dead’ in view of our changing social needs and circumstances. The intellectuals will be a ‘social engineer’/‘social

designer' in the sense that they would provide guidance, insight and knowledge as to how to recast and build our organizational-institutional set-up to satisfy the needs and demands of the modern technological age. The intellectuals are to define the problems, formulate the goals, and indicate the alternative means/choices that can be made for attaining developmental objectives. They are also to create new system of rewards and sanctions and prepare guidelines for new behavioural patterns which are essential to different aspects of development process. Furthermore, intellectuals are to restructure our sense of reality – to add new dimensions to life by engaging in what Dewey has called social reconstruction which involves creation and introduction of new values and ideology. Intellectuals task of reality-creation also involves creation of a sense of national cultural identity- 'self-image' and formulation of an ideology particularly of economic development. Intellectuals will have to secure for science and technology a rightful place among the values of the traditional culture. Intellectuals will be a 'cultural broker' in the sense that they will mediate foreign cultural influences to their fellow-countrymen and interpreting the indigenous culture to the foreigners and will also try to see through all great cultures and ideologies of the world with a view to attaining the highest possible synthesis among them.

Of special importance to us was the role of intellectual in the administration of the country. Conceptualization of government as catalyst of social change and development has made it almost imperative to redefine the role and function of civil servants in society. Public officials will have to assume such new roles as industrial manager, dispenser of social services and administrator of economic policy. One of the consequences of such redefinition of the role of administrator, as we have indicted, will be to transform the administration from a desk-worker to a field worker, from a person dealing primarily with law and order to a persons who has now more directly to deal with social services and economic development. In the new role and according to the new welfare state philosophy, civil servants were not to feel and work like 'bureaucrats' and 'mercenaries' but as a vital part of a great national transformation. We have emphasized that the officials should serve the people and be devoted to the masses, their education and socio-economic welfare rather than reaching out to seek fame, power, material gain, position and limelight. It is very difficult to change the established bureaucratic norms and patterns of civil servants' thinking and action in short time, but a

beginning towards that end must be made. We have suggested that all public administration training programmes, conferences, seminars, development and public administration literature must emphasize the necessity of such a change. It has been our considered view that the future of democracy in the Indian sub-continent and the endeavours which the government has been making in achieving the goal of socio-economic equality and development will depend not merely on the wisdom of elected politicians but on the efficiency, dedication and incorruptible character of administrators.

The greatest challenge facing the civil servants particularly developmental planners is the task of evolving an administrative structure that would be equal to the task of fulfilling the goals and objectives of development. In this connection we have observed that the civil servants will have to evaluate critically the existing administrative system of Bangladesh and appraise its suitability for carrying out government's new developmental action programmes. The officials will have to develop new operational principles, new criteria of effectiveness and efficiency more in keeping with the needs and requirements of a democratic welfare state. The most significant change necessary in this sphere, as we have pointed out, is switching over from authoritarian methods to democratic methods of work which involves inner democratization of the administration and the replacement of the traditional paternalistic attitude of problems of national welfare by a more positive philosophy of partnership between the people and the government.

In the fifth chapter we have suggested that the government has much to offer in analyzing the problems of change and development, and also in helping bring it about, specially by a long range educational strategy. In India, Pakistan and Bangladesh the government has to assume the major responsibility for social change and development; for the legislature and local government tend to be weak, organized interest groups are just emerging, and the public sector command the services of a large percentage of the educated personnel. Thus, in our opinion, in developing countries like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh government's heavy involvement in development results not necessarily from any communistic or doctrinaire assumption, but is the product of the objective situation.

The present study has indicated that if government is to identify, analyse and solve problems, public administration must bring into

fusion all of the relevant available knowledge and skills, public desires and political forces to evolve better and effective policies. The government which fails to associate social scientists, intellectuals and men of knowledge and relies solely on generalist administrators can hardly make much headway in this highly complex technological world. We have suggested that economists, sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists etc. should be centrally involved in policy making.

