

**SOCIAL CHANGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION :
A SOCIOLOGICAL CRITIQUE OF
MODERNIZATION AND MARXIST
APPROACHES**

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"Social Change and Higher Education in India": A
Sociological Critique of the Modernization and Marxist
Approaches submitted by Mr. Edward A. Rodrigues is in
partial fulfilment of eight credits out of a total
requirement of twenty-four credits for the degree of
Master of Philosophy of this University. This
dissertation has not been submitted for any other
degree of this University and is his own work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed
before the examiners for evaluation.

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Chairman

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Supervisor

17/7/84

To

My parents

with love and dedication.

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EDWARD A. RODRIGUES

"RESEARCH ABSTRACT"

Ever since they achieved political independence from colonial rule, the underdeveloped countries of the Third World have been making efforts to develop a system of education compatible with their overall goals of socio-economic development. In this study we have tried to examine the nature and extent to which growth of higher education in India has contributed to the larger goals of socio-economic development in India.

We have argued that both Modernization theory of Change and the Marxist theory of Change, despite their respective explanations on the role of education in society have in themselves been unable to explain the pattern of growth of higher education that has taken place since independence.

We have argued that both these models of development, in so far as they have failed to consider the particular historico cultural context of the underdeveloped societies, their explanations have offered us only a marginal understanding the growth of higher education in India. Being models of development that have had their inception and growth in the western social sciences their historico cultural reference are the societies of Western Europe, the USA or the Soviet Union. The transplantation of these models in the context of the underdeveloped countries implicitly reveals the larger struggle for Third World hegemony by the two Super Powers.

In this study we have argued that models of development are rooted in an ideological nexus such that it makes it imperative for the ruling classes in these under-developed countries to make choices in the realm of structural change if they have to make their societies compatible to the goals of socio economic growth.

In this study we have shown that education has an intrinsic relationship with society. We have argued that no amount of effort to change education making it relevant to the goals of development can take place without there first being larger change in the society itself.

In this study we have undertaken an empirical examination of certain trends in higher education in India to prove the point that despite the existence of well intentioned policies to reform higher education, the growth in higher education is mainly the result of the stresses and pulls of interest groups within the larger political and economic sphere of Indian society. Therefore, we have argued that despite the contributions that higher education has made to the development of India's industrial economy, it has also helped to further the inegalitarian character of Indian society by creating further social differences between itself and the wider society.

In this sense we have argued that higher education has helped to maintain the existing status quo in post-independent Indian society.

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There is one essential qualification we have to fulfil if we are to satisfactorily carry out the task of development. We have to be part of the society we are changing, we have to work from within it, and not try to descend like ancient gods, do some thing and disappear again. A country, or a village, or a community, cannot "be" developed, it can only develop itself. For real development means the development, the growth of people. (President Julius K.Nyerere, "The Intellectual Needs Society", Man and Development).

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Chapter- I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

① (Throughout the history of man, we notice that one of the ways in which thinkers in the field of education have sought to emphasize the importance of education is by placing it in relationship with the society in which it exists. We notice that wherever an attempt has been made to express this importance, in some theoretical manner, the relationship takes on a deterministic character depending upon what is emphasized as being important.

Consider for example the following statements:

* "Education must shape the state so as to contribute to individual welfare and at the same time to mould the citizen in such a way as to fit him for the enjoyment of the ideal benefits of the ideal State. Hence in a wider sense Education is provided by membership of a society, by participation in its activities and by obedience to its laws. In the narrower sense, it must consist in the deliberate training of the civic virtue." (Plato by Field 1948:92).

* "Education consists in one or another of its aspects in the systematic socialisation of the younger generation the systems of ideas, sentiments and practices, which express in us not only our personality but the groups or different groups of which we are part, these are religious beliefs, moral beliefs and practices, national or occupational traditions, collective opinions of every kind. Their totality forms the social being. To constitute this in each of us is the end of education." ((Durkheim 1968:124).

"I believe the school is primarily a social institution. Education being a social process, the school is simply that form of

community life, in which all these agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of race and to use his own powers for social ends." (Dewey, 1966:48)

✕ What we have stated above are some of the many view points thinkers have expressed on the relationship between education and society.

While it is possible to observe a shift in the focus of emphasis in these viewpoints, it is also possible to point out certain common notions that seem to underlie educational thinking in general. These are:

- i. Education involves a learning process, combining a learner and a learned in a specific type of role relationship.
- ii. This learning process because of its intrinsic deterministic relationship with the rest of society is endowed with goals, both specific to itself as well as in relationship to the rest of society.
- iii. Because these goals are rooted in the particular historico-cultural setting of a society, they are necessarily different for different societies in different historical periods.

(These three dimensions, as we shall call them, serve as the basis for most sociological thinking in the field of education. One important conclusion we can draw from such an understanding of education is that for analytical purposes the institutions of education in any society can serve as a microscopic image of the larger social order. Consequently, we would not be wrong in saying that educational theory in seeking to explain the interrelationship between education and society, always belongs to a larger social theory that sets as its objective an explanation of the larger social order. In other words, a social theory that seeks to explain the significant character of social relations in any society cannot but use the same theoretical formulation in trying to explain the particular relationship that links education with the rest of the social order.)

We consider this latter theoretical observation to be the basis of both investigative and theoretical work that is done in the sociology of education. We also consider it to be the basis from which we must formulate the subject of enquiry in this study. Expressed plainly and simply, the main questions that this research

enquiry investigates are :

- i) How have dominant social change theories sought to explain the theoretical inter-relationships between education and the society of which it is part?
- ii) To what extent do these theories consider the dimension of development in the context of education?
- iii) How do these theories and their explanations of development help us understand the nature of certain trends in the development of higher education as have occurred in a Third World society like India in the post-independence period?

We can say that the questions take up the two main dimensions of enquiry that constitute the body of discussion in our study. Thus, while there is an attempt to critically evaluate dominant social change theories in the context of human development in education, an attempt is also made to understand the significance of these explanations in their ability to comprehend certain emerging trends in the growth patterns of higher education in contemporary India.

Having stated our main problems of research, let us now consider the important concepts and processes we shall be involved with in the analysis of our study.

Section- I

A. 'UNDERDEVELOPMENT' AND 'PLANNED DEVELOPMENT'

One of the important characteristics that emerges in the research literature on Third World development of the past few decades has been the pessimistic note surrounding a growing criticism, that the development taking place in the societies of the Third World is marked by a sense of failure. What is implied by this is the argument, that the kind of goals that Third World societies have set for themselves are next to impossible to achieve, given the pattern of growth that these societies are pursuing.

Consider:

"The developing countries are currently experiencing an unprecedented crisis engulfing all sectors of development, necessitating a searching appraisal spanning all aspects of planning strategy. They have reached this state through a rather slow but traumatic discovery, that the growth achieved by them has caused more pains than gains, that their plan models have raised more problems than they have solved." (Haq 1975:23)

Historically, when we examine the past from which has emerged the present political formation of the world, we note that the period following the Second World War is a period of great changes all over the world. Western Europe, after being ravaged and destroyed, had begun a period of concerted economic reconstruction with the support of US capital. Faced with the obvious risk, involved in continuing to maintain its presence in the colonies, the European empires began to disintegrate at an unprecedented pace. Within a span of two decades (1950-1970) almost the entire colonial world was replaced by independent nation states. The historical significance of this emergence, of the Third World in this critical phase of capitalist reconstruction in the West must not be undermined when considering development and underdevelopment.

Political independence in the Third World societies did help to usher in a period of nationalist reconstruction. The argument for nationalist reconstruction as pointed out by Myrdal (1968), Haq (1975) and many others emphasized the important fact, that development in underdeveloped societies could only come about through a greater use of science and technology. For this, the underdeveloped society must make the necessary changes in its social structure, norms and values.

But how should this development come about and on what would the principles of change be based? What should be the pace and direction of the change? What sort of development model must underdeveloped societies have? These are questions whose answers must continue to remain entwined in controversies.

Being "late comers" in the process of economic development, what served for these countries as models were the societies of Western Europe and America and at a later state that of the Soviet Union.

As models of development, Western Europe and America represented a democratic liberal State characterized by a capitalist economy based on the private ownership and control of the means of production. In contrast, the Soviet Union and countries of the Eastern Bloc represented a democratic collective State characterized by a centralized economy based on State ownership and control of the means of production.

For all Third World societies however the need for development emerged as a very real need of the situation and the times. All these societies had to initiate their development against the background of a colonial past.

Thus development for these societies was in the first instance a result of exogenous factors.

What "development" really means to the Western social scientist is an issue of an on going debate. Commenting on the nature of this debate Long writes; "The term development is fraught with conceptual and ideological problems making it very difficult to arrive at some agreed definition of the term." (Long 1977:4).

While the conceptual problem pertaining to development depends on the extent and validity of information available in these new societies. The ideological problems associated with the term are sharply differentiated by the larger political struggle amongst the two Super Powers who vie with one another to establish their hegemony in these newly independent Third World countries. Development therefore, as pointed out by Worsley (1967) emerged in term of the two alternative models of socio-economic growth i.e., either the capitalist model of development or the communist model of development.

Given the borrowed models of 'development' coupled with the hard grim reality of Third World poverty and

illiteracy, we would not be wrong if we argued, that in such a situation, at the time of their independence, most Third World societies simply were not able to realise their goals of 'development' on their own. Neither materially nor technologically were they resourceful enough to set the pace of development in their societies.

From this point of view, their dependence on the 'developed' world can be seen to be both inevitable and necessary. It was the West which had all the institutional, technological, organizational manpower and fiscal capabilities to set the pace of development. Political independence as pointed out by Frank(1969) was just the "tip of the iceberg". Thus at the time of their independence, these new nations were faced with the critical choice that would influence both the pace of their development as well as the particular direction in which it had to proceed. They had to decide which of the two rival powers competing for world dominance they would give their allegiance to. Once this initial choice of association was made, this in itself became the exogenous force which would set about conditioning a number of factors pertinent to the particular form of development. In either case, whether

a developing society followed a capitalist form of growth or a communist one,¹ the forms of development were always rationalised in the name of Planned Development. One can therefore say that the initial transition from a state of underdevelopment identified by the "colonial situation" to a state of Planned Development implied the making of choices both rational and ideological.

B. PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

It is of importance to note that Planned Development came only after the ruling class in underdeveloped societies had identified with a certain ideology that would serve as the rationale for their development activities. As the term itself would suggest, Planning involves enactment of certain activities in the context of a pre-formulated scheme of thinking. In the particular manner in which the term is used here, it means the strategic utilization of manpower and resources for the achievement of the goals of development.

1. Such clear cut choices were however very rarely made. As we will see in the case of India and many other Third World societies, development was carried out on both capitalist as well as socialist forms of planning.

For the underdeveloped societies that initiated a period of planned development at the time of their independence, the entire process had to be shaped, through not only keeping satisfied the vested interest in the ruling class, but also the growing demands of the masses which had in nearly all cases participated in the Nationalists Movements for independence. The following then, are some important features of Planned Development as it emerged in the newly independent countries of the Third World.²

(1) The Role of the State:

By nature of the manner in which these countries became independent, the State in these new countries emerged as the principal unifying agent for the control and administration of the country. It was therefore both necessary and in a way inevitable for the state to emerge as the main initiator for planned development in the society. In this capacity as the leading promoter of development in the society, the State took upon itself what Gunnar Myrdal called the 'interventionist' approach.

2. The points we have selected here are from Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama, vol.I, chapter-XV...

In other words, the State intervened in all aspects of the society, involving in its process of planning whatever section of the society it felt needed change and development.

(II) The Relatedness of Planned Development:

Since the development of the entire society became the ultimate goal for the State, it became imperative on the part of planning to take on a coordinated approach to both economic and social problems. This implied not only raising the levels of productivity in the economic sector, but also improving the equality of human life in the social and cultural dimensions. Hence the need for developing new institutions with these wider perspectives as the goal.

(iii) Egalitarian Basis of Planning:

The involvement of the masses in the nationalist struggles, made it imperative for the ruling classes in these societies to take into account the desires of the masses in the planning for development. A review of any development plan of the Government of India, will immediately reveal this. The welfare of the masses seems

to be the underlying 'target achievement'. Other new countries in South and South East Asia seem to follow a similar path in their planning. However, it would be of interest to note that very often these egalitarian thrusts to the activity of planning were severely lacking in a correct appraisal of the reality they sought to tackle. Consequently, planning activities were very often inclined to be over ambitious in the goals and target they set down for the common masses.

(iv) The Rationalist Methodology of Planning:

The impact of rationality on the progress and success of the Western industrial countries was like a standing imperative to the developing societies, for following a rationalist attitude in the work of Planning. Coupled with the fact that all these societies were forced with a severe lack of resources and skilled manpower, rationality in decision making and implementation was of the utmost importance if the scarce available resources and skills were to be used for national progress.

C. THE INDIAN SITUATION

The first formal process of Planning for Development was started in 1950. In its more than three decades of existence, the Planning Commission has come to occupy a place of central importance in the working life of the Indian State. An appraisal of India's efforts in the field of Planned Development, will reveal the existence of all the above mentioned four features.

Our intention here is not to carry out an analysis of the Planning activity carried out by the State, but to try and point out some of the general features, that seem to highlight the overall content of Planning in India. From this point of view the purpose of this discussion is to understand those underlying beliefs and attitudes, that have been the basis for steering the efforts of Planned Development in the country.

(a) Planning on a National Level:

The nationalist leaders of the independence movement believed that the upliftment of India from its dire conditions of poverty and backwardness, could only occur through planning for the country's development on a

national scale. What national planning basically implied was the linking of planning activity with the nationalist goals and objectives.

These nationalist goals and objectives were the founding spirit of India's constitution. They were :

(i) Democracy; (ii) Secularism; (iii) Socialism;
 (iv) National Integration; (v) Elimination of poverty.

Against these five objectives of the Constitution as indicated by J.P. Naik(1965:78-81), the planners had to carry out both conceptually and practically the activity of planned development.

The activity as we shall later on discuss has certainly not been an easy one. Right from the start the process has been afflicted by issues of ideology, vested interests, allocation of resources, etc. In the final analysis as we shall point out, it is these issues rather than the Constitutional objectives which have given a character to our activities of planned development in India.

(b) The Reformist Approach to Social Change:

The nature of the mass involvement in the struggle for independence would have one believe that after freedom

was achieved, leaders and policy makers of free India would set into motion a series of structural changes that could bring relief and development to the vast majority of the masses living in a nightmare of poverty. However, the structural features of Indian society that persisted in maintaining a system of inequality and injustice in the society were by and large left untempered. The main reason behind this sort of a failure was the reformist approach to social change at all levels of policy making and leadership. Jawaharlal Nehru himself made a pointed observation on this phenomena. "Instead of a real change of the social order, stress is laid on charity and benevolence within the existing system, the vested interests remaining where they were". (Nehru 1958:545)

Yet it was Nehru himself who specified the main attitude to social change in the context of planning. "In theory, if it is possible to bring about a great political change by a non-violent technique, why should it not be equally possible to affect a radical social change by this method?" (1958: 547) Instead of using a policy of coercion and compulsion to achieve certain

structural changes in Indian society, Indian planning has sought to bring about social change almost exclusively through persuasion and incentives.

From this point of view, the social transformation of Indian society must, by the very nature of such reform policy be a slow and long drawn out process. Further, the enmeshing together of political interests with vested economic interests, coupled with an administration devoid of any conviction and the multitude of masses submerged in a vicious cycle of poverty, tends to very largely reduce the impact of any social reforms that accompany planned development activity. (see Kurien 1978).

(c) The Urban bias in Indian Planning:

Industrialization of the economy and its accompanying twin process of urbanization, have from the very beginning enjoyed a high priority in Indian Planning. Agriculture was from the start seen as an activity to sustain and promote industry. In return it was believed that the achievements of industry would filter^{down} into the villages to bring an improvement in the quality and standard of living. That this has not happened is evident from the rampant povert, malnutrition and ill health in the rural

areas. For a country with a predominant peasant character, the urban bias in Indian Planning turns out to be a major obstacle in rural transformation.

