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NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SOCIAL PROGRESS:

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

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## NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH SOCIAL PROGRESS:

### THE ROLE OF EDUCATION

One of the major foreign policy instruments in the mid-twentieth century is the foreign assistance program. Foreign aid programs have played an important role in United States foreign policy since the end of World War II and Communist Bloc countries are demonstrating an increased willingness to compete with these programs. Thus, at the present time and for some time to come, a substantial segment of international relations is, and will continue to be, concerned with the rendering and receiving of aid by national governments.

Foreign aid programs, particularly in their technical assistance aspects, can be considered international communications programs of vast dimensions; they represent a concerted effort to alter the behavior patterns of most of the world's population in ways which will permit nations to make optimum use of their available material and human resources.

The Act for International Development of 1961 is a rather unique document in that for the first time the authorizing Act for a U. S. assistance program includes among its major objectives social and political progress in addition to economic progress, narrowly conceived, and military assistance. The following excerpts from the Act demonstrate this:

Chapter 1, Section 102. . . . It is, therefore, the policy of the United States to continue to make available to other free countries and people, upon request, assistance of such nature and in such amounts as the United States deems advisable and as may be effectively used by free countries and peoples to help them maintain their freedom. Assistance shall be based upon sound plans and programs; be directed toward the social as well as economic aspects of economic development; be responsive to the efforts of the recipient countries to mobilize

their own resources and help themselves; be cognizant of the external and internal pressures which hamper their growth; and should emphasize long-range development assistance as the primary instrument of such growth.

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Chapter 2, Section 211. (a) the President is authorized to furnish assistance on such terms and conditions as he may determine in order to promote the economic development of less developed friendly countries and areas, with emphasis upon assisting the development of human resources through such means as programs of technical cooperation and development. In so doing, the President shall take into account (1) whether the activity gives reasonable promise of contributing to the development of educational or other institutions and programs directed toward social progress, . . . (4) the extent to which the recipient country is showing a responsiveness to the vital economic, political, and social concerns of its people, and demonstrating a clear determination to take effective self-help measures and a willingness to pay a fair share of the cost of programs under this title, . . .

(b) In countries and areas which are in the earlier stages of economic development, programs of development of education and human resources through such means as technical cooperation shall be emphasized, and the furnishing of capital facilities for purposes other than the development of education and human resources shall be given a lower priority until the requisite knowledge and skills have been developed.

The above provisions of the Act are to be executed in accordance with policies determined by the President and the Agency for International Development. The following excerpts from the Program Guidance Manual specifically relate to the goal of promoting social development and human progress.

Chapter 1 - The purpose of our aid programs include the encouragement of the forward-looking elements in government, of progressive groups in the private sector, of educational reforms which will make the society more open and pragmatic . . .<sup>1/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> Department of State, Agency for International Development. Program Guidance Manual (A.I.D. Manual Chapter 1000). The agency. 1962, Order 1000.1, p. 5.

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Section 3.13 - Emphasis on Human Progress. Our objective of improving living conditions and increasing the potential for self-fulfillment of people in the receiving countries has its roots in the American belief in the dignity and worth of the individual. It includes his right to participate in determining his own and his country's goals and the method of achieving them. It also includes his obligation to share in the effort and his expectation to share in the yield. <sup>2/</sup>

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. . . in many countries social and political problems -- traditional attitudes and patterns of behavior, obsolete and inflexible institutions and self-centered and short-sighted oligarchies, old and new -- are greater blocks to development than economic problems. Apathetic populations, lack of law and order, sharp ethnic or regional or religious divisions, divided or irresponsible political leadership, corrupt or incompetent administration, are barriers that in many cases are more formidable than limited natural resources, scarce technical skill, or lack of capital. Moreover, growth is often profoundly disruptive, and real progress may be accompanied by serious social and political tensions. An aid policy which focuses too narrowly on economic development therefore is inadequate. Development assistance must be directed toward the need, in all sectors of national activity, for programs and projects that utilize and encourage the attitudes of men, as well as their abilities and skills. <sup>2/</sup>

Among the implications of the above provisions of the Act and supporting policy, the following are significant to this study.

1. the need to identify and evaluate social as well as economic progress;
2. the assumption that education performs a significant role in bringing about social and economic progress; and
3. the assumption that such changes as may be necessary to bring about social and economic progress can be identified and induced in most societies.