Development and modernity call for new attitudes, knowledge, skills and social relationship. Therefore, in our view, emphasis in Bangladesh needs to be heavily placed on the restructuring of conventional patterns of thought and conception, the making of a 'new man' who would be compassionate, committed to intellectuality and predisposed to pragmatism and empiricism. We think that development and social change can best be achieved by giving prominence to men and human resources rather than 'things'. Education and training are the most effective instruments for modification of the content of men's minds and for endowing people with new knowledge, values, spirit of initiative and social responsibility which will enable them to cope efficiently, imaginatively with problems of change and development. The goals of modern society are political, economical and social. In the present study we have indicated that human resource development is a necessary condition for achieving all kinds of development and modernization. Human resource development and educational planning have been accepted as public policy in many developing countries including Bangladesh; for the education and training needs of modern society are too diverse, too dynamic and often too expensive to be left to the informal arrangements or to chance.

No society has unlimited means to develop human resources, so every nation has to make choice in the use of limited means available for human resource development. The questions confronting Bangladesh are: should Bangladesh go for universal education or should she concentrate to development of high level manpower. There is no easy answer to these questions. On the one hand, educational opportunities have to be extended to all the children in villages and towns of Bangladesh. The rationale of universal education is that an illiterate society tends to cling to past productive practices and techniques by rigidly adhering to custom and tradition. On the other hand, it has to be made sure that increasing number of highly trained

personnel is available to undertake professional task of a modern society as managers, doctors, engineers, scientists, journalist and administrators. The development planners and educationists of Bangladesh have to find the answer to this dual need to formulate sound educational policy for the country.

As now by for the majority of rural children only get primary education; its concentration on agriculture and crafts seem to us highly desirable. So we have argued that as a strategy, on the lower levels, general intellectual development has to e combined with practical work orientation; for this will make education functional to rural life; while classical education is said to push the boys from rural areas to urban areas and to make them look for clerical jobs for which there are very few opportunities for employment. Furthermore, we have argued that secondary education in Class IX and X should be viewed as terminal rather than merely preparatory to university or higher education and should thus be largely oriented to the needs and requirements of industry, agriculture, commerce and government.

The intellectual activity in developing societies like Bangladesh is marked by its relative indifference towards the intellectual and practical mastery of nature and of the relatively weak feeling for concrete reality. In higher level education in Bangladesh there is overemphasis on faculties of humanities, law, arts and under-emphasis on science and other technical and vocational subjects,. Social and political pressures tend to stress the importance of the liberal and humanitarian type of education whereas economic consideration demands great emphasis on science and technology. Education in Bangladesh must create a curiosity among the people about the natural phenomena, physical and biological as well as equip people with problem-solving skills and knowledge. We have suggested that Bangladesh should establish a centre on the pattern of Massachusetts Institute of Technology or the California Institute of Technology in order to meet the economic needs and to develop the temper o science and technology in the country. We think that creation of such a centre would not only provide necessary technologists for developmental needs but also help diffusion of scientific and practical attitude in the society. We have also emphasized the need to develop a science policy by Bangladesh government to influence the direction and rate of development of scientific knowledge through the application of financial resources, administrative deices, and education and training.

Within the government structure there should be some organizational set-up to look after science policy – the formulation of strategy, its administration and operational control.

In Bangladesh, India lower salary and status is attached to occupations most critically needed for development. For example, government officials enjoy more status and prestige in society and administration than engineers, doctors, scientists and university teachers. We have underlined the need of establishing a greater parity of status between the higher civil service and the universities. We thought it desirable to renew our traditional respect for the scholar and teacher in an appropriate modern form. Thus the problems of incentives and proper utilization of manpower should be taken into consideration while formulating strategies for human resource development. In building incentives for critically needed occupations/jobs there is a choice between the conscious manipulation of wage and salary structure versus dependence on market forces. In this connection, we have observed that since preference for urban living and white collar occupations and forces of tradition tend to distort the market for critical skills, no developing country can completely rely on market forces to provide the incentives for its people to engage in the kind of activities most critically needed for development. Thus we have found it necessary to provide various kinds of financial and non-financial inducements to influence the allocation of manpower in the desired direction.