Social scientists like Pocock(1968), Lipton(1968), Kurien(1978), etc., have pointed out that this urban bias in Indian Planning can be traced right from the inception of Planning in independent India.

This is not to suggest that India's 664,000 villages and 80 per cent of its people remained untouched by the impact of planning. Compared to its deep seated traditional past, the Indian village in contemporary India can boast of quite a number of changes in both the quality of life as well as in the various amenities and services made available to the inhabitants. Yet in some very vital areas of rural life, a long awaited change has yet to make its presence felt. In many ways, the rural elite consisting mainly of rich landlords and money lenders has continued from the pre-independence period to control and exercise influence on the structure of power in rural India. Together with the phenomena of caste and caste politics,

rural India even to this day presents a grim reality of an inegalitarian social structure that seems to persist even despite undertaking a number of legal and social reforms to effect a change.

The various reforms put forward by the Government regarding land distribution and land tenure either carry some loopholes by which they can be bypassed or are so weakly enforced that the entire process of change becomes a self defeating exercise.

(d) Planning and the Lack of Social Discipline:

Indian Planning has been inclined to treat the activity mainly from an economic point of view. Even social planning is largely concentrated on how and when allocated funds are to be utilized. From a sociological point of view, the participant response to planned development has remained a very neglected issue. The dominant views as expressed by scholars like Srinivas(1964) and Desai(1975) are mainly focused on response to institutional changes and in this sense are limited in their value to explain individual response to the overall process of Planned Development.

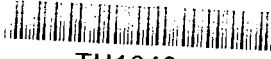
Social discipline is a term we use here to indicate that general attitude in which the participants of Planned Development understand, that the success of any development programme rests as much in their ability to efficiently carry out the duties and responsibilities demanded of them as in the State's own strategies and policies of implementation in the particular programme.

From this point of view, planned development in India suffers from almost a complete lack of social discipline. Corruption, dowry, tax evasion, etc., are some of the most common and rampant manifestation of this lack of social discipline. At another level the phenomena exists in the inefficiency and lack of motivation that highlights the nature of performance in a wide variety of social and economic organizations at various levels of the Indian bureaucracy and administration.

The situation has been very well summed up by Myrdal in his discussions on practice of democratic planning in India. He writes:

"It is beyond doubt that rapid development will be increasingly difficult to engender without an increase in social discipline in all strata and even in villages. It is therefore disturbing that all the plans are

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silent on this point even where planning is a growing concern and where successive plans have taken account of a variety of relevant issues, one has to scrutinise the plans very closely indeed to find a few references in the need for regulations placing obligations even on all villagers. Even these are presented with apparently not much conviction and are not acted upon. (1968:899).

It is our belief that whatever be the ideological character of change, the level of social discipline in a society reveals the level of integrity and social awareness of the people.

The four aspects of Planned Development outlined above will form the major points of reference in our analysis of development in higher education. It may be mentioned here that a number of scholars like Kurien (1978), Myrdal (1968), Pocock (1968), Lipton (1968), etc., have been very critical about the nature of Planned Development taking place in India. Kurien has pointed out to the growing gap between the Planner's intentions and their implementation capabilities. The general observation made by all these scholars is that Planning policies when faced with vested interests and the rigidity of existing institutions tend to get reshaped to the demands of such situations.

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Section- II

✓ EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

(The special phenomena under consideration in this study concerns a particular area of educational development in the context of the overall process of social change taking place in India. In the introduction to this chapter we highlighted the importance of the inter-relationship between education and society. For the purpose of this study we have limited the meaning of the term 'education' to indicate just those aspects that concern the inter-relationship it has with a society. Further our study of educational development in India is mainly concerned with the area of higher education, in relation to the overall social change taking place in Indian society.

Within the framework of Planned development, all developing countries have placed a very high priority on the development of education in the society. A general attitude underlying the importance given to education has been pointed out by Martin Carnoy(1974:2). "Nations have come to believe that to be accepted as civilized, they must be educated and to be educated they must be schooled."

(At the time of their independence, the ruling classes in these new States initiated a large number of programmes that would expand the educational base in their society. In India the efforts to expand the educational base were going on even before independence. During the colonial rule, many nationalist leaders and educationists were already in the process of outlining a process of education for the country. Gandhi's own programme of basic education developed in the pre-independence period is an excellent example of the kind of efforts nationalist leaders were involved in to develop a programme of education for the country. Many reasons can be put forward for this demand for the expansion of education the country:

First, the independence movement brought into the mainstream of Indian society a vast population, who saw in education an opportunity to increase their earnings, as well as improve their standard of living. In this sense, education took upon itself the character of social demand.)

Secondly, the demands of science and technology for the successful implementation of the goals of development made it imperative for the State to develop a ready supply of trained manpower that could be utilised for the imple-

mentation of these goals.

Thirdly, from the point of view of democracy and the nationalism that define the unity of the Indian State, the State's role in the expansion of education was seen as an important effort of the Government to develop a nationalist consciousness in the younger generation.

Finally, from an egalitarian point of view, the expansion of education was seen as one of the important mechanisms of social change that would help in reducing the social and economic inequalities so prevalent in every level of Indian society. A brief examination of Government policies in the post-independence period will reveal the existence of all four factors as the basis for planning and expansion of education in India.

Within such a framework of goals and objectives, the Government set to task the various mechanisms of change that would provide for the growth of education in the country. For the purpose of understanding the process of social change in the context of higher education, it would be necessary to study the phenomena of educational growth both in terms of the strategy used by the State to guide

it in its efforts to develop education, as well as the nature of response that follows in the implementation of these strategies. With this basic focus of investigation we can now link up the growth of higher education with the particular observations made on the general character of planned development in India.

/The specific issues that we shall identify in the context of this educational growth, can now be formulated in the nature of particular questions, whose discussion would form the main content of our analysis of higher education.

I. In relations to the overall pattern of Planned Development :

- i) How do we identify the dominant trends of ideas that have influenced and determined the growth of higher education in India?
- ii) To what extent have these ideas helped to realise the goals and objectives of educational development?

II. In relation to the particular attitude to social change incorporated in the process of growth in higher education?

- i) How do we identify the particular attitude

to social change incorporated in the process of growth in higher education?

- ii) To what extent does this attitude to change in growth of higher education relate to the goals and objectives of educational development?

III. In relation to the direction of social change, under-planned development:

- 1) How do we identify the particular direction of social change associated with growth in higher education?
- ii) How has this direction of change in the growth of higher education helped to realise the goals and objectives of planned development?

The questions that have been formulated here cover three general features of planned development in higher education. It is our belief, that these questions open up enquiries that are both analytically specific and critically evaluative. They make us investigate the specific trends of planned development in the context of growth in higher education as well as bring to light in a critical way the nature of the particular relationship that involves the system of higher education with the larger social order, in the context of the overall process of social change taking place in India.

Section- III

THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Theories of social change have largely developed their particular explanations as a response to problems that emerge in the context of development. From this point of view social change raises problems of both a very general nature concerning the transformation of under developed societies as well as the specific questions concerning the particular aspects of social phenomena, that promote or obstruct socio-economic growth. Seen together, both sets of questions provide a kind of theoretical orientation. It is this theoretical orientation of social change that we are concerned with in the context of this study.

Further, it is these theoretical orientations which serve as the basis for developing sets of ideas, assumptions and methodologies which in turn become the basis for the formulation of a particular kind of policy intended for socio-economic growth.

If the above mentioned observation on the theories of social change can be accepted as a basis of under-

standing the phenomena of development, then we shall take up for consideration the two major and dominant theoretical orientations concerning the phenomena of development in the context of underdeveloped societies. These are:

- I. The Modernization Approach, and
- II. The Marxist Approach (including the Neo-Marxist perspective).

Both these theoretical orientation will be considered at much greater detail in separate chapters of this thesis. Here we shall briefly take up some general considerations on both these approaches.

In both these approaches, there is an attempt made to explain the phenomena of development taking place in Third World societies. Yet as we shall see, the conceptual and ideological differences that have defined their separate approaches for research have provided sociologists with frameworks that not only put forward specific areas of questions, but also influence the ways in which the problems have been posed. Thus, we find that both these theoretical orientations, concern themselves with a range of common issues like industrialization, urbanization and their impact on

underdeveloped societies, as well as how within underdeveloped societies local and societal institutions inhibit and promote socio-economic development.

Further, a related problem with both these development issues considers the manner in which Governments through various policy measures have been largely instrumental in shaping the kind of societal change that is taking place in these underdeveloped countries. It is within this broad spectrum of related problems, that we shall try to identify the important and distinctive features that differentiate the two theoretical orientations.

I. The Modernization Approach.

This is an approach to social change and development which emerged in the post-War period. It was developed by social scientists in America and the Great Britain. In general, however, it has mainly come to be associated with American sociology where it received its theoretical, methodological and ideological grounding.

In the context of a theoretical orientation, however, the term "modernization" is used to indicate

the nature of the processes of structural differentiation and structural integration that result in human societies, as they come under the pervasive influence of industrialisation, urbanization, growth of technology and the commercialization of agriculture.

As a theoretical orientation in the study of social change, the approach was first developed to explain changes in 19th century Europe but now used to explain social change in underdeveloped societies. It has a number of distinguishing features. They are:

- (a) It has an evolutionist component which provides for a direction to social change in underdeveloped countries.
- (b) It has a methodological component from functionalism which provides for a method to study social change in underdeveloped countries.

Its field of investigation focusses on two types of changes:

- (a) Institutional changes like the restructuring of the traditional economic institutions to operate in a market economy of supply and demand, the restructuring of the poli-

tical institutions on the basis of universalistic principles, the reorganization of social groups on the new principles of the market economy and political universalisation, etc., are some of the major areas of change associated with this approach.

- (b) Individual changes towards an orientation in a new value system based on criteria of universalism, achievement, and scientific rationality.

Its overall attitude to social change is marked by the 'Improvement Approach' which sets about achieving the goals of modernization through a series of legal and institutional reforms.

Finally, the ideological basis of the approach are rooted in the conservatism of the ruling class in these underdeveloped societies which attempts to initiate change while maintaining the status quo of power and wealth in their societies.

While the number of scholars who have pursued this theoretical orientation to study social change in

underdeveloped societies are numerous and their focus of investigation varied, in a general sense they all either emphasize or assume the above mentioned features of the modernization approach. In our consideration of this approach, we shall mainly be concerned with scholars whose works have significantly contributed to the development of this theoretical orientation. Important among them are Talcott Parsons, Wilbert More, Neil Smelser, David Eisenstadt, Alex Inkles, etc. In the context of Indian sociology, Y. Singh, Dube and others have helped to make the modernization approach the dominant theoretical orientation for the study of social change in India.)

II. The Marxist Approach.

The "establishment sociology" that dominated the landscape of Anglo American Sociology in the post-World War II period, considered Marx's works as being predominantly ideological and hence of very little value to the development of the social sciences. It was the strong criticism by scholars like Mills(1959),

Gouldner(1970), Barbaum(1977), Horowitz(1966), Rex(1961) etc., in the early sixties that brought about a reconsideration of Marxism in sociological research.

The myth of objectivity and the mystification of sociological knowledge were aptly pointed out by both Gouldner(1970) and Rex(1961) to be in themselves attitudes of larger social attitudes that corresponded to the predominantly capitalistic pattern of growth taking place in Western societies. The observations of Martin Nicolous on the profession of sociology, not only reveals the class character of sociological research, but also the dependence of the sociologist on the ruling economic and political elites.

The Marxist orientation that we have selected for our study is based on the ideas of Karl Marx and works of Marxists and new Marxists scholars who have tried to interpret the phenomena of social change in underdeveloped countries based on the tenets of Marxism as put forth by Marx.

For these scholars, the state of underdevelopment in Third World societies is intrinsically related to the

imperialist and neo-colonialist tendencies manifested by the Western capitalist countries, in their dealings with the Third World societies. Lenin's revealing work on Imperialism clearly brings to light the exploitative character of capitalist expansion in the underdeveloped countries of the world. More recent neo-Marxist scholars like Frank, Amin etc. have tried to interpret the phenomena of underdevelopment in Third World countries in terms of the local situation prevailing in Third World societies and their relationship with Western capitalist societies.

The theory of Structural Dependence as put forward by Frank points to the fact that given the nature of the world capitalist system it is simply impossible for underdeveloped economies to achieve any genuine development.

These different approaches that go together form the Marxist orientation to the study of social change in Third World countries can be distinguished by a number of distinct features. These are:

- (a) It has an evolutionary component rooted in the historical understanding of the class structure and its genesis in underdeveloped

countries. Social change is interpreted in terms of changes in the modes of production.

- (b) It has a methodological component from Historical Materialism which enables it to study underdevelopment in terms of the particular mode of production and its production relations as prevalent in underdeveloped countries.
- (c) Its field of investigation focuses on the economic and cultural reproduction of classes within one particular mode of production and the relations of production.
- (d) The direction of social change is seen as a movement through capitalism towards a society based on the principles of socialism.
- (e) The general attitude to social change is expressed in the desire for an overall structural transformation of society through a revolutionary struggle to be waged by the working class.
- (f) Finally, the ideological basis of the approach are rooted in the historical struggles of the working class movement

which in the case of underdeveloped societies must result in a transformation of the ownership and means of production.

While a number of scholars have used this theoretical orientation for investigating the phenomena of social change in underdeveloped countries, in our study we would mainly be dealing with those scholars whose works have contributed significantly in formulating the Marxist approach. Important among these are the writings of Marx, Lenin, Gunder Frank, Galtung, etc.

Marxist sociology in India is of very recent origins. Besides, research has mainly focused on the modes of production and the relations of production in the Indian economy. Nonetheless, scholars like A.R. Desai, L. D.P. Mukerjee have tried to adopt a Marxist orientation in their study of Indian society in the context of social change.

The value of education in both these theoretical orientation has been accorded a very high status. In the case of the modernization approach education is seen

as being one of the most important agents of social change, through which the goals of modernization can be realised. In the Marxist approach, education as historically interpreted is seen as raising the levels of consciousness within the working class, thereby paving the way for the struggle against the ruling class. While it is not our intention to take up a discussion on this point here, suffice it to say that the functions and goals of higher education in the context of these two approaches would be different in terms of both objectives and strategies.) To what extent Higher Education in Post-independent India can be explained with one or the other approaches is an issue which will receive much greater attention in the following chapters.

See it again

CONCLUSION

As a concluding note to this introduction, we would like to mention an important observation on educational research in India, as this would also have a bearing on the contents of the matter presented in this research work on education. Compared to other disciplines of the

social sciences, research in the discipline of education is of comparative recent origin. Further, a great deal of the research in education is developed with psychology of education as the basic framework of orientation. Psychological measurements are widely used to explain various psychological aspects of the educational phenomena. While this has no doubt contributed in a significant way to our understanding of the psychological issues concerning education, its failure to understand the historical context within which educational behaviour is made manifest has resulted in a serious dearth of theorisation both within the process of education as well as in its relationship to the social order.

In terms of a theoretical perspective, educational research in India has been by and large of a behaviouralist orientation. A sociological theory of education in India has yet to emerge in any concrete and concise manner. As yet there does not exist any concise work on the theory of sociology of education in India. In the case of the Marxist approach to the Sociology of education in India, the paucity of theoretical works is even more acute.

Given such a handicap to educational research, it is necessary for the researcher to undertake a lot of inference and deductations based on the data made available by educational research. It is our belief that the activity of research in the sociology of education could have an added constructive dimension to it if the researcher could rely for his conceptual development on an already existing body of theoretical discussion on the educational phenomena and its relations to the larger social order in the context of the overall process of social change taking place in independent India.