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<sup>2/</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2/</sup>Ibid., p. 6

"It is A.I.D. policy to encourage the development of effective national planning processes in the developing countries." <sup>4/</sup>

Development is change; planned development is planned change.

A.I.D. programs deal primarily with the specifics of development. However, before the specifics of economic, social and political development can be identified and interrelated, a framework must be developed which relates these aspects of overall development conceptually.

This paper will attempt to outline a theoretical framework which will: (1) indicate useful concepts for defining and measuring social and economic progress; (2) suggest a broad role for education in bringing about such progress; and (3) identify some of the conceptual problems involved in inducing behavior change across cultural boundaries. This paper will borrow freely and enlarge upon selected theoretical concepts developed by Edward T. Hall, Kenneth E. Boulding, and Silas McKinley.

#### Social, Economic and Political Organization

Before any theoretical concept can be developed regarding social, political and economic progress, development or evolution, a few assumptions must be made regarding the raison d'etre of such organizational schemes. The author would caution the reader that certain terms are used in the text with very specific meanings and should be used only as defined in the text. This is particularly true in the case of such terms as "power" where there are obvious negative connotations which might interfere with the communication of the basic ideas involved.

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<sup>4/</sup> Ibid., Order 1011.2, p. 3

Stated far too briefly, organizational schemes are based upon needs. Needs in turn can be classified under two general categories: basic, or survival, needs, and derived, or preferred needs.

The conceptual basis for organizations to be proposed here is perhaps better understood by referring first to man as an individual. Man, as an individual, has basic or survival needs which must be fulfilled in order for him to continue to exist. An example of such a basic need is the need for nourishment; without food man cannot survive. Derived needs on the other hand are those needs which derive from an overcapacity to satisfy basic needs; they are largely associated with preference. Thus, although man's need for nourishment is a basic need, once this basic need can be more than satisfied, an area of choice is open to the individual as to the kinds of food he prefers in order to satisfy his basic need. He thus develops preferences for certain types of food. This preference becomes a derived need. It is not a basic need, but a preferred way of satisfying a basic need.

At least one of the principal reasons for man collecting into groups is that it makes possible a more efficient, or greater, capacity to satisfy needs than would be possible for man acting individually. However, when groups are formed a new set of basic needs arise -- those needs which must be fulfilled in order for the group to exist. These are social, economic and political needs or, collectively, organizational needs. From the standpoint of the individual, organizational needs are usually derived needs; they are basic needs for the individual only when it is impossible for the individual to satisfy a basic need without acting

as a member of the group. Thus, there is a very complex relationship between individual needs and group needs. For example, if it is impossible for an individual to satisfy his basic need for nourishment by acting alone, it is necessary for him to act as a member of a group to satisfy that need. Therefore, some might conclude that any basic need of the group, i.e. any need which must be fulfilled in order for the group to continue to exist as a group, becomes a basic individual need because the individual could not survive alone. However, this assumes that the alternative of joining another group does not exist.

Basic needs for groups can be generally classified as follows:

1. Decision-making -

In order for a group to act as a unit, decisions must be made on behalf of the group which can bind members of the group to act. The larger the group, the greater the problem of involving all members of the group in the decision-making process. This gives rise to the need to have decisions made by some few members of the group. By making decisions which can commit the group and its individual members to act, decision-making members of the group exercise discretion over the behavior of other members. The overall mechanism through which group action is consciously directed and decisions made on behalf of the group is usually referred to as political organization.

2. Regulating Individual Behavior -

Since groups consist of individuals, within any given

group there are areas of activity in which the individuals act as individuals and members of sub-groups. In order to prevent the activity of one individual or sub-group from interfering with the activities of other individuals or sub-groups, there is a group need to determine the areas within which, and the means or methods by which, the individual or sub-group can satisfy his needs. The satisfaction of this overall group need results in social organization.

3. Providing the Material Requirement of the Group -

Groups as well as the individuals which comprise them have material requirements which must be met to sustain them. Individual requirements such as food, shelter, and clothing as well as group requirements such as weapons of defense and the subsistence requirements of administrative or non-producing members of the organization, must be met. The organization of individual and societal group activity which evolves to meet this need is generally referred to as economic organization.