To implement the socio-economic plan it is necessary to make sure that trained manpower is available at appropriate time, in sufficient quantity and quality. This fact points to the need that government must closely coordinate the integrate educational planning with general planning for socio-economic development. Bangladesh faces numerous problems– poverty, disease, ignorance and illiteracy etc. which pose challenge to nation's ingenuity. The challenge thus posed have led some of us to think of our times as "The Age of Anxiety." While to others, ours is an "Age of Hope" in which past sufferings and miseries will be exchanged for the better life. Given reasonable internal stability, 'friendly nature' and generous international aid and cooperation, Bangladesh has a chance of taking a 'great leap' towards modernization and development.

Review of Literature

The British Impact on the Indian Sub-continent

Colonialism has some significance for understanding the process of social change and modernization in many emerging countries in Asia and Africa, particularly, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Michael Edward.¹ G. Wint² and Bose³ give an interesting account of the nature and effects of the British rule on India. Tara Chand's 'History of the Freedom Movement in India' contains two chapters dealing with social and economic consequences of British rule.⁴ Bearce's study describes British Attitude Towards India.⁵ R. C Majumdar⁶ and S. Ghose⁷ analysis focuses on the impact of western culture on the Indian political, religious and social life. P. Griffith⁸ and O. Malley's⁹ studies provide stimulating discussion on the effect of the British and Western influence on India's economic development, law, education, press, women, Muslim culture and religious thought and Hindu social system. Kopf gives an account of the social, psychological and intellectual changes that were brought about in Bengal as a result of contact between British officials, Christian missionaries on one hand and the Bengali (Hindu) intelligentsia on the other.¹⁰ There are studies which

¹ Michael Edward, *British India, 1772-1947* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1968).

² G. Wint, *The British in Asia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1954).

³ Sudhindra Bose, *Some Aspects of British Rule in India* (Iowa: The Chesnut Printing Co., 1916).

⁴ Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India. Vol. 1* (Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, The Publications Division, 1961).

⁵ George D. Bearce, *British Attitude Towards India, 1784-1858* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

⁶ R.C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 1*, (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mulbopadhyay, 1962).

⁷ Sankar Ghose, *The Renaissance to Militant Nationalism in India* (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1969).

⁸ Sir P. Griffith. *The British Impact on India* (London: Macdonald, 1952)

⁹ L.S.S. D'Malley (ed.) *Modern India and the West: A Study of the Interaction of their Civilisation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941).

¹⁰ David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 1969).

indicate the influence of the British on the growth of Indian middle classes.¹¹

Obstacles to Change and Development

Some of the best studies on the issue of socio-cultural obstacles to change and development have come from scholars who were in one way or another associated with foreign technical assistance programme in the developing countries. These studies are not homogeneous and are addressed to different aspects of culture. Some scholars deal with social cleavage and 'social dualism';¹² others analyse the 'world view' which discourages development.¹³ Still others consider "time perspective and conception" inhibiting development¹⁴ and some attempted to analyse the characteristic of whole cultures which are conducive to innovation and change, or hindering modernization.¹⁵ Foster discusses technological development against a broad perspective of anthropo-logical theory and identifies several social and cultural barriers to change and development.¹⁶ In another interesting study Hagen has focused on the personality factors which inhibit

¹¹ B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). See also J.H. Broomfield. *Elite Conflict in a plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal* (Berkeley, L.A.: University of California Press, 1968).

¹² J.H. Boeke, *Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies as Exemplified by Indonesia* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1953).

¹³ George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Impage of Limited Good." *American Anthropologist*, 67:2 (1965), see also J.W Bennett's "Further Remarks on Foster's 'Image of Limited Good, "and D. Kaplan and" B. Saler's "Foster's 'Image of Limited Good': An Example of Anthropological Explanation," *American Anthropologist*, 68 (1966); J.H. Kunkel, *Society and Economic Growth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); A. Niehoff, "Discussion of Fatalism in Asia: Old Myth and New Realities," *Anthropological Quarterly*, 39:3 (July 1966).