Chapter- II

THE MODERNIZATION APPROACH

Introduction.

A study of the modernization concept and its implicit processes of change is by no means an easy undertaking. From the very outset we can point out two significant problems that characterize the concept.

- (a) The "composite" nature of the term as pointed out by Prof. Singh (1978:1) makes it synonymous with terms like "development", "growth", "evolution", etc.
- (b) This ambiguity and "Open Ended Synonymity"¹ of the term has resulted in the problem of empirical verification.

Despite this, we hold that it is still possible to undertake a conceptual analysis of the term by setting it within the context of a theoretical orientation (Yong 1977:4). Such an orientation, while paying attention to the variety of scholarly approaches, would also try to uncover the underlying theoretical premises

1. "Open Ended Synonymity" referring to what Smelser (1967:718) says: "Attempts of definition are aimed more at telling us what modernization is or might be than what it is not".

from which scholars have sought to develop their explanations of modernization.

Interest in the scientific study of social change can be traced as far as the 18th century, when European societies were undergoing large scale socio-political changes as a result of industrialization taking place in these societies. As Weiner(1966:1) has aptly pointed out that:"Ever since Adam Smith enquired in to the causes of economic growth, intellectuals have sought to explain why some societies have been modernized more rapidly than others". For our purpose however we are concerned with the developments in social change theory associated with the emergence of underdeveloped societies as independent nation States and their efforts of socio-economic development.

As a concept involved in the analysis and interpretation of social change in underdeveloped societies, the term modernization has fairly recent origins. According to Tipps(1976) the term has its origins in the American sociology of the post-World War II period. Historically this period has been identified as the period of the 'Cold War'. The United States together with its Western Allies saw in Communism a growing threat to the liberal democratic tradition. In order to counter the growing

influence of the Soviet Union in the Third World, the United States held itself as the model of the liberal democratic society in opposition to the Communist societies. During the cold war period, both the Super Powers with their respective models of society were intensely engaged in establishing their influence on the course of developments in the Third World.

It is during this period that modernization came to be used by American sociologists in relation to the kind of changes taking place in underdeveloped societies. However, it was only in the 1960s when the United Nations declared the period as the "Decade of Development" that modernization gained immense popularity and usage in the sociological literature on Third World development.

The main focus of this modernization research despite its various focal points of specialization as pointed out by Weiner (1966) was to find a way of increasing economic growth. The underlying assumption held by modernization theorists, was the underdeveloped societies had to make the organization of their society compatible

with the goals of economic development. How to achieve this was seen as the task of the modernization specialist. Thus modernization research had an important influence on the new policies in an underdeveloped society. According to Myrdal (1953:215), their contribution was most significant in influencing policy decisions through their exposition and propagation of certain general thoughts and theories.

The period that followed the Decade of Development, has witnessed a prolific increase in the literature on modernization. Old trends have given way to new ones and the techniques of investigation have also become sophisticated. All these developments must however be seen in the context of the modernization theory of social change, which we can now take up for discussion.

✓ THE MODERNIZATION THEORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Theoretical Foundations

Commenting on the theoretical foundations of modernization theory, Tipps (1976:54) observes the following:

Within the tradition of Developmentalism evolutionary theory and twentieth century

functionalism have been particularly influential in the shaping of modernization theory. Evidence of their influence may be found in many features of modernization theory: the frequent use of dichotomous type constructions and concepts such as "social differentiation" and "social system"; an emphasis upon the ability to adopt gradual continual change as the normal condition of stability; the attribution of casual priority to immanent sources of social change as a directional process.

Considered from an historical perspective, both evolutionism and functionalism had their origins in the intellectual climate of Europe, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Despite the effort by American sociology to sophisticate both these theories in the contemporary period the theoretical components of the modernization theory to a significant degree provide the same sort of explanation as was developed in the last century.

Let us briefly consider both these theoretical components:

A. EVOLUTIONISM

The classical evolutionary theory of the last century, according to T.E. Goldthorpe(1975:5) emerged in response to the following question:

By what process does a society of one type transform itself, or become transformed in a society of another type?

These early evolutionists believed that their work was in the nature of a "Science of Society" (Pritchard 1962) whose main aim was to study the laws of society in a similar fashion to the way laws were studied in the natural sciences. They believed that the world in which they lived could be illuminated, by investigating the ways how human culture had undergone progressive and cumulative growth. The method they used to deduce this law like nature of growth, consisted in developing categories of cultural observations (based on their similarities) and using these to define unequivocal stages of development in Human societies (Pritchard 1962:37).

Thus in the works of evolutionists like Maine(1861); McLennan(1865); Frazer(1890); Tylor(1865); Morgan(1871); etc., an attempt was made to understand social change in societies or institutions, in terms of a series of stages. An important feature of all these writings was the nature of their concern with primitive societies.

According to Pritchard(1962:37) these evolutionists believed they were writing history. "They were interested in primitive societies, not so much in themselves as for the use they could make of them in the hypothetical reconstruction of the earlier history of mankind in general and of their own institutions in particular."

To what extent the evolutionary ideas of these 19th century thinkers have contributed to the understanding of modernization has been aptly pointed out by Opler(1965). About Tylor he writes:

"There seems to be at least two important premises of the evolutionary school which have retained their vitality and which are prevalent in the modern scene. The first is that social change is inevitable and that on the whole it is desirable and progressive. The second is that knowledge and reasoned predictions be employed in enacting man's progress and future. If there be any doubt that these premises have endured, one has only to think of the elaborate plans through which the economic and social resources of underdeveloped countries are harnessed today"(1965:81).

About Lewis Morgan he writes:

"Morgan's recognition of multiple causation is implicit in the multipurpose development plans being launched today. When planners bind efforts towards accomplishment in

respect to health, education, communications, and social and political organizations as well as production, they show agreement with Morgan's conception of the unity of a cultural reason and a creative synthesis of its features. There is no more precautionious balance in the world today than the one which exist between Ideology and Technology" (1965:91).

The functionalist theory of society that emerged in the beginning of the 20th century strongly criticized the evolutionary theorists for writing conjectural history that was unilinear and ethnocentric. Functionalist theory itself gave no emphasis to the study of social change. Functionalism sought to understand society not by investigating into its past, but by studying its present.

Despite the strong attacks and a change of emphasis, evolutionism as observed by Fletcher(1974) never really disappeared from the considerations of later social theorists. The emergence of the comparative methodology brought a shift from the unilinear stage approach to a depiction of change in terms of movement within a

dichotomous typology. Thus in the works of Durkheim, Tonnies, Redfield etc., the essential evolutionary element of movement from a simple type to a complex type, still persists.²

The recent considerations by American sociologists like Parsons, Moore, Smelser, Merton, etc., of evolutionary theory are mainly the result of the involvement of Anglo American sociology in the problem of underdeveloped societies. For these sociologists none of the underdeveloped countries represent stable societies. In this sense a change towards stability emerged as an important problem in the realm of development activities. American sociology however with its predominantly functionalist orientation was ill-equipped to study social change since it regarded "change as being immanent in the social system".³ How to combine a diachronic perspective with a synchronic analysis of the social order, became the central problem for the neo evolutionists.

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2. In Durkheim 1947 he distinguishes between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. In Tonnies 1957 he distinguishes between *Geimenschaft* and *Geisellschaft*. In Redfield 1941 he distinguishes between folk rural type and industrial urban type.
 3. Parsons 1964; Moore 1967; Smelser 1971; all view change in this manner.

In order to accommodate the component of change within the system, these sociologists began to acknowledge the fact that the system they theorized on, was neither all that stable nor orderly. On the contrary as Moore(1960:816) points out; "flexibilities and strains operate as immanent sources of change. The integration of the system is subject to inherent strains traceable to population changes, scarcities that occasion competition and the presence of alternative and conflicting principles of social organization and regulation". Merton's concept of "dysfunction"⁴ also implicitly involves the factor of change.

Thus neo evolutionist sought to resolve the lack of the diachronic component by admitting the existence of both persistence and change in the social system. Here again the direction of change is not based on history but on the conclusions of comparative methodology.

A excellent portrayal of this neo-evolutionist approach has been put forward by Parson(1966). Using a comparative methodology based on historical and

4. Merton 1949 points out that Dysfunction or functional malintegration occurs when the parts are not independent of one another. Instead of supporting they actually obstruct one another.

anthropological evidence, Parson provides an Evolutionary-Universalistic direction to the modernization process. The evolutionary movement from primitive societies to modern societies can be identified by the following features — (1) The emergence of a system of social stratification; (2) Explicit cultural legitimation of the stratification system; (3) Development of a generalized legal order; (4) Economic system based on money and market economy; (5) Institutionalization of authority of office; (6) A liberal representative democratic system.

In what way this recent trend of neo-evolutionism is different from the older classical evolutionism can be pointed out in a number of ways.

- i) While the theory does not base itself on conjectural history its comparative methodology has helped it develop law like observations of human societies.
- ii) It does not offer a Unilinear theory of human growth accepting the basis that human cultures can develop from a multiplicity of points.
- iii) While it is not blatantly ethnocentric, it continues to offer a subtle version of

ethnocentrism in so far as they try to universalize western values (Parsons mode of modernization is basically a model of American society).

Yet in other areas it continues to follow in the tradition of classical evolutionism. Neo-evolutionism still suffers from the drawbacks of ethnocentrism. It also refuses to acknowledge the importance of historical events in the development of human societies.

Finally like its predecessors, Neo-evolutionism also takes up a gradualist approach to change. In doing so, they discredit the possibilities of human societies changing through radical transformation. Social change in this sense involves a slow improvement of under-developed societies through a series of social, political and economic reforms.

B. FUNCTIONALISM⁵

At the very outset let us begin by understanding what is a Functionalist explanation. According to

5. The term functionalism subsumes within its connotation the different functional and structure functionalist approaches in British and American sociology. Despite

Hempel(1968:186) the characterization at a Functionalist Explanation can be stated as follows:

"The kind of phenomena, that a functional analysis is invoked to explain is typically some recurrent activity or some behaviour pattern in an individual or a group, such as physiological mechanism, a neurotic trait, a culture pattern, or a social institution. And the principle objectives of the analysis is to exhibit the contribution which the behaviour pattern makes to preservation or the development of the individual or the group in which it occurs. Thus, functional analysis seeks to understand a behaviour pattern or a socio-cultural institution by determining the role it plays in keeping the given system in proper working order or maintaining it as a going concern.

This underlying belief that a society can be studied as a going concern, in term of how it presents itself in the present has made Functionalism from its very inception in the beginning of this century, a field work science. Field work in this sense, became the empirical basis by which functionalist sought to establish the conclusions they arrived at. Further, as a fieldwork methodology, Functionalism provided a guideline for both directing the course of Data collection, as well as

the differences in emphasis the approacher share a common orientation of observation and analysis. It is this common orientation we refer to when we use the term functionalist methodology in our discussion.

developing a framework within which the data could be arranged to emphasize a certain order of social relationships.

Modern Functionalism as developed by American sociologists like Parsons, Bruhl, Merton, Ingham, etc., has its roots in the works of British Anthropologists like Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliff Brown. Both scholars had their theoretical grounding in the natural sciences. The strong influence of British empiricism of Smith, Bacon, Hume, coupled with the equally strong influence of Durkheim and Spencer on these scholars laid the basis for the emergence of Functionalism as a "Holistic"⁶ theory of the social order.

Neither Malinowski nor Radcliff Brown rejected the idea that societies developed from fairly simple to fairly complex ones. What they however criticized and outrightly rejected was the manner in which the evolutionist went about developing their explanations to prove this transition.

6. From the point of view of a holistic theory, society is the whole. Its various institutional entities form the parts that must be studied in order to understand the whole.

Bronislaw Malinowski was the first to characterize his work as functionalism. He considered it a scientific theory of society. According to him (1960:67), "each scientific theory must start from and lead to observation, it must be inductive and it must be verifiable by experience". His unit of cultural observation and analysis was the 'Institution'. He considered 'survival' as the most fundamental value in human societies and that the function of an institution is the role it plays in the survival of the society. In his explanation of the "URIGUBU" we have an excellent example of the Functionalist explanation in determining the integral function of this exchange relationship.

According to Malinowski (1960:72-3); "A theory of cultural must start from the organic needs of men and if it succeeds in relating the more complex, indirect, but perhaps fully imperative needs of the type spiritual economic or social, it will supply us with a set of general laws such as we need in sound scientific theory." His own theory of culture was exactly in keeping with such a scientific approach. In his framework of society,

each culture is presumed to be complete and self-sufficient, since it must satisfy the range of needs of the individual and of the group.

This theory of culture however is essentially rooted in physiological assessment of human nature. Like his mentor W.H. Rivers, he ended up elaborating a theory of culture based on psychological reductionism.

Malinowski's contribution to Functionalism as pointed out by Pritchard (1962:53-4) have greater significance for field work rather than social theory. It was Radcliff Brown who developed the theoretical basis for functionalism. He rejected Malinowski's theory of society for its psychological reductionism. On the contrary he held that the nature of social and cultural phenomena can only be understood in social terms. In order to develop his explanation of society, Radcliff Brown begins by assuming that for its survival a society must have minimal solidarity, consistency and features that contribute to the maintenance of the social system.

With these assumptions he puts forward the idea that every society is constituted of basic structural

features endowed with certain functions which are inter-related and interdependent in such a manner as to allow for the continued existence of the social system. He defined "social structure" as "a complex networks of actually existing relationships in any society and "function" as "the contribution which a partial activity makes to a total activity of which it is a part" (Pritchard 1962:54). In his own classic work "The Andaman Islanders 1922, he adopts this functional analysis in explaining the religious rituals of these island tribes.

Finally, Radcliff Brown introduced the comparative method into his functional explanation by pointing out that a systematic comparison of diverse societies should make it possible to develop a body of scientific knowledge about human societies which could be expressed in unexceptionable general terms. (Radcliff Brown:1952).

A point of observation that needs to be made about these early functionalist studies is that these scholars were only involved in studying small scale societies marked by their simplicity and cohesiveness.

The fact that social order and integration could be observed in such "isolated primitive totalities", according to David Goddard (1972:63) was not because they presented such an order themselves but because anthropologists imposed such explanations on the phenomena.

The Development of functionalism in the post-World War II period found its main adherents in American sociology in the works of Kingsley Davies, Wilbur Moore, Talcott Parsons, Robert Merton, Marion Levy, Neil Smelser, and many others. It however found its chief exponent in the voluminous writings of Talcott Parsons we shall therefore take up for consideration the contributions of Parsons to functionalism in the modernization approach.

Parsons contributions to sociological theory in the post-World War II period has been mainly in the construction of an "Action Theory" of the social order. Despite its particularly strong emphasis on social interaction and role structures the theory remain functionalist in its basic orientation.

A discussion of Parsons system approach in sociology should begin by recognizing that Parsons

contribution to social theory are very much in the nature of a synthesis. Therefore while it is legitimate to label his work as wholly functional in its inspiration, it is necessary to recognize that the men behind whose ideas he synthesized Durkheim, Malinowski, Pareto, Weber, etc., were themselves all concerned with the problem of order in society. Parsons own sociological writings emerged from the urban industrial American society of the post-World War II period.

Parsons saw the central task of sociology as analysing society in terms^{of} a system of functionally interrelated variables. Like Weber, his basic unit of observation is "Social action" in a dyadic framework. Parsons argued that social action was volunteerized for by individuals who worked towards a meansend relationship. Further social action occurred in a community which had an abstract power (Sui generis) to define in a general way the appropriateness of social action and how it was to be evaluated.

Within this dyadic interactionist framework of social action, interaction between "ego" and "alter" provides the social conditioning for the characterization of the social system. This conditioning, Parsons (1951:58-67),

points out is witnessed in the five pairs of choices or pattern variables that confront social action. These are: (i) Universalism versus particularism; (ii) Quality versus performance; (iii) Affectivity versus affective neutrality; (iv) Specificity versus diffuseness; (v) Self-orientation versus collective orientation.