Groups, like individuals, develop derived needs. An example of a derived need is to be found in the process of selecting leaders. Positions of political leadership, as well as status positions in the social and economic organizations, are filled in accordance with subjectively determined qualifications. These qualifications may range from being born of the right parentage through one's ability to mobilize

sufficient physical force on his behalf. Whatever criteria may be used, they represent a preference (on the part of those members who can effectively influence choice) for a type of leadership. The social and economic organizations of a group are replete with standards which must be met to achieve status. The need for leaders is basic, but the fact that standards for the selection of leaders are not met will seldom result in the dissolution of the group as long as someone performs the functions of leadership. For this reason, such standards represent preferred or derived needs rather than basic needs.

Most of the groups which have been discussed thus far are popularly referred to as societies. This usage of society will be used henceforth in this discussion and should not be confused with that narrower aspect of social organization which is only one of the organizational schemes within a society. Thus a given society will have its own social, political and economic organization and may also be a part of a larger group or society (in which case it would be considered a societal group), having its own social, political and economic organization.

The individual or societal unit is the common component in all organizational schemes discussed herein. In order to assess properly the role of the individual in the total society (or nation) one must consider the various roles he plays in each organizational scheme which affects him and which he in turn may influence. It is not realistic to suppose that his behavior can be altered in his role in the economic organizational scheme without affecting his role or status

position in the social and political organizational schemes of the group and his role in the economic, social and political organizational schemes of other larger or smaller groups of which he may be a component part.

For lack of a better term in the discussion that follows, power and power status will be used to refer to the relative position of the individual or societal unit in the various organizational schemes. These words are used to convey the distinction between the two aspects of power within a society -- "real power" and "recognized power." "Real power," herein referred to as "power," is actual, objective power whether or not it is recognized by conferred status within any or all of the organizational schemes of the society. "Recognized power," herein referred to as "power status," refers to the status accorded to the individual based on subjectively determined criteria which may or may not take into consideration power (real power) although in an ideal society, power status would be the reward for achieving power.

Political power is the individual's or societal unit's capacity to influence the behavior of the group of which he is a part. Political power status is the individual's capacity as recognized by his status in the political organizational scheme to influence the behavior of the group of which he is a part. Likewise, social power and social power status are, respectively, the capacity and the recognized capacity to influence social behavior, and economic power and economic power status are the capacity and recognized capacity to influence economic behavior. Again the distinction should be made that the individual's recognized capacity depends upon meeting the subjective

qualifications (conditions) which are recognized as entitling one to exercise power in the given organizational scheme. Examples of such political qualifications are: reaching the age of majority, payment of taxes, passing various types of tests, possession of certain education degrees or diplomas, parentage, nationality, citizenship, race, successful demagogic activity, or one's ability to interpret current events in accordance with the principals of dialectical materialism.

Using the concept of power as stated above, one of the goals of an assistance program which attempts to promote social, economic and political development would appear to be to maximize the power status (recognized power) of individual members of the society -- in other words the goals should be to maximize the capacity of the individual to influence the social, economic and political activities of the group on his behalf. (It is, of course, understood that in speaking of the individual one refers to all individuals collectively and not to promoting single individual interests at the expense of others. Thus it should be through the interaction of the individuals pursuing their own needs that social, political and economic progress would occur.) It has been proposed that social, economic and political development can be promoted through education. This poses the question, continuing the power syllogism, is education the key to power status in a society?

Related to the concept of power and power status is the never ending dispute concerning the quest for Truth as opposed to truth, or objective fact as opposed to subjective fact. It is not intended to

resolve this continuing dispute in this paper, but one of the basic assumptions upon which the argumentation herein rests is that societies and their components behave largely in accordance with subjective fact, i.e. what society accepts as being true. However, the progress and development experienced by a society will depend in the long run upon the extent to which subjective fact (truth) as recognized within the society, corresponds to objective fact (Truth).

Education, although based upon subjective fact, can of course transmit both Truth and truth. It may teach the skills and concepts which can be applied to achieve power status in the objective sense, e.g. military prowess, and it may also teach the form and substance of socially recognized expertise. The latter may range from soothsaying to military prowess. Thus in a society which recognizes black magic, persons versed in the practice of this act may be considered as educated and enjoy positions of power status, whereas in other societies they would be treated as crackpots.