¹⁴ M.J. Herskovits, "Economic Change and Cultural Dynamics," R. Braibanti and J. Spengler (eds.), *Tradition, Values and Socio-Economic Development* (Durham, N.C.: Dube University Press, 1961). See also Afif J. Tannous, "Technical Exchange and Cultural Values: Case of the Middle East," *Rural Sociology*, 21 (1956).

¹⁵ Marion T. Levy, Jr., "Contrasting Factors in the Modernization of China and Japan," *Economic Development and Cultural Exchange*, 3 (January 1954).

¹⁶ G. Foster, *Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1962).

development and change.¹⁷ Kapp gives an account of the certain aspects of Hindu culture which coupled with administrative defects have been retarding the economic development of India.¹⁸ Fear and skeptical attitude towards newness,¹⁹ apathetic attitude of the masses²⁰ and rigidly hierarchical social relations based on ascription of role and status²¹ tend to hinder change and development. Government's ineffectiveness in developing countries is partly emanated from the moral ramification of corruption. There are several studies dealing with the problem of corruption and its effect on administration and society in the developing countries.²²

Tradition, Development and Modernity

There is a burgeoning literature on the conception of development and modernization. Some writers tend to look upon development and economic development in essentially similar terms.²³ Sometimes, modernization and development is defined primarily in terms of industrialization.²⁴ But Nettl and Robertson consider that

¹⁷ E.E. Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change, How Economic Growth Begins* (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962).

¹⁸ W.K. Kapp, *Hindu Culture: Economic Development and Economic Planning in India* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1963).

¹⁹ S.C. Dube, *Indian village* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. 1955).

²⁰ E.C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).

²¹ A.M. Rose, "Sociological Factors Affecting Economic Development in India," in M. Palmer (ed.). *Human Factor in Political Development* (Waltham: Massachusetts; Ginn & Company, 1970). See also B.F. Hoselitz, "Social Stratification and Economic Development," *International Social Science Journal*, XVI: 2 (1964).

²² R. Braibanti, "Reflection on Bureaucratic Corruption," *Public Administration*, 40 (Winter 1962). Ronald E. Wraith and E. Simphins, *Corruption in Developing Countries* (New York: Norton, 1964). D.H. Bayley, "The Effects of Corruption in a Developing Nation," *Western Political Quarterly*, 19:4 (December 1966). R.O. Tilman, "Emergence of Black-Market Bureaucracy: Administration, Development and Corruption in the New States," *Public Administration Review*, 28:5 (September-October 1968).

²³ Everett M. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969). See also T. Caplow and K. Finsterbusch, "Development Rank: A New Method of Rating National Development," Unpublished paper, Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1964.

²⁴ Milton Esman, "The Politics of Development Administration," J. Montgomery and Siffin (eds.). *Approaches to Development: Politics, Administration and Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966). For a treatment of modernization that gives greater emphasis on industrialization and economic

industrialization and development are not same.²⁵ There is an attempt also to view modernization in terms of politics.²⁶ Some attempted to conceptualize development/modernity in terms of enlightenment, science and rationality.²⁷ Levy sees development and modernization in terms of application of technology.²⁸ Sociologist looks upon development primarily in terms of differentiation of role and function.²⁹ D. Goulet conceptualizes development more broadly to cover political, economic, cultural and social goals with main emphasis placed on the ethical demands of the development experience.³⁰

Under what conditions can the developing societies hope to become a developed nation? Does such a process necessitate utter and total destruction of traditionalism? Is such a break possible? What would be the consequences? Scholars have been probing these questions and giving new consideration and thinking regarding the character of traditional society and the relationship between tradition and modernity.³¹ Apter's study of traditionalism in Ghana and Uganda has pointed out that traditionalism is not completely against development. Properly articulated and mobilized traditionalism could become dynamic.³² Herskovits criticizes the existing tendency to condemn aboriginal beliefs, moral codes and other regulatory devices. He thinks

growth. See W.E. Moore, *Social Change* (Englewood Cliff, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

²⁵ J.P. Nettl and R. Robertson, "Industrialization, Development or Modernity," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 18:3 (September 1966).