Turning now to the social system, Parsons identifies four levels of abstractions, there are: the physical system, the social system, the cultural system and the personality system. To show the interrelatedness of these systems in the context of social action, Parsons points out that an individual's beliefs (cultural system) influence his motivation and perception (personality system) into taking up certain social roles (social system) which will lead to activity in the physical system.

Like his functionalist predecessors, Parsons also assumes certain preconditions for the survival of the social system. These functional prerequisites to a social actor are posed as problems awaiting solution. Since these problems exist within a "boundary limiting environment", which differentiates each of them. Parsons calls them

"problem solving aggregates". The social system presents four such problem solving aggregates, these are —

(1) Problem of Adaptation, which is the allocation of material human and cultural resources; (2) The Problem of Goal Orientation, which is that of defining and sustaining the pursuits of certain fundamental goals; (3) The Problem of Integration, which refers to the kind of solidarity; (4) The Problem of Pattern Maintenance, which refer to the manner of roles performance(1951:24-86). To these four Moore adds a fifth which is The Problem of Tension Management, which is the manner in which the system resolves conflict.

Placed in relation to the pattern variables, each of these problem solving aggregates provided the individual social actor given his volunteeristic orientation the means to make his choice from amongst the five pattern variables.

With this very abstract interrelated model of the social system, Parsons provides the analytical basis for studying societies in terms of their institutions, roles, their function or interdependence and interrelatedness.

Thus the institutions of the economy, the polity, the legal system, the family, the law and order enforcements etc., correspond to the problem solving aggregates. The survival of the society is dependant on the continued existence of each of these institutions with their respective hierarchies of roles and functions.

Parsons theory of social systems has faced a number of severe criticisms. Critics like C.W. Mills(1959) have criticized Parsons for jargonizing the language of sociology. Gouldner(1970) sees in Parsons theory a justification of the status quo and in an ideological way, a conservative approach to the social order, subscribing to the myth of value objectivity in the social sciences. John Rex(1961) criticize Parsons for laying too much emphasis on consensus. According to him the stability of modern industrial societies owes more to the ad hoc character of class conflict. The fundamental character of the social system is that of structural conflict. Finally, Dahrendorf(1959) tries to limit the scope of Parsons consensus based theory by arguing that

it applies to only one type of society. In other types of societies based on coercion another kind of theory would be required.

We have tried to examine in this section the Parsonian approach in American sociology both in terms of its static components as well as its operational character in terms of inputs and outputs within certain social mechanisms of control. This abstract societal model is in reality a society of human beings. It is human beings who perform roles, hold values, use resources and link society to the physical environment.

Parson's mechanistic model of the social system tends to offer modernization theorists with an abstract model of society through which they can study the underdeveloped societies. Based on Parson's theoretical conceptualizations of roles, values, social action, pattern variables, boundary systems, equilibrium, control mechanisms etc., modernization theorists have tried to understand the underdeveloped society, by studying its various institutions, their changing value systems, their patterns of role structure, their role differen-

tiation, the equilibrium of the social order, and even the breakdown of the social order.

The main assumption underlying such an approach to the study of social systems in underdeveloped system is the belief that societies or social systems tend to persist in time, and what holds them together is a common degree of consensus and solidarity that exists amongst the various parts that constitute society.

While the functionalist model combined with its emphasis on empirical field investigation has led to a large scale growth of studies, analysing the social systems in underdeveloped societies, its peculiar lack of historical understanding of underdevelopment has handicapped the functionalist theory in its ability to explain the changing nature of social system in underdeveloped countries.

The model of society that the functionalist methodology develops can only explain social phenomena in an abstraction. To be able to explain the context of underdevelopment, modernization theorists assume the

universal applicability of their model and then proceed to investigate the extent to which the particular social order fits the characterization of their abstract model. In this sense their explanations continue to provide analysis of institutions and institutionalized relations (relational, regulative or cultural), and the way in which their functional interdependence and interrelatedness contributes to the maintenance and persistence of the new social order.

II. THE MODERNIZATION APPROACH

In the previous two sections we took up for detailed discussion the two main theoretical components of modernization i.e., Neo Evolutionism and Functionalism. In this concluding section of this chapter we shall take up for our discussion the modernization approach. The discussion in this section will fall under the following main headings:

- (A) Conceptual Developments
- (B) Central Features
- (C) Core Processes
- (D) Directions of Change

(A) Conceptual Developments

As a first step towards removing the ambivalence surrounding the concept modernization, Y. Singh (1978:20-22) proposes a four-fold classification of the concept, these are:

(a) The Psychological:- Modernization here is linked with a set of motivational attributes that can be considered as conducive to change. Daniel Lerner (1958) calls it a "Psychic Mobility" or McLennand (1961) call it the 'n' achievement factor. Others like Inkles and Smith (1966, 1974) have provided an "om"⁸ scale to conceptualise modernization.

(b) The normative:- Modernization as a normative concept is seen as a set of values and norms which form a part of the cultural system of the society undergoing the change. Almond and Verba (1965), E. Shils (1961) C. Geertz (1963), take the view that modernization implies a change of values to rationalism, secularism, humanism, liberalism, etc.

8. 'om' or overall modernization is the psychometer scale developed by Inkler and Smith after studying individual modernization in six developing countries.

(c) The Structuralist:- Modernization as a structuralist concept is seen as a growth of (i) structural differentiations based on specialization, (ii) structural integration based on universalism. Parsons(1964), Bendix(1964), Eisenstadt(1966), Weiner(1966) are some authors who not only try to understand the structural prerequisites for such a change, but also show how integration and consensus in economic and cultural organizations can lead to modernization.

(d) Technological:- Modernization here is conceived in terms of economic reasons and the use of inanimate energy for production. The extent of technology applied to the production process is seen as determining the level of modernization. Such an approach can be found in Moore(1963), M. Levy(1966).

If we can accept Singh's classification as a starting point, then theorists of modernization, have been inclined to undertake their explanations of the concept in two different ways:

(1) Critical Variable Approach.

Scholars using this approach attempt to explain modernization using a single variable which is identified

as being critical to the process of modernization taking place. Schwartz(1972) emphasizes rationality; Levy(1966), emphasizes industrialization or Black(1976) emphasizes the advancement of knowledge, etc.

This critical variable approach, as a result of the specialized research gone into the study of modernization Weiner(1966)⁹ has been largely discredited. Professor Tipps(1976:68) notes, "when defined in relation to a single variable which is already identified by its own ~~terms~~ unique terms, the term modernization functions not as a theoretical term, but simply as a synonym". In other words, to explain modernization in terms of industrialization tells us nothing new about modernization.

(2) The Dichotomous Approach.

It continues to be the most dominant approach used by modernization theorist. According to this approach, social change in underdeveloped countries is seen as a

9. Weiner 1966 : 2 observes, "The new scholarship on modernization is increasingly specialized, as each discipline within the social sciences approaches the modernization process from its own expert point of view".

transformation from a traditional type society to a modern type society. Both tradition and modernity are seen as types — Lerner(1958); Black(1966); Eisenstadt(1966) all attempt to explain modernization in terms of a bipolar transition. Their main concern however is in the development of the types. Modern is identified with characteristics such as industrial urban, associational, markets, professionalists, etc., while tradition is identified as agrarian, rural, folk, closed ascriptive, etc. However, the approach failed to recognize the actual processes of change going on in underdeveloped societies. "It pays too much attention to comparative statics rather than the processes and procedures, rates and sequences" (Moore 1967:25).

Inkles(1966) and Smith and Inkles(1966,1974) sought to resolve the problem of staticity in the tradition-modern typology, by developing a tradition-modernity continuum of change. Here modernization was seen as a continuous process, a dynamic process taking place at various points in the tradition-modernity continuum. Eisenstadt(1973:15) took the continuum approach

a little further by developing a "convergence" theory of modernization. What he means by convergence is that "all modern industrial systems will ultimately develop similar major institutional features". Convergence is thus a standardization of modernization features irrespective of any society's particular culture and history.

The results of empirical research on the tradition-modernity continuum however discredited the convergence thesis. Gusfield(1967); Horowitz(1966) showed that nowhere other than within the western societies, were the features of modernization in any sense standardized or uniform. What in fact empirical research brought to light was that tradition and modernity instead of being mutually exclusive conceptual types, were in the real situation, inter-twined and inter-related. Myrdal(1968) discusses how despite their modern forms of institutions and processes, underdeveloped societies depending on their own internal pressures were inclined to introduce their own particular content into them.

Rudolph and Rudolph(1967); Srinivas(1976) Sachidananda(1976) also show that traditional structure

instead of being transformed by modernization were in actual fact adapting themselves to exist side by side with modernization, Milton Singer(1971) from his study of Madras industrialist, showed that modernization tends to develop a "compartmentalization"¹⁰ of the self amongst members of traditional societies.

A review of modernization, both in terms of the conceptual emphasis, as well as the nature of its explanations shows to us that modernization is not an analytical concept. It is instead a normative descriptive concept. Secondly its inability to observe a boundary on the phenomena of change it is considering has led to a lack of consensus amongst the modernization theorists. Finally in maintaining a tradition-modernity dichotomy in their explanations, modernization theorists have been inclined to fall prey to their ethnocentric biases. In this sense according to Tipps(1976: 74) the concept is also victim to overtones of ideology.

10. Milton Singer 1971 observed that Rich Industrialists in Madras while maintaining very modern attitudes of management in their office and factories, continued to function within very traditional norms in their homes.

(B) "Central Features".

Owing to its descriptive nature, modernization has been characterized in a number of different ways. While a variety of scholarly works depending on their particular emphases has sought to characterize modernization. In general there seem to be a common group of features which are associated with modernization. These features can be said to characterize mainly the social systems, the cultural system and the personality system.

The Social System.

When modernization theorists consider the social system of an underdeveloped country, as undergoing modernization, what they are actually implying is that institutions and institutional processes are undergoing a change likable in a formal sense, to similar such institutions and institutional processes in the Western capitalist social systems. While it can be justifiably argued that these institutional types have a universalistic component when presented as a conceptual abstraction. It must also be noted that given their existence in a particular historic or cultural setting, the specificity

of this type must therefore never be undermined.

In their transition to planned development from a state of underdevelopment the underdeveloped countries very soon faced the hard grim truth of technologism. If they had to develop, they had to expand the economic base of production and to do this they had to make way for an industrialization based on scientific technology and fuel energy. Modernization theorists normally regard this first step by an underdeveloped society towards industrialization as a very significant indicator of social change. Based on this transition to a technology based industrialization they develop models by which to characterize change in an underdeveloped society. Smelser (1963) model of modernization based on English industrialization in the 18th and 19th century is an excellent illustration of this type. Modernization can therefore be characterized by the following features:

- (a) In the economic sphere a market economy based on free enterprise, private ownership of the means of production and operative on the market laws of supply and demand. Within this framework one observes, the formation of capital, through individuals or financial

institutions like banking, trade, etc., the presence of power machines, the mass production of commodities, wage labour, corresponding to this one can also see the improvement of communications and transport.

(b) In the rural sphere the commercialization of agriculture leads to scientific techniques of farming in the form of mechanically operated machines, high yielding seed varieties, use of fertilizers, development of irrigation, etc.

(c) In the ecological sphere change is observed in the growth of urbanization wherein individuals and social groups interact on a new basis (associational). The urban culture highlights the new life of media, communication, new forms of leisure and entertainments. It also acquires a more articulate expression and hence becomes the center of political activities like party politics and trade unionism.

(d) In the politico-administrative-legal sphere modernization observes the growth of institutions based on mass participation and governed by universalistic principles such as secularism, achievement, rationalization of activity, etc. The bureaucratic system, which

is the most important, institutionalizes the authority of office and through a rationalization of administrative activity strives for higher levels of efficiency and control.

(e) In the political system, power is constituted by a liberal democratic process based on individual's voluntary participation and functioning within a system based on a representative form of government and manifested in party politics.

(f) Finally within the legal sphere modernization observes the separation of law from all its earlier existing ascriptive bonds. Within a secular framework law coupled with the authority invested in government becomes the chief agent for regulating order and maintaining control over the social system.

II. The Cultural System.

As mentioned earlier the cultural system is the normative value system which guides and regulates human conduct in the interaction process within the social system. In their observation of change in this area of an underdeveloped society, modernization theorists,

Parsons(1960,1964); Smelser(1966); Smith(1965), etc., have been inclined to characterize the change in terms of a movement towards the transformation of a tradition bound value system to a modern system of values. For examples, the value of scientific rationality, value of order, efficiency, control, achievement, competition, goal orientation, adaptation, change persistence, etc. In themselves these values might seem like mere observations, yet, seen in the context of modernization of underdeveloped countries, modernization theorists interpret them as system of values which promote the persistence and stability of the social order, as well as guide participants' choices and actions towards levels of sustained economic growth and overall "progress" of the society.

III. The Personality System.

Within the context of a changing underdeveloped society, modernization theorist also seek to characterize the individual personality, for these theorists Parsons (1960); Shils(1961); Inkles and Smith(1974); Portes(1973) etc, the success of modernization is as much due to

changes in individual attitudes, beliefs, values etc., as it is due to institutional changes.

Individual modernity according to Porters (1973:17); "is a syndrome of psycho-social orientations characterized intrinsically by a certain mental flexibility in dealing with new situations and extrinsically by similarity to an ideal type of behaviour proper to urban industrial societies.⁵³

On the basis of data collected from six developing countries including India, Smith and Inkles (1974) developed an "Overall modernity scale" for the measurement of individual modernization. Inkles classified the characteristics of modern man both externally and internally. For external characteristic he puts environmental factors such as urbanization, education, mass communications, industrialization and politicization. In the internal characteristics he takes up personality trends peculiar to modern man. These are:

- (1) Readiness to new experience and openness to innovation and change;
- (2) Forming opinions over diversified and distant problems and issues;
- (3) Better sense of time; (4) Belief to do planned and organized affairs
- (5) Efficiency; (6) Calculability;
- (7) Dignity for himself, and others;

- (8) Faith in science and technology;
 - (9) Belief in distributive justice
- (Inkles 1966:54-57).

Many other character traits could be added on to this personality scheme. One factor that remains implicit in Inkles's personality traits scheme is the superiority of this value scheme as compared to the existing traditional value systems in underdeveloped societies. What Inkles and many other like him are blind to is the fact that, the development of such a personality trait scheme in individuals implies not only the material conditions for their expression but also the historico-cultural experience from which such personality traits derive their true meaning and worth. A failure to consider this related dimension of individual personality forces the conclusion that such personality trait schemes are manufactured in a psychological attribute testing laboratory rather than in the field of human social existence.

(c) Core Processes.

Modernization theorists like — Moore(1967,1978); Parsons(1960,1968); Smelser(1966), etc. hold that the modernization of society implies the occurrence of three

separate processes in the various structures of the social system in an underdeveloped country. These are:

(i) Structural Differentiation; (ii) Structural Integration; (iii) Social Mobilization.

(i) Structural Differentiation.

For modernization theorists the underdeveloped society is a "closed" society. However, with the introduction of social change geared for socio-economic development, the social system begins to manifest a certain degree of openness. This openness to change in a traditional society in turn leads to an increasing degree of differentiation in the social activity. Whereas in the traditional society a single institutional structure would undertake a whole host of diverse activities in the modern society these diverse activities fall under the control of a number of institutions. The case of the traditional family in Smelser(1966) offers an excellent illustration of this point. This structural differentiation of the social order gives rise to two concomitant processes: (a) the stratification of the social order; (b) the social mobility within this system of stratification. Parsons(1960);

Davies and Moore(1945) regard the development of a stratification order based on the criterion of individual achievement as an intrinsic aspect of the social system undergoing modernization.