Another way of looking at the conferring of power status upon members of the group is that it constitutes a reinforcement of values and norms by rewarding participants in the system for behaving in accordance with the basic tenets of the system. There are two aspects of a system of rewards (and punishments) which are particularly germane to this discussion:

1. the extent to which reward is based upon ascriptive criteria such as race and parentage, as opposed to achievement criteria;

2. the extent to which the knowledge and training essential to fulfilling achievement criteria are generally available to members of the society.

Thus, a major factor to be considered in assessing the democratic potential of a society is the intellectual gap -- the gap differentiating the majority of society from the intellectual elite in terms of having access to the qualifications essential to achieve power status in the society.

Silas McKinley<sup>5/</sup> theorized that military weapons technology was the key to power in a society and to the development of democracy. He pointed to the gap or differential between the military prowess of the rulers that could be exercised freely on the ruled, and the military prowess that the ruled could use against the rulers. The weapons of the feudal knight were "undemocratic" because they were far superior to any weapons his subjects were able to use against him. Thus in terms of the subjective, force-oriented criteria which determined power status in a feudal society, the knight was, in fact, superior to his subjects. On the other hand, the musket (and later the rifle) was a "democratic" weapon because in the hands of the foot soldier it was a weapon which was more nearly equal to any weapon which the rulers might bring to bear on him.

The key element in the process briefly described above was not the nature of the weapons, but the existence of the opportunity to be trained in their use. Then, as now, power status was available to those

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<sup>5/</sup>Silas Bent McKinley. Democracy and Military Power. New York: The Vanguard Press, 1934 revised 1941. 350 pp.

who had access to the training which made it possible. Few feudal foot-soldiers or peasants had the opportunity or time to avail themselves of training for combat with the knightly weapons. Nor did they have access to the training necessary to manufacture such weapons. However, the necessity for training the foot-soldier in the use of the musket narrowed the "intellectual gap" between those who ruled by force and a sizable segment of their subjects.

The above developments were not confined to military science and technology alone. The advent of the Industrial Revolution increased the demand for laborers trained to perform increasingly complex tasks, and clerical and management personnel were needed in large numbers to coordinate the more complicated modes of production. These developments further narrowed the intellectual gap and opened up new power positions in the economy which eventuated in an improved power status for those who produced wealth in relation to those who owned wealth. These latter developments were brought about to a very great extent by the evolution of national states and the realization by the rulers of these states that the heretofore unrecognized merchant and industrial class was a greater source of strength to the nation than the landed aristocracy. Once the "lords of industry and commerce" gained power status, a new hierarchy of largely achievement-oriented power status positions was possible.

Because of the narrowing of the intellectual gap through improved technology in the West, the 18th and 19th centuries were periods in which efforts to challenge those in positions of power were

relatively more successful than they had been in the past. Marx recognized aspects of the phenomenon described above, but attempted to compress them into the narrow confines of class conflict. Although the laboring classes suffered because they had not been accorded power status commensurate with their real power, Marx made the mistake of concluding that those who enjoyed power status automatically were non-producers, i.e. their recognized power status had no basis in real power. In fact, the key to the Marxian dialectic is that real power is the monopoly of the working class (forces of production) and that the power of the non-working classes (relations of production) is nothing more than subjectively determined power status. For this reason, Marx saw no alternative to the eventual takeover of the laboring classes. The most outstanding aberrations in the practical applications of Marxism are due to a large extent to Marx's insistence on visualizing all social need as economic need. Communist regimes have generally developed massive, inefficient decision-making mechanisms which demonstrate a marked tendency to evolve in the opposite direction from the "withering away of the state." The subjective fact upon which Marxism is based refuses to recognize the real power of planning, organizational and decision-making skills because these are the skills of the "class" that the laborers are destined to overthrow. Thus, Marxist systems have had to deviate from orthodoxy in order to survive. This deviation constitutes implicit recognition of the real power (and thus real contribution) of the "class" they profess must be destroyed because of its inability to contribute to the general welfare.

The previous discussion has been phrased in very broad, general terms in order to avoid preoccupation with details not directly the subject of this inquiry. The analysis which follows, of course, depends upon the validity of the theoretical assumptions presented thus far. However, this study is an attempt to examine technical assistance as a problem of promoting national development by changing patterns of behavior in such ways as to maximize the economic, social and political development potential of a society. The balance of this paper will thus explore certain technical aspects of the problem of changing behavior patterns through education.