²⁶ David E. Apter. *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

²⁷ Auguste Comte, "The Progress of Civilization through Three Stages," A. Etzioni and E. Etzioni (eds.), *Social Change* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), See also James O'Connell, "The Concept of Modernization," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 64:4 (Autumn 1965).

²⁸ Marion J. Levy, *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*, Vol. 1 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1966).

²⁹ Emile Dur' heim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (Glencoe, III.: The Free Press, 1949).

³⁰ Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in Theory of Development* (New York: Athenem. 1971). See also D. Go let's "Ethical Issues in Development," *Review of Social Economy*, XXVI:2 (September 1968).

³¹ Reinhard Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered," L. Plotnicov and A. Tuden (eds.). *Essays in Comparative Social Stratification* (Pihtsbrgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970). See also J. G. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity," *American Journal of Sociology*, 72:4 (1967).

³² David E. Apter, "The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda," *World Politics*, 13 (October 1960).

that Africans can accept change and modernity if it is demonstrated to them that change and modernity will be beneficial and advantageous to them.³³ Tradition and modernity can coexist.³⁴ Lambert's empirical study on Indian workers tends to indicate that traditional culture is not inconsistent with industrializations.³⁵ Several studies suggest that traditionalism can facilitate and promote change and development.³⁶ Beaglehole gives several examples from various cultures on how it is possible to introduce a desirable change by direct appeal to traditional social values.³⁷ In another study Meadows focuses on important social elements prevalent in traditional societies that may be used to motivate people to perform critical role in the development process.³⁸

Role of Intellectual

The pioneering works of Weber³⁹ and Tawney⁴⁰ deal primarily with the impact of ideas on development, particularly on economic development under capitalism. They did not focus specifically on the role of intellectuals in establishing a new social order. Other

³³ Melville J. Herskovits, *The Human Factor in Changing Africa* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

³⁴ Narmadeshwar Prasad, *Change Strategy in a Developing Society: India* (Meerut: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1970).

³⁵ Ricind Lambert, *Workers, Factories and Social Change in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

³⁶ Joseph Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Conflict and Congruence," *Journal of Social Issues*, 24:4 (October 1968). See also L.I. Rudolph and S.H. Rudolph, "The place of Tradition in Moderanization," Soeijatmoko, "Traditional Values and the Developmental Process," *Development Digest*, 9:1 (January 1971). B. Hoselitz, "Tradition and Economic Growth," R. Braibanti and J. Spengler (eds.), *Tradition, Values and Socio-Economic Development* (Duke, Durham: Duke University Press, 1961). M. Sine, "Culcural val es in India's Economic Developent," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 305 (May 1956). John W. Bennett, "Tradition, Modernity and Communalism," *The Journal of Social Issues*, 24:4 (October 1968).

³⁷ Earnest Beaglehole, "Cultural Factors in Economic and Social Changes," *International Labor Review*, 69:5 (May 1954).

³⁸ Paul Meadows, "Motivation for Change and Development Administration," Irving Swerdlow (ed.), *Development Administration: Concepts and Problems* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1964).

³⁹ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Trans, T. Parsons (New York: Scribne, 1958).

⁴⁰ R.H. Trawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: New American Library, 1954).

sociologists like Mannheim.⁴¹ Merton⁴² and T. Parsons⁴³ have addressed themselves essentially to the study of the intellectuals as a social type. D. Lerner, Pool and Schuller⁴⁴ and E. Shils⁴⁵ look upon intellectuals as persons who create and maintain symbols for the society. Perhaps it is E. Shils who has studied intellectuals as a social type and their role in society.⁴⁶ The specific problem of the interaction between intellectuals and economic development has been dealt with by Matossian,⁴⁷ Keddie,⁴⁸ Lamb⁴⁹ and E. Shils.⁵⁰ Friedmann⁵¹ and Reza⁵² have analysed the role of intellectuals in social change and social transformation particularly in developing societies. Coser discusses the role of different types of intellectuals in society and in the

⁴¹ Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in Age of Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1940). By the same author, *Essays on the Sociology of Culture* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956).