Within the system of stratification that result from a differentiated social order there now also occurs a process of social mobility which makes it possible for individuals to have a goal directedness to their activity. Social mobility in other words, not only allows an individual to better his life's chances through his own efforts, it also provides the overall social order with the scarce resources whose requirement is so vitally necessary for the continued stability and existence of the social order.

(ii) Social Integration.

Modernization theorists therefore speak of a new basis for social integration based on universalistic criterions. Thus for example in a traditional society the political integration is closely interlinked with kinship status or caste membership or some mystical sanction. In its transition to modernization this

traditional form of political integration gives way to a new form of political integration characterized by political parties, pressure groups, government, etc. Like the new form of political integration, there also exists new forms of integration in the legal sphere (secular law) or in the economic sphere (new mode of production) etc.

However structural integration very often lags behind structural differentiation. According to Smelser (1966) this leads to conflicts in the social system. Therefore in order to eliminate such conflicts there arises the need for a new form of social control through which the system can be maintained as a stable functioning social order. Social control within a society undergoing modernization is expressed by the new legal order administered by the State. According to Parsons (1966:351) social control through secular law extends through the entire society and not just certain spheres. For Moore (1967) social control is interpreted as tension management, which is seen as a problem solving aggregate.

Within underdeveloped societies the problem of social integration has become a significant component underlying the social conflict in these societies.

However for most modernization theorists it is the control of the social order that is a solution to a lack of structural integration in the social system of the underdeveloped countries.

(iii) Social Mobilization.

Social mobilization in an underdeveloped society is witnessed in the manner in which new social formations based on factors beyond biological relatedness come into existence. The rise of industrialization, urbanization, has led to a spatial displacement of traditional groups forcing individuals to enter new associational groupings based on a wide range of needs. According to Cyril Black(1976:7); "Social mobilization are those changes that transform a society from many small and relatively isolated communities to one that is tightly knit by bonds of education, communications, transportation, urbanization and common interests.

Social mobilization is thus the process by which new groups come into existence. Thus within the economic sphere one example of social mobilization would be the trade unions, or in the political sphere the rise of political parties, etc. Social mobilization leads to the

widening of individual and social horizons, and becomes the new centers where articulation of interests and demands are made within the context of modernization.

(D) Directions of Change.

A final aspect of modernization concerns the direction towards which this process must take the societies of the underdeveloped countries. Modernization is a theory of social change that attempts to explain a certain stage of development in the history of mankind. However in both conception and maturation this theory has its roots in the academic scholarship of Western social sciences. In this sense we would not be wrong in saying that its conceptual basis are rooted in the historical developments of modernization in the societies of Western Europe and the United States. The theory however has a much larger area of concern today and it has achieved this enlargement of perspective by universalising the principles that have been central to the growth of Western values, attitudes, institutions, etc.

In the context of underdeveloped societies this sort of universalization has been carried out by assuming that modernization is a desirable goal to be achieved.

E. Shils (1965:10) observes: "Being modern means being Western without the onus of dependence on the West".

In an essential sense we can then say that the modernization approach is a Western theory of social change. It seeks to use its own experience derived from its own culture and history, to analyse non-Western societies with markedly different cultures and histories. According to Bendix (1963) the rationale for imposing such an analysis is the fact that nearly all non-Western societies have for varying periods of time been subjected to colonial rule.

Secondly, as a theory of social change rooted in a functionalist orientation, modernization is mainly involved in explaining institutional changes and individual changes resulting from the forces of industrialization and urbanization. (Smelser 1966; Moore 1967; Inkes and Smith 1974). As a theory of social change, it is a reinterpretation of the change that occurred in the Western societies in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. Social change is seen as a gradual and slow process. Modernization theorists reject outright any form of radical change. Their over-enthusiasm with the maintenance aspect

of the social system makes them overtly inclined towards a direction of change similar to the politico-liberal reformist attitude that earlier characterized the transformation of European countries.

In this chapter we attempted to provide a portrayal of modernization approach both in terms of its theoretical components as well as its operational character as a theory of social change.

Despite its popularity in Anglo American social sciences and in particular in sociology, the modernization approach has faced severe criticisms both ideological and methodological. In concluding this chapter, it would be fitting to consider some of these criticisms.

(a) Ideological

(i) Despite the efforts that modernization theorists make to constrain the blatant 19th century world view of the evolutionary theory, they end up proclaiming a new form of ethnocentrism. The new form of ethnocentrism despite various efforts to give it a neutral or objective face-life has been essentially motivated by "The self-confidence of Ethnocentric achievements" (Mazrui:1968:82).

(ii) Modernization theorists assume that modernization embodies the notion of progress and that it is desirable as a form of societal change. This aspect of modernization theory becomes even more questionable because it is often associated with the expansionism of American power on the pretext of advancing the cause of modernization in the underdeveloped countries of the world. This subtle and sophisticated form of cultural imperialism tends to impose choices derived from Western societies upon non Western societies.

(iii) Finally modernization is basically an American model of social change and development. In their enthusiasm to project this ethnocentric, mechanistic model on underdeveloped societies, this theory of social change has failed to consider some intrinsic problems of underdeveloped societies such as social inequalities, social injustice and the powerful vested interest groups who can manipulate the direction and pace of social change in these societies.

(b) Methodological

(i) The functionalist component of modernization has often led modernization theorist to undermine the importance of the historical and cultural forces of domination which has largely led to the

state of underdevelopment in the underdeveloped societies.

(ii) According to Samuel P. Huntington (1971: 293-94) modernity and tradition are essentially asymmetrical concepts. "The modern ideal is set forth and then everything which is not modern is labelled as traditional". This Huntington argues has been largely due to the ethnocentric prejudice prevalent in modernization theory.

As a concluding note to these criticisms on modernization, it may be also added that modernization theorists have always seen change as immanent within the system of underdeveloped societies. Historical evidence, however, proves just the contrary, i.e., change in the traditional underdeveloped societies in the first instance came as a result of external influence. Their failure to consider this historical context of underdevelopment, makes modernization not only a historical but also theoretically prejudiced.

Chapter- III

EDUCATION . AND MODERNIZATION

A. THE PLACE OF EDUCATION WITHIN THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS

After independence, in all underdeveloped nations, political leaders and planners gave a great deal of importance to the spread of education within their society (M.S. Haq 1975). So great were the responsibilities given to education, that over-enthusiasm very often replaced the need for realistic strategy. There ^{an} was implicit understanding that education in general had the following functions within an underdeveloped society undergoing modernization:

- i) Education socializes a growing generation into a new world view based on the precepts of scientific knowledge and enquiry.
- ii) Education equips the individual in a developing society with adaptive mechanisms that can best suit him for a growing technological based society (in terms of norms, attitudes, values).
- iii) Education especially higher education makes available to a developing economy, growing numbers of skilled labour, specialists, professionals, administrators, etc., whose knowledge and expertise are vitally important for the overall development of society.

- iv) Education is supposedly held as an important agent of social equality/^{since it is} based on the individual's competence and achievement, and not on any ascriptive or traditional ties.
- v) Education brings into existence a new type of social stratification order based on achievement, excellence and expertise. This in turn gives rise to new forms of social mobility for those educated;
- vi) Education serves the cause of societal integration by encouraging those values, ideas, attitudes which are conducive to the maintenance and continuity of social order;
- vii) Finally education, especially higher education, serves as a reservoir of cultural and scientific innovations which have great utility value for the modernization process in underdeveloped societies.

Modernization theorists like Parsons, Shils, Anderson, Halsey and Floud, etc., in their analyses of the education process have mainly sought to place their explanations within a systems approach. Parsons (1959); analysed American school as a subsystem of the larger

social system. In this study he attempts to show how the subsystem of education by fulfilling such functions of socialization, skill acquisition, innovation, etc., provides for the continued existence of the social order. Within the subsystem he also discusses the hierarchy of role differentiation. The functional differentiation of the learning activity, the internalization of roles within individuals and groups etc. Finally, he also discusses how education provides for social mobility within a system of social stratification based on achievement.

Indian sociologists studying the problems of education in the context of modernization, have also taken up a functionalist viewpoint, Singh(1978), Dube(1971), Damle(1967), Shukla(1967), etc. Most of these scholars have been interested in conceptualizing education as a subsystem which is functionally related to the larger system of which it is a part. Damle(1967) building on Parson's earlier work "The school class as a social system," tries to show, how even in the case of India the school and college are a social system. He discusses the various dimensions of the educational structure, its functions, its goals, its system of

hierarchy and authority, etc. He also analyses the roles of the various participants student, teacher, headmaster, administrator, etc. Their relationship to one another, as well as to the larger social system. As a concluding note to his system analysis of education in India Danle(1967:280) observes, "Though one may postulate the school and college as a social system, it is a part and parcel of the wider social system. Any changes or improvements in the school and college as a social system would necessitate a careful analysis of the wider social system and also a measure of change in the same".

S.C. Dube(1971:505-10), using a similar perspective from functionalism takes up for discussion the function and dysfunctions of education in the context of modernization. According to him the functions of education are:

1. Enlarging the cognitive map of those who are exposed to it, broadening mental horizons, raising expectations and predisposing people to make experiments.
2. As an instrument of socialization it can project new images and values.
3. By providing ideological articulation it can promote the development of nationness.

4. Education provides a highway to elite status. The educated provide a reference model to the masses, who in imitation of the former take the first step away from tradition.

5. The education system provides a steady flow of experts and specialists in the various fields.

6. Education is a mobility multiplier, in the long run it alters rigid forms of stratification.

The following according to Dube can be the dysfunctions of education:

1. By setting cultural goals way beyond the institutional means of a society.

2. When it perpetuates certain traditional values that run counter to the objectives of modernization.

3. Ideological contradiction in the context of education can weaken nationness and consensus by lending a support to parochialism.

4. Education may create status aspirations that do not take account of society's needs nor the aspirants talents and abilities.

5. Through mere blind imitation intellectual activity faces the danger of degenerating into barren exercises in futility. Problem solving objectives get blurred and blunted.

6. Vested interests could use education to maintain and sustain traditional forms of stratification.

7. When education gets viewed as an end in itself it becomes a commodity of consumption involving considerable costs.

8. The education explosion could in turn add to the corpus of problems, rather than contribute to their solution.

Modernization implies a change of both the institutional and the individual level. A number of studies on Indian education have attempted to analyse various facets of this change within the process of education.

M.S.A. Rao (1967) studies the processes of social stratification and social mobility brought about by the education process in Indian Society; S.C. Dube (1967) tries to highlight the adaptive demands of modernization within the education process; U.B. Hadekar (1965) attempts an analysis of the extent to which science and technology

have been integrated with the traditional value systems in India; B.S. Goel(1969) has studied the caste and class tension in Indian education; A.B. Shah(1967) has studied the case of higher education in India; S.L. Sharma(1980) studies individual modernization by interviewing students of Punjab University in order to understand the modernizing effects of University education; his major conclusion was that there does not exist positive relations between higher education and students modernity.

One important point of observation concerning a great deal of this education research by sociologists and educationalists in India, has been their exclusive concern with the formal system of education in the post-independence period. In India as in most other developing countries, it was the formal system of education that has developed to a significant proportion as compared to other forms of education. Thus, when modernization theorists speak of the system of education as an agent of social change, they are mainly referring to changes brought about through the development of formal system of education within the social system of underdeveloped countries.

Further, within this general systems approach to the analysis of the education process, modernization theorists (especially those from the economics of education), have proposed a new insight into the contributive function of education for the development of society.

Scholars like Theodore Schultz, Mark Blaug, Koznets, Dennisons, Anderson and Lewis, etc., have pointed out, that development of education must be seen as an "investment in man", which in terms of a production (input-output) analysis, could yield future returns for the society that is making such an investment. To support their thesis these scholars normally held out of cases of West Germany and Japan. These two countries despite their severe destruction in the second world war, emerged as industrially developed nations primarily for the heavy investment made in human capital. Let us then briefly consider the theory of human capital.

Human Capital Approach to Development in Education.

The theory of Human capital as a basis for developing education was first proposed by American economists

in the late fifties and early sixties. It, however, had an important influence on planners in the under-developed countries, during the development decade.

The traditional view held by economists was that, education was mainly a commodity of consumption. Such an idea of education, however, failed to have an impact on the planning for development. Human capital theory provides this productive dimension to education and thus, makes it an important factor for consideration in planning activities. This point has been well explained by T. Schultz(1971:78). He writes:

Although education is in some measure a consumption activity rendering satisfaction to the person who receives an education, it is predominantly an investment activity undertaken for the purposes of acquiring capabilities that render future satisfactions or that enhance the future earnings of the person as a productive agent. Thus a part of it is a consumer good akin to the conventional consumer durables and the other part of it is a productive good. I propose therefore to treat education as an investment and its consequences as a form of capital.

What Schultz and other economists on the subject of education are stressing is the point that the prevailing meaning of capital in so far as it is restricted only to physical capital is narrow and

misleading. Capital must also include the manpower that carries out the operational activities. The development of manpower is seen as an investment for developing human capital which is an important element in the production process for increasing economic growth.

An important distinguishing feature about human capital in the production process is that unlike physical capital, control over the human capital remains vested in the individual embodying the capital regardless of the source of investment.

One important conclusion that can be derived from this discussion is that the efforts of underdeveloped countries to increase economic growth will largely depend upon the kind of investments their governments make for the development of human capital. The problem is one of planning for manpower needs in the development process. This planning according to Mark Blaug(1968:7-8) focuses on two sets of problems. "The first is concerned with the impact of schooling on labour productivity, occupational mobility and the distribution of income."

The second deals with the internal efficiency of schools and with relations between the cost of education and methods of financing these costs".

Human capital theory also implies an important aspect of manpower planning in development by emphasizing the qualitative dimensions of manpower growth. This qualitative aspect of manpower according to Myrdal(1968) has two major determinants — health and education. It is the successful combination of these two factors that not only increases economic growth, but, also determines the quality of life in a society. Yet the standards of both education and health are dependent on the sort of emphasis given to them by a society.

The "Investment in Man" approach to education has also been emphasized in the context of educational planning in post-independent India. The Educational Commission of 1964-66 is an excellent example of a policy whose main objectives was to link education with national development. Besides, the Government of India after independence, had started man power planning both at central and state levels. Unfortunately manpower planners in Indian as pointed out by Y.K.R.V. Rao(1966) have paid

greater attention to the quantitative rather than the qualitative aspects of man power. Consequently as will be discussed later in this chapter, manpower planning has failed to provide the basic guidance to the development of education within the context of the overall development taking place in India.

In this section we have discussed how modernization theorists look at education within an underdeveloped society both in terms of its functional contributions to modernization as well as its role in economic growth of the underdeveloped society.

We have already mentioned how modernization theorists basically emphasize the formal institution of education, when they deal with education. In the case of India, this formal institution was brought by the colonial rulers. In order to understand modernization of education in India it will be necessary to discuss formal education both in the colonial period as well as in the post-independence period.

B. HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

The Colonial Situation.

In discussing the colonial situation and its impact of Indian society, modernization theorists seem to take up a very ahistorical version of the colonial situation. Consider the following remark by Prof. Y. Singh(1978:31).

The British contribution to the modernization in India was primarily in the sphere of developing role structures. Exposure to education on the Western lines created a new political culture and a tradition of nationalism. The administrative and defence needs became complex, which led to the growth of the bureaucracy and the army. Industrialization brought about an entrepreneurial class, and growing technology and education established a new structure of technological, professional and intellectuals.

A closer examination of Indian history (especially Irfan Habib(1966) will show us immediately the incorrectness of this remark. Not only did India have its own brand of bureaucracy, education, technology, markets, entrepreneurs, etc., in the 16th century of Moghul rule in India, but, the British in order to erect their own institutional role-structures first dismantled in a very conscious and subversive way the existing Indian

role-structures. A failure to recognize this element of conquest and domination in the British presence in India, makes such remarks historically incorrect and theoretically prejudiced.