#### Education and Behavioral Change -

The role of education in effecting behavioral change is a topic of such immense proportions that care must be taken to specify those aspects which are addressed here. Based upon the preceding arguments, it is proposed that three aspects of overall development are crucial:

1. Conceptual

In order to endure and progress over a long period of time, a society must have the capacity to examine "subjective fact" and develop concepts which enable it more effectively to cope with its major internal and environmental problems;

2. Institutional and Organizational

In order to utilize new concepts developed through the objective examination of subjective fact, the society

must have the capacity to reward active members of the society in the political, social and economic organizational schemes with increased power status based upon new criteria which may emerge. If this is not done there is a danger that overly rigid institutions or hierarchical schemes will defeat the basic purposes of man's group associations, i.e. to widen his area of choice and make possible a greater satisfaction of his basic and derived needs than would be possible through individual action or through acting as a member of another group;

3. Educational

The key to the individual's ability to achieve power status is the accessibility of the qualifications for achieving it. To the extent that these qualifications can be met through the educational process, educational opportunity is a measure of the democratic potential of a society. Both the nature of the qualifications and the opportunity to meet them are important in assessing progress. Although opportunity may exist, the "qualifications" may be unrealistic in terms of the needs of the society. This points to another role of education which carries us back to the first point in the cycle, that of examining subjective fact.

It is clear that these three phenomena are interdependent and that the heading of the last is in fact a misnomer because the educational

process is involved in all three. If this description of the developmental process is sound, technical assistance programs designed to promote national development and to plan for its implementation cannot avoid concerning themselves with education.

This analysis will attempt to utilize two theoretical concepts in order to indicate the magnitude, and to a certain extent the nature, of the task confronting those who wish to effectively promote national development.

The first of these concepts is the work of Kenneth E. Boulding.<sup>6/</sup> Outlining what "might well be called an organic theory of knowledge,"<sup>7/</sup> Boulding suggests that all human behavior is based on the through-put of information in which the individual's or organization's images of fact and value determine their behavioral response to informational and sensually perceived inputs. Human behavior can be changed only by altering one or more of the images which affect the behavior one wishes to change. Human beings can act as parts of an organization (members of a group) because communication makes possible a structure of roles. "The cellular units of organization are not men, but, as it were, parts of men, acting in a certain role. Because of this, each man is able to participate in many organizations in different roles and in different parts of his time and activity."<sup>8/</sup>

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<sup>6/</sup> Kenneth E. Boulding. The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1956.

<sup>7/</sup> Ibid. p. 16

<sup>8/</sup> Ibid. p. 27

Although, according to Boulding, the public cannot have an image, there is such a thing as a public image. A public image is comprised of those aspects of an individual image or constellation of images which are perceived by large numbers of individuals in a comparable manner. One might conceive of this public image as being the basis for stereotypes, e.g. an Englishman may be stereotyped as dapper and monocled because a large proportion of individual images of Englishmen include these descriptive features among others that are not shared on so large a scale.

The other theoretical tool which will be used has been developed by Edward T. Hall in his book, The Silent Language.<sup>2/</sup> According to Hall, there are three basic types of learning -- formal, informal and technical.

The formal process of learning is achieved largely through a trial-and-error method which usually recognizes only two alternatives -- right and wrong. An attempt is made, it is correct and reinforced, or incorrect and hence corrected. Although the subject matter taught by such a method would seem to be largely value oriented, the teaching of language also makes use of this method. In general, a word can be spelled only correctly or incorrectly, a verb form is either correct or incorrect. Other alternatives seldom exist.

One of the factors which usually identifies subject matter learned by the informal process, according to Hall, is that the content can seldom be described in any detailed fashion. This process depends

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<sup>2/</sup> Edward T. Hall. The Silent Language. Greenwich, Conn. Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1959. 185 pp.

upon models to be copied. The individual attempting to learn by this process is seldom confronted by an arbitrary right-or-wrong choice, but must choose from a number of models, a number of which may be desirable or correct and others which may be incorrect or inappropriate. Examples of the types of images (to borrow Boulding's terminology) which are learned informally are proper masculine behavior, or proper conduct for the young, unattached lady in various boy-girl situations.