⁴² Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: The Free Press, 1968).

⁴³ Talcott Parsons, "The Intellectuals: A Social Role Category," in P. Rieff (ed.), *On Intellectuals* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969). It is a study on the salient aspects of the characteristics and status of intellectuals in the modern world particularly in contemporary American society.

⁴⁴ D. Lerner, I.D. Pool and G.K. Schuller, "The Nazi Elite," H.D. Laswell and D. Lerner (eds.), *World Revolutionary Elites* (M.I.T Press, 1965).

⁴⁵ Edward Shils, "The Intellectual and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis." It is a sociological review of the history and Comparative structure of intellectual life. The article appeared in P. Rieff (ed.), op.cit.

⁴⁶ Edward Shils, "The Intellectuals: Great Britain," *Encounter*, (April 1955). *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation*. Supplement I, Comparative Studies in Society and History (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1961) "The Intellectuals in the Political Development of the New States," *World Politics*, 12, (April 1960).

⁴⁷ Mary Matossian, 'Ideologies of Delayed Industrialization: Some Tensions and Ambiguities,' *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 6 (April 1958).

⁴⁸ Nikki R. Keddie, "Western Rule vs. Western Values," *Diagnoses*, 26 (Summer 1959).

⁴⁹ K. Lamb, "Political Elites and the Process of Economic Development," in B.F. Hoselitz (ed.). *The Progress of Underdeveloped Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (1952).

⁵⁰ E. Shils, "Intellectuals, Public Opinion and Economic Development," *World Politics*, X (January 1958).

⁵¹ J. Friedmann, "Intellectual in Developing Societies," *Kyklos*. XIII (November 1960).

⁵² Reza Arastch, "The Role of Intellectuals in Administrative Development and Social Change," *International Review of Education*, 9 (1962-63).

government.⁵³ Smith analyses the role of intellectuals in the modern Islamic world.⁵⁴ Some scholars notably Benda is critical of intellectual's involvement in politics of the country.⁵⁵ He sharply criticized the European intellectuals of the 1920's for abandoning disinterested intellectual activity and for allowing their talents to be used for political ends.⁵⁶

There are a number of studies which discuss the problems of restrictions/constraints faced by intellectuals in making criticisms of socio-political situation of the society.⁵⁷

Education and Development

There are studies that look upon education as the key that unlocks the door to development and modernization.⁵⁸ Some deal with overall social change,⁵⁹ others focus on the role of education in political development;⁶⁰ still others analyse the contribution of education to

⁵³ Lewis Coser, *Men of Ideas* (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

⁵⁴ W.C. Smith, "The Intellectuals in the Modern Development of the Islamic World," Sydney N. Fisher (ed.), *Social Forces in the Middle East* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1955).

⁵⁵ Julien Benda, *The Betrayal of the Intellectuals*, Trans. R. Aldington (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

⁵⁶ ____, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, Trans. R. Aldington (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969).

⁵⁷ Paul A. Baran, "The Commitment of the Intellectual," *Monghly Review* Vol. 16 (March 1965). See also, "The Social Role of the Intellectual in Wright Mills, *Power, Politics and people* (New York: Ballantine, Books, 1963).

⁵⁸ E. Shils, "Modernization and Higher Education," Myron Weiner (ed.), *Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966); M.J. Bowman and C.A. Anderson, "The Role of Education in Development," R.E. Asher (ed.), *Development of the Emerging Countries* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1962); P.R. Hanna, *Education: An Instrument of National Goals* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962); F. Harbison and C.A. Myers (eds.), *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

⁵⁹ R.J. Havighurst, "Education, Social Mobility and Social Change in Four Societies," *International Review of Education*, IV (1958). See also K.L. Neff's "Education and the Forces of Change," *International Development Review*, IV (1962).