Besides this historical prejudice, modernization theorists also express a cultural prejudice when they discuss the colonial situation. Cyril Black(1966:21) writes:

Imperialism is frequently seen only as a source of political oppression; but in fact it has served to diffuse the benefit of modernity at a cost that is relatively speaking, quite modest. As a consequence of Imperialism, many of the achievements of the advanced countries have been made available in their most highly developed form, relieving less modern societies of the costly experimenting that was originally required to create them.

Modernization theorists like Black, fail to observe the aspect of cultural domination which was an important component of the colonial situation. The colonial rulers imposed their own cultural (even at times coercively) upon the underdeveloped societies. In other words, the British colonial rulers imposed so-called modern institutions in India not in cooperation with local people, but through an antagonistic confrontation with them.

In refusing to acknowledge the significant basis of cultural domination, modernization theorists implicitly deny the value and meaning of a people's experience within their culture.

The British policy on education in India was in keeping with the general character of their colonial rule in India. In so far as cultural domination of a colonial population contributed significantly to their subjugation and acceptance of colonial rule, development of the colonial form of education was an excellent strategy to promote such an objective.

British education policy in India has its beginnings in Macaulay's Minute on Education 1835. This policy statement which was meant to resolve the debate on Indian education between the Orientalists and the Westernists highlighted a number of important aspects for the future history of Indian education, these are:

(i) The dismantling of indigenous and traditional centers of learning; (ii) The introduction of English as a medium of instruction; (iii) The teaching of European knowledge and the awareness of Western culture and civilization; (iv) The new form of education given

its limited means could not educate all the masses;

(v) The few who would receive this education must be seen as a class of people who could serve as interpreters to the colonial rulers, who in the final analysis would be the supporters of the colonial region (Aggarwal 1984: 3-14).

Given this initial thrust of British educational policy in India, the Woods despatch of 1854 provided a concrete scheme of education from the primary level to the university level, the financing of English education as well as the expansion of education. It set the ground for implementing the educational policy in India. Both Macaulay's Minute of 1835 and the Wood's dispatch of 1854 laid down the basic objectives for the development of English education in India. These were:

- i) The economic objective was to train Indians to staff the growing politico-administrative machinery in India and to provide for the acquisition of new skills required in the working of the new economy.
- ii) The cultural objective was to inculcate amongst the Indians new values based on Western Liberalism (the civilizing mission).

- iii) The political objective was "to create a class of people Indians by birth, but English in taste, manners and outlook" (Macaulay's Minute) who could be relied upon as supporters of British rule in India.

Higher Education.

The Woods despatch of 1854 laid the grounds for the growth of universities in India. In 1857 India's first Western model of the university were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. All three universities were modelled on the existing University of London. The main function of these three universities, as recorded in the preamble to Bombay University was "Ascertaining by means of Examinations, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of learning and awarding them by academic degrees as evidence of their respective attainment" (Srivastava 1963:194).

Thus, from the very outset Indian universities were not so much to be in themselves places of instruction, as to be agencies to test the value of the education received elsewhere" (Srivastava 1963:196). Besides this function of examining and awarding degrees they also co-ordinated

the activities of the various colleges affiliated under them.

Given the limited horizon within which higher education was sought to be developed, scholars like Ashby(1966) point out that very little consideration was given, to whether the exported model was really suitable or not to the prevailing socio-economic conditions in India.

It is not our intention here to deal with the history of higher education in the colonial period.¹ For our purpose it will be sufficient if we can make out the major trends that emerge in the colonial period as a result of imposing such a model of higher education in India. These we can list as:

(1) Expansionism

Tied up to the opportunity structure created by the administrative system and the growing market economy, higher education was from the very beginning viewed by the Indians as a means of getting a job and improving one's

1. A few works consulted on this subjects are
 S.R. Dongerkery 1967, University Education in India;
 E. Ashby and M. Anderson 1966, Universities: British, Indian, African : A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education; Narrulah and Naik 1964, A History of Education in India.

situation in life. In the period following the establishment of the universities, there emerged a large number of colleges (especially those run by private Indian enterprise) whose sole aim was to prepare students for the degree examinations conducted by the University. This one track vision of quantitative expansion gave way to serious decline in the quality of education. According to Eric Ashby(1966:67), "the curriculum was inherently vulnerable to learning by rote, as a result of centuries of learning by this method, the capacity and instinct for memorization was unusually strong". This in turn led to a decline in the Indian students involvement with the education process.

Despite these serious repercussions to expansion, the Indian elites of this period continued to demand for an even greater pace of expansion. Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy saw western education as having a liberalising influence on the earlier existing dead traditions. Gokhale saw western education as "the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West". Later on, the nationalist leaders saw in higher education the means

for Indian students to think in terms of national liberation. Even after 1919 when control of education came into the hands of the Indians the situation showed no change in the area of expansion. Some teaching work and scholarly research was introduced into the functions of the university, but these changes produced no significant departure from the purpose of higher education which was to get a degree and then a job.

(2) University Control and Government.

Judging from the narrow and limited function of the Indian University to issue degrees of various sort, it is not surprising that these institutions were from the inception itself brought into existence by Act of Government. Governments not only brought into existence the university, it also was the main financier in the maintenance and growth of the university.

This overpowering presence of government in the working of a university in turn led to a stifling of decision making by academics. According to S.P.Aiyar(1967: 77) "Since Indian universities began under Government auspices it has inherited from the latter its main defects : A pathological insistence on a single line of

authority and an exaggerated emphasis on the administrative wing of the university which casts its shadow over the academic functions of the departments."

Consequently what one observes is that any attempt to initiate change was always met by resistance not only from the Government bureaucracy, but also the educational bureaucracy.

Indian control of education after 1919 also never considered it as important, this issue of university autonomy. The provincial Governments continued to govern the universities in more or less the same fashion as their predecessors.

A major consequence in this regard was the lack of dynamism and absence of motivation in all sections of the university community, making any attempt for change and reorientation completely impossible.

(3) The Value of Education.

A final theme which we shall take up here relates to the value of this foreign model imposed by the British.

As it is very evident that the new education did not take into consideration the needs of India, but those

of its colonial rulers, for Indians, the value of the new education was mainly limited to obtaining employment. As early as 1889 the Chancellor of Calcutta University made a note of warning in this regard. "The new education while being an admirable intellectual equipment in itself, it is practically useless to them (students) on account of the small number of openings which the profession afford" (Srivastava 1963:284).

A number of colonial officials too (Lord Curzon himself) were concerned about this meaningless drift of higher education. Nationalist leaders and planners in the post 1919 period all expressed their concern on the need to make education relevant to the socio-economic need of India. In 1928-29 the Hartog Report made the following observation on university education. "The theory that a university exists mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations still finds too large acceptance in India. We wish that there were more signs that the universities regarded the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens as one of their primary functions (Aggarwal 1984:46). Despite the three decades that have elapsed after independence the issue of relevance continues to be of vital importance in contemporary discussions on higher education.

Some Critical Consideration of Higher Education
in the Colonial Situation.

A retrospective consideration of the impact of the British education on Indian society reveals a number of glaring faults caused by this type of higher education. We can consider here some of the points made by Naik and Narullah(1964:359).

(i) Failure to evolve a National System of
Education:

While it is true that during the independence movement a number of educated people actively involved themselves in the struggle, the ideas and sentiments that sparked this nationalist and patriotic sensibility came from outside the university. The university and the affiliated colleges were in the original intention of the colonialist meant to breed an elite amongst the Indian who through their education would be the supporting elites for the continuation of the regime.

(ii) Higher Education was completely job oriented:

In so far as western degrees opened up to its possessors a whole new occupation structure of rewards

and statuses, the educated Indian elite by and large conformed to the demands of the system. There was a failure on their part in not being able to distinguish between the normative and substantive aspects of Western culture and in this particular case western education. This blind acceptance of the superiority of Western culture and Western life styles can be seen in a certain sense to lay the grounds for future developments in post-independence India.

(iii) Innovative Handicap:

In so far as higher education was to become a predominantly memorizing activity concerning a knowledge limited by its ethnocentric world view, it failed to develop the innovative component of the educated mind. Consequently, the contribution of higher education to the economy and its related institutional spheres in Indian society were meagre and of not much relevance to Indian society.

(iv) The Elitest Model of Growth:

Higher education in British India helped shape a complex network of roles, identities, rewards and statuses etc., based on a model of education whose

fundamental premise lay in a superiority-inferiority value judgement between the educated and uneducated. What the "downward filtration" process did was to make known to the illiterate masses that the educated through their alien education now formed a separate society into which they (the illiterate) were not allowed. Higher education in other words laid the basis for another form of social inequality. Instead of attempting to build a spirit of cooperative growth, it developed a system of stratification based on competitive survival.

(v) A final remark that can be added to these critical considerations of higher education is the not too often accepted thesis, that during its long tenure of existence in India under colonial rule, higher education came to be institutionalized and internalised as a certain type of structural and cultural identity having a certain value. The consequence of this for the educated elites of the times was their resistance to change. Once institutionalized the tendency to accept the status quo in the manner it presents itself is always very great. An extension of this argument will be seen when we consider the post-independence developments in higher education.

C. HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE POST- INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

The growth made in higher education up till the time of independence was neither qualitatively progressive nor quantitatively impressive. All in all, what the colonial rule left India with was a mammoth educational system, whose continued existence for almost a century had successfully managed to mould the activity of learning into an institutionalized process. This process, the roles, functions, goals, values and aspirations had been successfully internalized by the local elites in India.

However the transition from colonialism to nationalism, implied a vast series of changes in the economic, social, political and cultural life of Indian society. If India was to establish its own sovereign identity in the community of free nations, its image of a colonized society was the first thing that had to be removed. The institutional transformation of society to suit the goals and objective requirements of the new independent nation can be seen as one of the most significant steps to be taken in the direction of national reconstruction and development.

The need for the reconstruction of education was felt much before independence. Yet, it was only after independence that the national leadership got the opportunity to tackle the problem with an independent hand. Nehru's remark to the educational conference of 1948, very strongly expresses this view. "Whenever conferences were planned in the past to form a plan for education in India, the tendency as a rule was to maintain the existing system with slight modifications. This must not happen now, great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must keep pace with them, the entire basis of education must be revolutionized" (Naik 1965:13).

What Nehru was directly emphasizing is that the new education of the post-independence period must be made relevant to the new national goals of independent India. These national goals were to be found in the Indian constitution. According to Naik (1965:78-80) these are: (a) Democracy; (b) Secularism; (c) Elimination of poverty; (d) to create a socialist society; (e) to create national integration.

The nationalist spirit that brought about the independence of the country, was the motive force behind

a great deal of changes that were initiated in the country. Nationalist leaders, faced with the grim socio-economic reality of India were all firm in the belief that education had a revolutionary task to fulfil. The Radhakrishnan Commission of 1948 envisaged the task of university education as follows (Aggarwal 1984:75):

The academic problem has assumed new shape, we have now a wider conception of the duties and responsibilities of universities. They have to provide leadership in politics and administration, the professions, industry and commerce. They have to meet the increasing demand for every type of higher education, literacy and scientific, technical and professional. They must enable the country to attain, in as short a time as possible, freedom from want disease and ignorance, by the application and development of scientific and technical knowledge.

Right from the time of the first Five Year Plan major changes were sought to be made in education. While they proposed reforms for the existing university system, they also proposed the setting up of a new system of education. The Third Five Year Plan observed the following on education, "Education is the most important single factor in achieving rapid development and technological progress and in creating a new social order founded on values of freedom, social justice and equal opportunities". (Aggarwal 1984:)

A survey of Government's effort in the growth of higher education since independence must be seen in the context of two immediate objectives faced by the states in its attempt to carry out economic development.

There were: (1) The need for expert know-how to diversify and strengthen the economic and industrial base.

(2) The mass demand for higher education especially from the urban sector.

Government responded to these demands by carrying out on a large scale the expansion of higher education. In all its efforts as pointed out by Naik(1965:22), it was pulled in opposite directions by the twin forces of a comprehensive approach based on egalitarianist ideals and the selective sector approach based on ideals of quality.

Expansionism.

The growth of educational enterprise in the post-independence period, can be observed in the strategy of expanding the base of higher education. This includes: quantitative increase of enrolment of students; the new additions of institutions, libraries, laboratory

facilities; increase in administrative and service personnel.

This expansion strategy as we shall attempt to argue, has occurred in a rather thoughtless manner and despite the fact that it has responded to social pressures and an egalitarian ideology, it has also been the root cause of a growing imbalance and a sense of crisis in the field of higher education.

The statistical observation of rates of growth in higher education² will immediately show us that by 1974 the system of higher education in terms of quantities had made a gigantic leap forward. Despite fluctuations in enrolment number since 1950, the percentage increase in enrolment has continued rising. Within a decade (1964-1974) the enrolment figures in Higher education and research had more than doubled.

Further an important fact that is revealed in this expansion of higher education is the fact that about 90 per cent of the students are enrolled in the courses of arts, science and commerce, while only 10 per cent are enrolled in professional courses.

2. For a more detailed discussion on the expansion of higher education see UGC Report 1978; J.P. Naik 1971; I.C. Menon 1974a, 1974b; K.S. Gandhi 1977;

In the case of womens' education there has been quite a high degree of expansion since independence. The rate of growth clearly points to the fact that the percentage of women enrolled in higher education compared to the total enrolments in 1970-71 had more than doubled. A large number of institutions especially in the field of undergraduate education, have been established especially for women.

In the case of scientific education, the National Science Policy covers a wide range of issues. They have been a large number of scientific institutions like the Councils of Scientific and Industrial Research, Agricultural Research, Medical Research, Defence Research, National Laboratories, the Indian National Science Academies, the Indian Institutes of Technology, Engineering Colleges, Polytechnics, etc., all catering for the development of scientific knowledge and its application in the various spheres of development.

India's expansion in the field of scientific education at the level of higher education has been enormous both nationally and internationally. From a total of 1.6 lakh enrolments in 1950-51 the figure rose

to 9.9 lakhs in 1973-74. In 1969, the total output of scientific and technical graduates in India was exceeded only by the USA and the USSR.

Government has also attempted to expand the base of agricultural education in the country. While in 1947 the importance given to agricultural education was almost negligible, the period after independence saw the rise of a number of agricultural colleges, universities and centers for advanced research like the ICAR. By 1974 there were twenty agricultural universities set up in the different parts of the country together with 73 agricultural colleges which admitted about 10,000 students every year. These universities besides taking on the function of teaching, also combine applied and fundamental research which can be of direct use in the agricultural sector of rural India.

Medical education too has undergone its phase of quantitative expansion. The Government has established a number of research centers of national importance like the AIIMS, the post-Graduate Research Institute, the Indian Council of Medical Research, etc. Between the

period 1957-1970, enrolment in medical education has gone up by nearly 200 per cent in post-graduate studies and 300 per cent in research.

While expansion of student enrolment, institutions, and educational facilities formed the bulk of government attention in the expansion of higher education, of no lesser importance was the expansion of the academic staff in universities. A staff student ratio in higher education on an all India basis between 1952-53 and 1973-74 immediately reveals, that while there has been a rapid expansion in the teaching staff, the ratio seems to have hardly improved. On the contrary, it has even risen. Again the affiliated colleges command about 80 per cent of this teaching force.

A final point that will be considered on the issue of expansion is the financing of higher education. The figures of government expenditure in higher education are impressive. Yet, the percentage on the plan outlay is extremely small and its per capita outlay in education is one of the lowest in the world.

In the post-independence period the Center has established the University Grants Commission in 1956.

This was an autonomous organization whose main objective was to allocate and disburse grants to State universities, for the maintenance of any specified activities and to provide special grants in special cases to institutions deemed to be universities. While its role in developing institutions of advanced study has been commendable, its efforts at improving the quality of all round higher education has been negligible. Economically the amount of resources available for its various schemes and activities are far too little. To top it all as K.L. Joshi (1981:117) has pointed out, more than one-third of the funds are allocated to Central Government universities.