Technical learning is best distinguished by its reliance upon the reasoning process and "is characterized by the fact that it is fully conscious behavior. . . . The very essence of the technical is that it is on the highest level of consciousness."<sup>10/</sup> "Technical learning . . . is usually transmitted in explicit terms from the teacher to the student, either orally or in writing."<sup>11/</sup>

As an outgrowth of Hall's formal, informal, technical breakdown of the learning process, he develops what he considers to be distinguishing features of formal awareness, informal awareness and technical awareness; formal, informal and technical affect; and formal, informal and technical attitudes toward change. Significant elements of his extrapolations should be noted. "Formally aware people are more likely to be influenced by the past than they are by the present or future."<sup>12/</sup> Obviously, by definition, informal awareness is insignificant since most of that which Hall describes as informal is essentially "out-of-awareness."

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<sup>10/</sup> Ibid, p. 74.

<sup>11/</sup> Ibid, p. 71-2

<sup>12/</sup> Ibid, p. 73

Technical awareness, of course, is obvious since the technical behavior is fully conscious behavior. In describing formal, informal and technical affects, Hall considers that in most instances emotion can be substituted for the word affect. Thus, formal emotion or formal affect refers to the identification of the individual with a formal system; this identification tends to be very strong because "formal images" are associated with values and what is judged as "natural." Hall notes that informal affect is seldom identifiable in normal situations. When a crisis arises, there is considerable anxiety and what happens as a result depends upon the accepted cultural ways of handling anxiety. Technical affect or technical emotion is again a misnomer because Hall identifies one of the characteristics of the technical as the suppression of emotion and personal feelings which might interfere with effective functions.

Concerning the attitudes toward change, Hall differentiates between formal, informal and technical by characterizing formal systems as being tenacious; informal systems are tenacious and elusive because of their out-of-awareness nature. The technical is, of course, in the pure sense a system of change or an avenue of change since it is supposed to be based to a great extent upon inquiry and the processes of logic and experimentation. Hall cautions his readers that "in real life one finds a little of all three [types of learning] in almost any learning situation. One type, however, will always dominate."<sup>13/</sup> For this reason,

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<sup>13/</sup> Ibid, p. 72

in the application of Hall's "major triad" which follows, the uses of formal, informal and technical will indicate that one is dominant in a situation, not that it is present to the exclusion of the others.

Returning to the schematic structure of society proposed in the introductory portion of this paper, one can begin to visualize the applications of the "image" and of the concepts of formal, informal and technical learning to the organization of society so described.

Basic needs and derived needs are of course images in the human mind. Although basic needs tend to be primarily fact images, it is obvious that by definition derived needs will consist of both fact and value images because they exist as a matter of preference. A group is also an image and a group has images of its own comprised of those aspects of images held in common by most of the membership of the group. Thus, group needs, particularly derived needs, are group images and correspond to images shared in part or en toto by most of the active members as to their nature as well as their position on the value scales. The extent to which these images are learned and communicated by the formal, informal or technical process would be in itself a suitable topic for volumes of research. However, this study is primarily concerned with the prospects for inducing change in a society through the learning process. Therefore, there will be greater emphasis on those images, formal, informal and technical, which serve as the basis for the achievement of power status of the individual within a group and which en toto will to a great extent determine the flexibility of a society in meeting its needs in an ever changing environment.

The distinction between power and power status is one of the most relevant, and at the same time elusive, elements in the social dynamic which influences society's flexibility. Historical examples of the instances where real power was enjoyed long before power status was conferred are not difficult to find. The rise of the industrialist class in Europe is an excellent example. The financial power as well as the economic strength of the industrialists existed for quite some time before the rulers of the countries recognized their key role in strengthening the nation and ensuring its survival. It was only as wars became increasingly expensive and the landed aristocracy became incapable of providing the necessary capital to defend the nation and its interests that the rulers turned to the industrialists as an untapped source of national wealth, and the result was the rise of a new "nobility". The recognition of the contribution of organized labor in most industrial societies has had a similar history. Based upon this concept it is proposed that, as new objective fact or technology becomes available and segments of a society begin to utilize this technology in such a way as to develop positions of real power, the society's capability to make optimum use of the new technology will be determined to a great extent by its ability to create group images which result in enhanced power status for individuals and organizations which contribute to social progress through utilization of the new technology.