⁶⁰ James S. Coleman (ed.) *Education and Political Development* (Princeton N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1965). See also Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds.) *Education and Nation Building in Africa* (New York: Praeger Publishers 1965).

economic development⁶¹ and technological development.⁶² John Vaizey furnishes an interesting discussion on the view of English economists and Karl Marx on the economic importance of education.⁶³ There is a growing literature on the idea that manpower is an economic asset like other economic assets such as power, money and equipment.⁶⁴ Adam Smith emphasized the importance of education and manpower.⁶⁵ Alfred Marshall also considered educational expenses as a national investment.⁶⁶ Barbara Ward thinks that about 60 per cent of economic growth in the West during the last few decades has resulted from the effects of education and research.⁶⁷ Several studies tend to indicate that there is a correlation between the level of literacy rates and the level of income.⁶⁸ In some cases as Schultz,⁶⁹ Denison⁷⁰ and

⁶¹ C.A. Anderson and M.J. Bowman (eds.), *Education and Economic Development* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1963). See also O.E.C.D.'s *The Residual Factor and Economic Growth* (Paris: O.E.C.D., Study Group in the Economics of Education, 1964); UNESCO, *Education and Agricultural Development* (Paris: UNESCO, 1964); D.C. pipe and T. Cole (eds.), *Post-Primary Education and Economic Development* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964); T. Ribich, *Education and poverty* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1968).

⁶² G. Walters, *Education and the Technological Revolution* (London: Conservative Political Centre, 1964).

⁶³ John Vaizey, *The Economics of Education* (London: Faber and Faber 1962).

⁶⁴ Werts, "Scope and Elements in Manpower Planning," in *Report of the Seminar on Manpower Problems*, U.S. Department of Labor, ICA, April 17 July 14, 1961. See also in the same Report, "The Role of Manpower in the Development Process," by Levine.

⁶⁵ Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1937).

⁶⁶ Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics* (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930).

⁶⁷ Barbara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the poor Nations* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962).

⁶⁸ J.J. Bowman and C.A. Anderson, "The Role of Education in Development," R.E. Asher (ed.) op. cit. See also S. Strumillin, "The Economics of Education," *International Social Science Journal*, UNESCO, 14.4 (1962).

⁶⁹ T.W. Schultz, "Capital Formation by Education," *Journal of Political Economy*, 68:6 (November 1960); "Investment in Human Capital *The American Economic Review*, 51:1 (March 1961); "Reflections on Investment in Man," *Journal of Political Economy*, 70:5, Part 2 (October 1962).

⁷⁰ Edward F. Denison, "Measuring the Contribution of Education to Economic Growth," in OECD's *The Residual Factor and Economic Growth* (Paris: OECD, 1964).

Harberger⁷¹ studies indicate that investments in men and education are in no way less productive than investments in other economic enterprises.

Social and particularly education issues which come up in the process of change are discussed by Adam Curle.⁷² He has also given some thoughts as to how to solve some of the issues.⁷³ Harbison and Myers have furnished an analytical framework for formulating appropriate strategies of human resource development to cope with problems of development, particularly economic development.⁷⁴ During the last decade several studies have appeared in the field of educational problems and educational planning.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Arnold C. Harberger, "Investment in Men versus Investment in Machines The Case of India," Anderson and Bowman (eds.), *Education and Economic Development*, op. cit.

⁷² Adam Curle, *Educational problems of Developing Societies* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969).

⁷³ _____, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Under-developed Areas," *Harvard Educational Review*, 32:3 (Summer 1962).

⁷⁴ F. Harbison and C.A. Myers (eds.) *op. cit.*, see also W.A. Lewis's "Education and Economic Development," in Cowan, O'Connell and Scanlon (eds.), *Education and Nation Building in Africa*, op. cit.

⁷⁵ H. Parnes, *Forecasting Education Needs for Economic and Social Development* (OECD, The Mediterranean Regional Projects, 1962). See also OECD's UNESCO's following publications. *Social Objectives in Educational Planning* (Paris: OECD, 1967). *Lectures and Methodological Essays on Educational Planning* (Paris: OECD, Human Resources Development Training Course, 1964); UNESCO, *Economic and Social Aspects of Education Planning* (Paris: UNESCO, 1964); *The Needs of Asia in primary Education* (Paris: UNESCO, Educational Studies and Documents, No. 4, 1961); *Education in Technological Society* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952).

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