On the political side, the UGC has been unable to wield effective powers, that can bring about changes in the universities. State Governments as Joshi points out are very often unconcerned about UGC recommendations to State funded universities. Further as Amrik Singh (1967: 75) has pointed out even though the UGC represents the "academic conscience" of the country its role has been largely ineffective in resolving the political interference in the working of universities.

The statistics on the expansion of higher education in India prove the fact that in the three decades after independence, India has built a sizeable infrastructure of higher education. Implicit in this process of expansion is also the fact that Indian universities have responded with a good deal of flexibility to the quantitative pressures which have been thrust upon them in the post-independence period.

However, these statistical figures have glossed over a large number of issues and problems that have led to an overwhelming sense of crisis and breakdown in the field of higher education in India. These issues and problems pertain not only to the qualitative dimension of higher education, but also the nature of inter-relationship that higher education is supposed to have with the overall process of national development taking place in India.

The literature on this subject of crisis in higher education focuses on various aspects of the expansion process in higher education. It is not our intention here to undertake any analysis of these criticisms. What we shall attempt to do, is highlight a number of

aspects of this expansion strategy that can indicate the extent of the crisis in higher education.

(1) While the expansion of education has been impressive, it has not spread all over the country. Thus, while the average number of studies per 1000 population in India as a whole is 5.5; in Delhi, it is as high as 13.6 while in Orissa it is a mere 2.2. Again, while the average number of colleges in a district is about 10, there are many districts with less than three colleges (UGC Report 1978).

(2) While expansion in higher education has been continually on the increase, this expansion has mainly taken place in India's urban sector.

(3) While the number of colleges in 1974 had risen to over 4000, affiliated colleges constitute about 80 per cent of this amount. Further, what is not mentioned is the quality of education provided by these colleges. Not only is the overall environment (crowded classrooms, indiscipline, inadequate facilities, inadequate staff, low motivation of staff, irrelevance of teaching methods, etc.) detrimental to any activity of higher learning it continues to be conducted for the main purpose of a degree.

(4) While it is mainly the urban middle and upper classes of women who have enjoyed the privilege of higher education, even for this group, the failure to reduce the imbalance at a societal level between the sexes has by and large negated the influence of higher education on women. A fact of significant importance that needs to be considered is how women interpret the value of higher education. K. Ahmad's (1974:191-94) study of women undergraduates in Delhi university points to the fact that for many women higher education is a way of bettering their marriage prospects or a period of transition from school to marriage.

(5) While scientific and technological education has made impressive strides, this development has contributed mainly to the development of the industrial base in the private and public sector, development in science and technology have failed to take any initiative in developing a technology base suited to India's socio-economic condition. In this sense, it would not be wrong to say that the contributions of science and technology have followed "an imitative path rather than an innovative path in the context of India's development" (Rahman 1974: 355-68).

(6) In the sphere of agricultural education it is a well known fact, that despite, the impressive improvement in the agricultural education training and research which has led to an increase in food production in the country, the beneficiaries of these gains have been mainly the rich landlords in the rural areas. The Green Revolution is an excellent case in point of the kind of imbalance propagated through advance scientific and technological inputs in agriculture. Further, as pointed out by Ashok Thapar (1974:402-25). The political interference by local and State administrations; the lack of initiatives to undertake the integrated teaching research-extension approach has seriously limited the potential production in agriculture.

(7) In the development of professional education, the exorbitant costs of training, combined with the low ratio of professionals in society, has led to a severe imbalance witnessed in the large proportion of professionals operating in the urban areas while the rural population has remained a neglected lot. A statistical observation provided by David Owens (1968:206), as an example for the medical profession reveals that while the

all India ratio for Doctors is 1:5800, in the rural areas it is 1: 23000, while in the urban areas it is 1: 1400.

(8) Finally in the sphere of financing for higher education a number of scholars have observed that higher education both in terms of financial outlays and enrolment projections, has been growing faster than primary education. J.P. Naik(1965,1974); K.L. Joshi(1974) and others have pointed out that there has been a persistent under-investment in primary education and a persistent over-investment in higher education.

Given the fact that there exists a constitutional directive to make primary education available to all Indian children in the age group 6-14, the above financial observation only goes to prove that no serious attempt is being made in the pursuit of this directive.

The expansion of higher education in India seems to have given rise to more problems of development than help find solutions. Most of the critics of higher education are firm in the belief that higher education has failed to bring about any social equality in the country. Some of them like J.P. Naik(1974) have pointed

out that the benefits of higher education have gone to the upper 20 per cent of the population. The disparities between the poor and the rich, the urban and the rural have further widened instead of decreasing.

In concluding this note on "expansion" of higher education let us briefly consider the fact of man power planning in India. The subject content of man power planning, is the manner in which educational planners forecast the manpower needs of the society. How, within a particular context, and for a particular period of time, a scheme of training in the particular branch of knowledge and its application can make available the required amount of man power for the particular activity.

Manpower planning has been going on in India since 1950. Government has established man power planning units at both Central and State levels. The results of their activities both in terms of forecasting and training are highly questionable. S.C.Goel(A.I.U.P:78) makes a pointed criticism on this effort of manpower development in India. He writes:

The basic fallacy in the approach of modern economists has been to ignore altogether the institutional frameworks within which the system of education functions in the lower developing countries. On purely a

priori grounds, education must lead to development provided it develops in response to the needs and requirements of the economy and creates the right kind of attitudes. In India as indeed in the whole of Asia, there is a tendency to overproduce the educated manpower and education itself instead of developing skills and abilities and aiding productivity, has become a process of elimination.

A clear indication of its inability to provide a solution to the problems of man power, is the growing number of educated unemployed in the country. Manpower planning has not only been unable to maintain control of the situation, but it has also failed to make any productive contributions given the huge "investment in Man" (human capital) made through higher education. In its inability to control the growth of higher education with the economic development, man power planning continues to be a statistical exercise, removed from the socio-economic realities that determine the growth of both higher education and national development.

II. Attitude to Change in Education.

In our discussion on expansion of higher education in India we concluded with the observation that expansion

has taken place on a quantitative level without taking into consideration the need of national development. This had led to a "Crisis Situation in Higher Education". In this section we shall try to discuss the efforts of Government to resolve these crisis .

At the time of India's independence, as mentioned earlier the National Government was very much aware of the historic, cultural and economic factors that had given rise to higher education in India. It was the Government's firm belief that only through a radical transformation of the system of higher education could it be made relevant to the needs of national development.

Considered in realistic terms, Government's efforts to radically transform education has been almost negligible. In both structure and process the educational system continued unchanged from its colonial moorings. That changes in the form of expansion have taken place is not denied but as J.P. Naik(1968:15) points out:

Planning for expansion is a comparatively simple matter and mostly reduces itself to the provision of funds for establishment of new educational institutions, the appointment of additional teachers, construction of building and provisions of equipment.

It is therefore the quality of education that brings into consideration the aspect of radical transformation.

In the introductory chapter of this work we highlighted the relationship that a system of education has with the society of which it is a part. Implicitly, an important conclusion we can draw from this relationship is that for a radical transformation of higher education the larger society must itself be first radically transformed. To anticipate a radical transformation of higher education, without such a transformation in the society of which it is a part is to look at higher education in an isolated context.

Post-independent Indian society however, provides no illumination of any radical transformation having taken place. What did occur was the transition of economic and political power from the colonial ruler to the hands of the local elites of Indian society. The Indian elites of the post-independence period were dominated by their particular group interests. These elite groups in rural and urban India have strengthened and consolidated their positions to such an extent that

they refuse to share their power with the masses and enjoy a major share in the gains of development (Naik 1975: 37).

Further, compared to the nationalist elites of the pre-independence period, the elite groups in the post-independence period are lacking in both commitment and dedication to bring about any radical transformation of society, as this might place them in a precarious condition to the benefits of power they presently enjoy (Naik 1975:37).

With such a resistance to change from the privileged elites it was impossible for any radical transformation of Indian society. What in fact occurred after independence in the name of transformation were a series of reforms backed by amendments of various sorts which despite their egalitarian emphasis never really sought to tackle the core problems of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, etc., that rampantly prevailed in Indian society.

Seen in the context of these prevailing conditions that determined the nature of social change in Indian society, the radical transformation of higher education

was next to impossible, if the larger system was to remain untouched by any deep seated change.

The Government instituted two Commissions to enquire into the problems of higher education. The Commission on 1948-49 dealt specifically with the problem of higher education. The Commission of 1964-66 dealt with the entire system of education, its major theme was "Education and National Development". Besides, this the UGC, the Education Ministry have all been involved in recommending changes to be made in the system of higher education. It is not our intention here to enter into a discussion on these various policies. Studies by J.P. Naik(1971); A.R. Kamat(1967); A.B. Shah(1964,1967); Gaudinho,R.L.(1965; P. Altbach(1974); Amrik Singh(1969; 1971); have all considered the policies of Government.

In an attempt to study the impact of Government policy to reform higher education, Glynn Woods(1972: 268-281) undertook a study of private colleges in Mysore. The study revealed that individual initiative and public demands were more responsible for setting undertaking educational expansion rather than government's policy.'

Amongst the important causes for this disability on the part of the Government policy to reform higher education, P. Altbach(1974:346-50) notes the following:

- (i) Job security of university teachers and administrators;
- (ii) Over centralized structure of authority and decision-making;
- (iii) The existence of political and economic vested interest groups;
- (iv) The over-burdening influence of Government on universities;
- (v) Politicization of the university community;
- (vi) The overall conservative nature of academic institutions.

While the overall societal attitude to change is one side of the problem in the radical transformation of the universities, the other side of this problem is the stiff-resistance to change from within the institutions of higher education.

From their very inception, the University in the post-independence period had been under the control of Government. They were maintained by government subsidies and any changes concerning their operation were to be first legitimised by the Government. Political

interference by Government in universities has brought university functioning to a critical situation.

Amrik Singh(1967:72) noted: "A particular powerful minister for instance may like to control a university. What it means in actual terms is this, that the Vice Chancellor should be his 'own' man, that the nominations to the Senate and Syndicate should be made in such a manner as to strengthen his own group that teachers appointments, promotions, granting of study leave are made to subserve his design of controlling the universities."

R.L. Gaudino(1965) does an extremely interesting in depth study of the Indian university. His conclusion on this matter is the same as Amrik Singh's. The vested interest within and outside universities are as much interested in maintaining the status quo. Change is not considered in terms of its wider political, social and economic ramifications, but to the extent that it helps advance the gains of the vested interest within and outside higher education(Gaudino 1965:39).

In such a climate of functioning, radical transformation of universities continues to remain at

the level of a policy statement. Within the system of higher education there continues to prevail a severe lack of dynamism and motivation antithetical to any form of meaningful change.

III. Directions of Growth.

A final trend we shall consider here is in relation to the direction of growth that higher education has taken in the decades following independence. Given the sort of ambivalence that characterizes both policy and performance in the growth of higher education, the outlining of a general direction of growth can prove to be quite a difficult activity. Nonetheless a number of scholars have tried to focus on various aspects of this growth.

In this discussion, we shall try to discuss some of the important aspects concerning this growth in higher education and then try to see what sort of direction this growth tends towards.

(i) Continued Expansion of Formal Education

Despite the recommendation made by the Education Commission(1948) that Government should work towards

establishing a new system of higher education, no such effort was made. On the contrary the formal system of education established by the British was expanded to an unprecedented degree after independence. Despite the various notes of criticisms and warnings about the utility and value of such a system, no effort was made to think in any alternative direction.

Vocational education which economists and manpower planners like V.K.R.V. Rao had suggested as a way to restrain the pace of expansion hardly received any serious attention of Government. According to J.P. Naik(1965:45) the number of students who attend vocational training courses after secondary education is the lowest in the world.

In order to bring a halt to the falling standards in higher education, government adopted a policy of selective improvement of certain major universities and Centers of learning. A.R. Kamat(1967:29) reviewing this activity directed by UGC noted:

The artificial facelift of major universities will inevitably bring about invidious stratification in the universities without gaining much of the desired result in academic eminence.

(ii) Educational Outputs

In dealing with the subject of educational outputs we are mainly referring to the general character of the students coming out of higher education. A number of scholars have discussed the Indian student type in the contemporary setting of higher education. Gaudino (1965:217-41); Durganand Sinha (1974:167-80); Edward Shils (1967:192-210); G.S. Mansukhani (1972:140-49). The following features are generally pointed out by educationists:

- (a) Students are basically interested in passing exams and procuring degrees;
- (b) they lack innovativeness and self-creativity;
- (c) They have preference for white collar jobs;
- (d) They lack a sense of direction in the pursuit of their studies;
- (e) They are totally incapable of relating academically acquired knowledge to socially relevant problems;
- (f) They face an increasing sense of frustration and alienation resulting from the growing numbers of educated unemployed.

(iii) Rural-Urban Bias

Despite the fact that Indian society is mainly an agricultural society with 80 per cent of the population

in the rural areas, higher education in India has a distinct urban bias. The major share of expansion has occurred in the urban sector, while the rural population has remained largely neglected. Even in the field of professional education, the urban bias is even more distinct.

(iv) Social Inequalities

Modern education and more especially the system of higher education was seen as an important agent of social equality in the country. The argument underlying this belief was that given the achievement criterion as the basis for establishing individual merit, it would be possible to better the chances in life through the pursuit of education. This however has not been the case. Despite the egalitarian emphasis underlying its expansion, higher education has persisted in remaining largely the exclusive domain of the richer classes in urban and rural areas. According to Naik(1971); Rao(1967); Joshi(1979) and others higher education has been mainly pursued by the upper castes and wealthier classes of the urban areas who could provide the facilities to support the expenses of higher education.

In keeping with the directive principles of the Constitution the Government has tried to do social justice by instituting fellowships and scholarships for the talented yet economically deprived students. It has also adopted a policy of reservation of seats for the scheduled castes and tribes. These measures have however been on a very low key. The amount of the assistance is meagre and the quantity of such scholarships and fellowships is yet very small. Further the inability to develop a system of checks has made all such policies open to manipulation by vested interests.

Despite these policies of reservation, the UGC(Aggarwal 1984:359) in a policy statement on higher education observed the following:

Even in quantitative terms, it is mainly, the upper and middle classes who are the beneficiaries of this system. Sixty per cent of the population (age 10 and over) which is still illiterate, has obviously received none of its benefits. Of every 100 childrens of 6 years of age 20 never go to school, 55 drop out at an early stage so that only about 25 complete class VIII. 70 per cent of the seats in secondary schools and 80 per cent of the seats in higher education are taken by the top 30 per cent of the income group.

Finally, the system of higher education has created its own set of differences within Indian society,

which, in turn give rise to forms of unequal divisions. Given the nature of the system of education, higher education itself gives rise to a new elite grouping identified by their English education, or their continued insistence for white collar jobs, or in their aspiration for a western style of life. Commenting on a study of students and their backgrounds from different parts of India M.S. Gore(1982:28-36) notes that education has intensified division along a number of factors like caste, religion, parents, background, parents income, school college status.

From the above mentioned aspects of higher education, it becomes more than obvious that the present system of higher education is in no way responding to the needs of socio-economic development in India. While it is undeniably true that the growth of science and technology within higher education has responded favourably to the growth of industrialisation in India, the beneficiaries of this growth has been mainly the urban population. Even here, one can say that a failure to develop the pace of economic growth has led to large scale unemployment.

Further, a failure to apply any qualitative checks on the expansion policy in higher education, has in turn led to a growing devaluation of higher education. This devaluation according to Ronald Dore(1976) has struck severely at the opportunity structure of those being educated, forcing them to procure more and more degrees and diplomas. In the bargain the larger objectives of higher education as an important agent of societal development are completely lost sight off. The paradox of this situation as Dore(1976:4-5) puts it, is that continued devaluation must inevitably lead to pressure for expanding education.