Attempts to assist societies to absorb new technology will depend for their success upon changing pertinent images. This brings up two questions: (1) what is the process involved in forming group

images, and (2) to what extent are group images formed and/or reinforced through an organized process -- particularly in a formal education system? A broad conceptual framework of the problem of image formation as it relates to economic progress can be stated thus: In order to achieve economic progress a society must have goals which can be satisfied through economic processes and it must further recognize and reward the conduct necessary to achieve these goals.

The concept of sectors in economies where power status of the individual is largely achievement based is foreign to many of the currently less developed countries. In fact, many of such countries have virtually no hierarchy of power status in their economic organizational schemes. It is interesting to observe that in most of the less developed countries, the economy is significantly lacking in nationals who enjoy any position of power status based upon their economic activity. If one could eliminate from consideration the non-national merchants and businessmen such as the overseas Chinese, Indians, and Arabs as well as the foreign owned, managed and/or operated businesses, one would find that there was virtually no activity above the small business and small enterprise level in most of the less developed countries. This situation exists in spite of the fact that most of these same countries have set as major policy goals the realization of very rapid rates of economic growth. It is difficult to perceive how this can be achieved without society recognizing and rewarding economic performance which is essential to achieve such growth.

The problem is not confined to industry alone. It extends even

to traditional areas such as agriculture where educational opportunity is generally considered as an opportunity to avoid continuing to work as a farmer and a member of the rural community -- rather it is a means for escaping what is considered an unpleasant life. The public image of the farmer as an illiterate buried to his knees in cow dung is not one which will result in motivating young members of the society to choose agriculture as their vocation as long as there are other alternatives, however imaginary they might be.

"Current technical assistance programs of the Western powers provide the individual with skills and knowledge which equip him to perform a function, but they do not provide the society with the knowledge and concepts which will enable it to make the best possible use of the individual."<sup>14/</sup> Technical assistance programs are largely confined to using the technical learning process, although participants trained outside of their native countries may experience some informal learning in their new environment.

Historically, technical assistance has largely concentrated on the transfer of knowledge in technical fields and has paid little attention to building or modifying images in order to enable the society to make efficient use of the newly acquired technical skills of some of its members. Thus the nations so assisted have been left to their own devices in the process of assimilation. Since assimilation has historically been primarily an evolutionary process as suggested earlier in this paper, it is not likely that, if left alone, an

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<sup>14/</sup> Kenneth L. Neff. Education and the Development of Human Technology. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962. p. 5

evolutionary assimilation of new technology into a traditional society<sup>15/</sup> will proceed at a rapid enough pace to permit significantly accelerated rates of economic growth.

The new Act for International Development is a significant document for the principal reason that it permits and encourages technical assistance directed toward social development. Quite apart from, but in no way diminishing, the essentially non-economic benefits to be derived from social development, the economic benefit can be significant. In fact, successful technical assistance efforts in the field of social development may be required before economic progress can be achieved on a significant scale.

The new Act assigns a high priority to education in the technical assistance program. Furthermore, the Act and supporting policy emphasize the importance of planning national development. The pedestal upon which the whole planning process rests is the ability of the planners to predict and/or anticipate the ways in which individuals and groups within the society will act, react, and interact to a proposed set of parameter values and/or variables.

In some societies, the planning process teeters precariously on a tiny pedestal of predictability. Where this is true, unless the development plan includes programs designed to instill the motivations required to permit and encourage the individual and group participation in the activities essential to realize planned objectives, the plan may prove to be little more than an academic exercise.

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<sup>15/</sup> of the type identified and described by W. W. Rostow, E. E. Hagen and others.

The role of education in moulding and creating the attitudes, values and motivations necessary to bring about the assimilation of new technology can be derived from the suggested synthesis of the theoretical approaches of McKinley, Hall and Boulding. Attitudes, values and motivations are images which determine individual and group behavior. These images are acquired individually through formal, informal and technical learning processes. Group images are comprised of those elements of individual images which are held in common by a significant proportion of the group membership. Group images are the substance of "subjective fact."

Left to its own devices, education in a traditional society will tend to reinforce and perpetuate such development-restricting group images as: the importance of ascriptive qualifications in determining status; the undesirability of change; system of rewards based upon status rather than upon achievement; etc. Planned national development must include programs to greatly enlarge the field of activity sanctioned and rewarded by society. Efforts to achieve this through a system of education will require the careful planning of content, methods and scope.

The importance of content and methodology are suggested by Hall's major triad. A great deal will depend upon the extent to which the technical learning process can be used to alter images acquired by the formal and informal learning processes. Hall hints that some change can be effected by the use of the technical learning process in destroying or altering technically acquired images which serve as props for

formal and informal images.<sup>16/</sup> Further research and experimentation are needed to lend precision to a technical methodology designed to remove stubborn, formally acquired roadblock images. One area of inquiry which might prove highly productive in this sense would be an examination of techniques used or the learning process involved in securing religious converts.

The "scope" of education deals with the threshold concept in terms of the number of persons which must be reached through the educational process in order to alter public images. Before group images can be changed, a sufficient number of individual images must be altered in a comparable manner. Research in three related areas is needed before threshold levels can be determined with sufficient precision: (1) the extent to which images gained by the technical learning process in an educational institution are communicated to other members of the group who are not educated in such institutions; (2) studies which indicate any differences in the above process when (a) the subject image reinforces an accepted group image, (b) the subject image conflicts with an accepted group image, and (c) there is no group image to be reinforced by, or in conflict with, the subject image; and (3) the proportion of group membership which must share an image before it becomes an effective group image.

The last area of inquiry should also attempt to identify, if and where possible, key sub-groups or segments of groups which must be reached before attempts to change public images are effective. One

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<sup>16/</sup> Hall. op. cit., pp. 87-91

should not exclude the possibility that substantial change can be effected by concentrating on such groups. The channels for diffusion may be important in such cases. For example, attempts to discover the correlation between literacy and levels of per capita income by Anderson and Bowman<sup>17/</sup> show that:

"only countries with 90 per cent literacy or better had 1955 per capita incomes of over \$500, and, where literacy rates were under 30 per cent, incomes were under \$200. However, countries with incomes under \$100 had literacy rates ranging up to 60 per cent and those with incomes between \$100 and \$200 included countries with literacy as high as 70 to 80 per cent. Moreover, in the 30 to 70 per cent literacy range there was virtually no correlation between literacy and income."

The one missing factor which might make sense of the situations described above is the dispersal pattern of literacy within each country. Comparative historical studies might show that, until target groups or sub-groups of strategic importance in the society were reached, increased income did not result from the teaching of literacy. This may be increasingly important when one considers that as key groups become literate, their images become more susceptible to alteration through a technical learning process. Under such circumstances, realistic educational planning should make every effort to reach such strategic groups first rather than follow traditional dispersal patterns which might reach such groups only after 80 or 90 per cent of the population has received some education.

<sup>17/</sup> Mary Jean Bowman and C. Arnold Anderson, "The Role of Education in Development," in Development of the Emerging Countries. Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1962. p. 159.

The degree of educational opportunity existing at various levels of the educational system may also influence the process of changing public images. It may be that only after 80 or 90 per cent of the total population have had some education do a significant number of key-group members have an opportunity to obtain enough education (or education at a sufficiently high level) to result in a significant change in group images.

#### SUMMARY

This paper has attempted to develop a theoretical framework which emphasizes the interrelationships between social, economic and political development. The emphasis has been on the importance of the image, particularly the group image, in attempting to achieve rapid rates of economic growth through the introduction of new technology in a society. Group images largely determine the social, political and economic rewards (herein referred to as power status) for members of the group. Planned economic goals are not likely to be realized until and unless the patterns of behavior which are necessary to achieve them are sanctioned and rewarded by society.

The role of education in the developmental process, in addition to the imparting of skills and new technology, is to develop a public image structure which will enable the society to make the most efficient use of the newly acquired skills and technology in meeting individual and group needs. Thus, the teaching of attitudes and values which has all too often been subsumed under "general and unmeasurable" social development goals of education is, in fact, an essential

contribution to economic development. For this reason, the planning of educational growth and development must be integrated into the overall planning process to ensure consideration of the prospects for bringing about necessary behavioral change in the process of determining overall development goals.