Finally, this crisis situation in higher education has made it vulnerable to all sorts of tensions, troubles and breakdowns. Government's policy over the years has been to undertake a sort of patchwork reform, rather than dealing with the core problems of the malaise in higher education. It has sought to take remedial measures from time to time as and when the tensions become too glaring in some aspect or the other of higher education.

D. OVERVIEW

In concluding this discussion on higher education in India, it is now possible for us to return to our initial analysis on modernization and its ability to explain social change in the context of the system of higher education.

Higher education as we have pointed out was a model of learning imposed on India during the colonial rule. After independence this model despite certain changes continued to grow in the same path as it followed during the pre-independence period.

Modernization theorists have pointed out that despite the negative aspects of colonial rule, colonialism provided the under developed societies with the modern institutions that would provide the foundations on which the new nation states could channelize their resources and energies for socio-economic development.

This however has not been the case. In our discussion on the institution of higher education we have drawn upon ample evidence to show that the system

of higher education has in fact developed a "situation of crisis". Modernization theory with its emphasis on institutional and individual change, is simply unable to explain the realities that underlie the growth of higher education. These developments go much beyond the surface observations of institutions, their roles, functions and relatedness. What in fact we observe in the real situation underlying the growth of higher education in India is a "breakdown" of modernization.

In the context of higher education, Indian planners and policy makers through the inefficacy of their policies have proved the point that the goals of socio-economic development do not just emerge as a result of merely enacting or promulgating top level policies. It also proves the point that any attempt to bring about institutional change without considering the larger level changes of which the institution is a part is a futile and an expensive exercise.

The crisis of higher education in India also makes for some deeper levels of questioning of the modernization theory. Can modernization of a society take place without considering the larger historical and cultural context

from which the society has emerged? Are the assumptions of modernization developed from an observation of universalistic or particularistic dimension of human phenomena?

In our analysis of higher education we have seen how the failure of the Government was most glaring and prominent in the case of policy implementation. Modernization theory has completely failed to consider this dimension of development strategy. On the contrary by assuming that individuals can be induced to accept change it has given rise to new forms of social inequality and social injustice. To imagine that socio-economic change can be brought about by merely reorienting the functions and roles of institutions and individuals is not only being blind to the powers that in the first place give rise to such institutions but also ignorant of the cultural values and historical experiences that shape the dynamics of human personality and social reality.

The study of the growth in higher education shows that institutional change has its limits beyond which there arise issues of power, interest groups and ideology.

To deny these latter forces in the construction of any strategy for socio-economic development is to deny the reality that constitutes human society for an "abstraction". This lopsidedness of modernization theory in explaining underdevelopment and development stems from its ideological bias that western society, western culture and western institutions are the only existing models available as solutions for the ills of underdevelopment in Third World countries.

By accepting this Western model of growth, India like many other underdeveloped countries, has become the victim of distortions, contradictions and large scale economic and political crises. The crisis of higher education in India is representative of a similar situation in many other social, cultural and economic institutions whose colonial character has remained unchanged even in the post-independence period.

Chapter- IV

THE MARXIST APPROACH

Introduction

With the emergence of the cold war period, the Super Power confrontation was witnessed not only in the rival economic and military expansionism in the Third World, but also in the ideological realm, where it found expression in the development of disciplines funded by establishment resources.

From such a global perspective we can say that in the post-World War II period, it was mainly structure-functionalism and systems theory that dominated Anglo-American sociology. The application of the Marxist approach in sociology is of comparatively recent origin. In the decades following the war, the dominant approach in Anglo-American sociology had completely outcasted Marxism condemning it as ideological propaganda and indoctrination.

The period of this dominance, was however, a short-lived one. In the sixties and seventies this dominant sociology or what is also called "Establishment Sociology" was the focus of a strong critical attack. Gouldner(1970);

Mills(1959); Shaw(1971); Nicolaus(1971); Rex(1961) and many others have argued that despite its claims to objectivity and value neutrality, sociology as a profession was rooted in an ideological system.

In its preoccupation in searching for the regularities and complexities of social phenomena, establishment sociology was restricted to surface observations of social reality. In this sense, they were unable to explain any of the underlying determinants of these surface manifestations.

The Marxist critique of "establishment sociology" is essentially rooted in a class analysis of bourgeois capitalist societies. Within such a critique, the above mentioned scholars have not only attempted to show the methodological inferiority of functionalism, but have also uncovered the ideological assumptions in functionalist concepts like social order, social control, consensus etc.

In the sociology of education the Marxist critique takes an even more acute form of expression. While earlier studies in the sociology of education focussed on

the school as a subsystem with roles, functions, etc., the growing amount of research on the issues of social stratification and social mobility in Britain and America, led to focussing on the important problems of social inequality, ideology and the class reproduction of the social structure. The works of M. Levitas, Bowles and Gintis, B. Bernstein, P. Bourdieu, M. Carnoy, M. Young, etc., all bring to light the realities of inequalities in terms of both the availability of education as well as the new forms of occupational and reward-status structures emerging from State policies in the field of education.

Marxists' contribution to the theme of education and its relationship to society have mainly centered around the problem of ideology and ideological hegemony. The main focus of these scholars has been to point out the way in which a particular mode of production gives shape and content to the prevailing form of education in the society. An understanding of the Marxist approach to social change and education must first begin with a discussion of Historical Materialism.

Section- I : HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

A. INITIAL CONSIDERATION

Historical materialism, which is the system of ideas developed by Marx is both a synthesis as well as a further development of those ideas put forward by his predecessors namely Hegel and Feurbach. Hegel's most important contribution to Marx's thought was the notion of change as expressed in his dialectics. Hegel saw history as consciousness unfurling itself in historical stages. Each successive stage depicting a further advancement of the development of consciousness towards what he called "Absolute Spirit". This movement of the "idea" as expressed in consciousness was characterized by Hegel as the dialectics (Dupre 1966:26-80). Its motion consisted in the overcoming of contradiction as manifest in the thesis and anti-thesis of the idea through the development of a synthesis. This new synthesis in turn evolved its own contradiction which in turn must give rise to yet another synthesis. Hegel sought to explain the progress and development of consciousness by showing the working of this idealistic dialectic in history.

In Hegel's idealistic interpretation of change, Marx saw the key to the realization of idealism in reality. However, Marx rejected Hegel's idealistic philosophy on the grounds that despite the Hegelian claim to having abolished the dichotomy between the rational and the actual, it failed to resolve these contradictions as they expressed themselves in material reality. The task of philosophy was not to explain reality, but to change it.

It was Feurbach who offered Marx the way out from this dilemma that is rooted in the core of Hegel's Idealistic philosophy. Feurbach began by denying the existence of separate identities. His transformative method was rooted in the conviction that Hegel's initial act of separation was erroneous. Feurbach saw man as a part of nature. To separate him from nature was to commit the first error in Hegelian idealism. Feurbach further argued, that if man was a part of nature, then any philosophical discourse must begin with man as the subject and core of enquiry in this manner he laid the basis for a materialist interpretation of philosophy.

Feurbach's method of arguing against Hegel was the rearrangement of Hegelian concepts to provide for a

materialist interpretation of philosophy. This was the transformative method, which Marx used with so much rigour in his critique of Hegel.

It is not our intention here to elaborate the various social and political criticisms that Marx used to denounce the inverted thinking of Hegel's philosophy of right. Suffice it here to say, that Marx, even though he rejected Hegel's interpretation of the Idealist system, maintained all those categories that constitute this system, but first he subjected them all to a historical materialistic critique.

In this latter sense, Hegel's idealistic philosophy through its subjection to historical materialism laid the ground for a materialistic interpretation of social change both in terms of a direction, as well as a strategy.

B. MATERIALISTIC FOUNDATIONS OF MAN'S EXISTENCE

The materialistic basis to the development of human history is the major theoretical framework, that Marx posited as a counter-point to the idealistic

development of history, as put forward by Hegel in his political philosophy. For Marx, man is a totality, incorporating both essence and existence. The separation of these two in social reality was, according to him, the basis of alienation. The study of human society must take as its central focus of investigation, human existence. He writes:

We must begin by stating the first premise of all human existence, and therefore of all history, the premise namely that man must be in a position to live in order to be able to make history, but life involves before everything else, eating and drinking, housing, clothing, and various other things. The first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs — The production of material life itself. (Marx/Engels 1976:62).

By emphasising the material basis of human existence as the basis for understanding human society, Marx laid the grounds for a materialistic interpretation of human history — Regarding this materialistic conception, he writes:

This conception of history has not, like the idealist view of history to look for a category in every period, but remains constantly on the real ground of history. It does not explain practice from the idea, but explains the formation of ideas from

material practice and accordingly, it comes to the conclusion that all forms and products of consciousness cannot be dissolved by mental criticism(1976:83-84).

Therefore, if the materialist basis is the constant that rests on the real ground of history, where must one look in this materialist basis for the context of human existence? For Marx the answer lies in the realm of material production.

"Men began to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they began to 'produce' their means of sustenance, a step which is conditioned by their physical organization. By producing this means of subsistence, men are indirectly producing their actual material life(1976:31).

Production is the central and most important of all human activities. Not only does man acquire the means of his subsistence through production, it also determined the nature of his consciousness as the creator of his material world. Within the realm of production man laboured. For Marx human labour was the principal activity underlying

all modes of material production.' He notes:

Human labour is in the first place, a process in which both man and nature participate and in which man of his own accord states, regulates, and controls the material reactions between himself and nature. By thus acting on the external world and changing it. He at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway. (Marx:Capital vol.I:177-78).

Implicit in this remark, we must understand the underlying relationship that man's labour has with the development of his consciousness. Man's consciousness is endowed with intentionality. It is this intentionality together with its incumbent human action through which it get realized, that makes man the creator of both himself and his material world. Man himself is thus the maker of his own history. It is such a conceptualization of 'man' that makes the big difference between Marx and his predecessors. While his predecessors from Spinoza to Hegel sought to conceptualize man within a dichotomy, making his totality of being an abstract ideal for Marx man's totality becomes the basis of understanding his nature. In other words, the essence of man is rooted in the totality as it makes itself manifest in his social existence.

C. THE SOCIAL BASIS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE

Marx's theory of Historical Materialism has been mainly involved in pointing out: (a) that a theory of human society can only be developed from a materialist basis; (b) that this materialist basis must be seen in the production process by which human society develops the means of its sustenance; (c) that the essence of production is human labour; (d) that human labour is the defining characteristic of 'man' in so far as it endows him with the 'self-creating' ability i.e., creating both himself and the world of which he is a part.

Marx develops the concept of "social man" by deducing that man's social trans-subjective nature results from his quality to be an "object-creating" being. Unlike the earlier individualistic Hedonistic characterization of social man, Marx began by characterizing man as a "social-being" or "social-being" (1977b:75).

The image of man as a "species being" by implication also points to the fact that the "individual" and "society" are not exclusive entities. Each of them

includes within itself certain moments of the other.

He notes:

In his species consciousness, man confirms his real social life and reproduces his real existence in thought. Though man is a unique individual - and it is just his particularity which makes him an individual, a real individual communal being, he is equally the whole, the ideal whole, the subjective existence of society as thought and experience. He exists in reality as the representation and the real mind of social existence and as the sum of human manifestations of life (Bottomore 1963:168).

Thought and being are indeed distinct but they also form a unity.

Social man according to Marx is a unity of both thought and being, of identities both universal and particular. Social man in Marx's image of him is a "whole" man, a totality. But how does this totality realize itself in the context of its particular historical moment of existence?

This realization according to Marx occurs in the "life activity" of social man. This life activity is what we earlier referred to as human labour as it occurs in the material process of production. Since production cannot be carried out single handedly, production is by its inherent nature a social process.

Such a conceptualization of both "man" and "society" can now take us to the most fundamental Marxist principle in the study and analysis of human society. "The mode of production of material life conditions, the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness" (Marx 1977:21).

The mode of production is in this sense as outlined by Marx the infrastructure of the entire social order. Its understanding not only brings to light the particular forms of relationship that men engaged themselves in within the process of production, but also the various means put to use within the production process.

E. THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The controversy surrounding this term has been the cause of many debates amongst Marxist scholars. While the orthodox Marxist following the Soviet interpretation

have been mainly involved in a sort of economic reductionism to explain the role of infra-structure and super structure within the production process contemporary Marxist writings of the post-war period have tried to explain the production process within a much wider context to include ideological and Hegemonic components in the production process.

In our own discussion of the production process our attention would mainly be concerned with Marx's explanation of the capitalist mode of production. While he also discussed other modes of production like the feudal, the ancient, the primitive etc., the capitalist mode of production according to Marx was the last form of antagonistic relations in the mode of production.

In his discussion of the production process Marx (1977:189-92) outlines three general features of the process. These are:

- i) Production in general is an abstraction. Production must always have in mind production of a definite stage of social development.
- ii) Just as there is no production in general, there is also no general production. Production

is always a particular branch of production e.g., agriculture, industry, mining, etc.

iii) Finally production is invariably only a definite social corpus, that is engaged in a wider or narrower totality of productive spheres.

Within the production process Marx takes up for discussion three main aspects. These are: (1) The means of production; (2) Relations of production; (3) The Formation of Interest Groups. Let us consider each of these.

(1) The means of Production.

In production man appropriated nature to satisfy his needs of sustenance and survival. To carry out this process of production, man made use of various means. These means of production, he explained as the instruments necessary to carry out production. On this point he notes: "No production is possible without an instrument of production even if this instrument is simply the hand. Production is not possible without past accumulated labour, even if this labour is only the skill acquired by repeated practice and concentrated in the hands of the savage" (Marx 1977:190).

(2) Relations of Production.

The relations of production are concerned with the kind of relationship an individual has with the means of production. These relationships, according to Marx, are "relations appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production". On this point he writes:

The totality of production relations constitute the economic structure of society. The real basis upon which a legal and political super-structure arises, and to which definite forms of social consciousness must correspond. The mode of productions of the material means of life determine in general the social, political and intellectual processes of life. (1977a:20-1)

Thus in the feudal mode of production the producer owns the means of production, whereas, in the capitalist mode of production the workers do not own the means of production. On the contrary he has to sell his own labour for a wage.

The relations to the means of production must in turn give rise to a division of labour in the production process. This division of labour is again the result of the particular mode of production. Thus the different modes of production present differences in the division of labour.

Economic activity and property are thus not a band of reciprocity, but forces that separate individuals, since one achieves at another's expense. Individuals become self-enclosed atoms and mutuality exists only in competition (Bottomore 1963:120).

According to Marx, the division of labour creates different capacities in different human individuals. It reduces man to a one-sided being since a man comes to be characterised by the nature of his occupation. Specialization and division of labour are alienated forms of universal human interdependence.

(3) The Formation of Interest Groups.

Based on the relationships to the means of production and the ensuing division of labour, Marx argues, that individual group themselves together on the basis of their particular interest within the production process.

These interests groups in the production process are what Marx identifies as the social classes. Further, the nature of the unequal relationship that characterizes the interaction of these social classes within the production process leads to class antagonism and conflicts resulting in class struggles.

The class character of the production process is based on the individual's relation to property. Thus, for example, the ownership and control of the means of production create the basis for the capitalist class and the working class in capitalist society.

In terms of a dialectical interpretation the two classes stand in opposition to each other. It is the class struggles of the working class that must finally resolve this antagonistic contradiction.

F. THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION

From a historical standpoint, Marx traces the origins of capitalism in Western European societies to the declining period of the feudal mode of production. The historical forces that shaped the growth of capitalism in this period, must be seen in the growth of commodity demand in the wake of growing international trade; the primitive accumulation of capital that led to the appropriation of the peasantry from agricultural occupations and their conversion into wage labour for industry; the emergence of civil society as an autonomous

sphere of economic activity resulting from the growth of towns in the late middle ages; the growing influence of the bourgeoisie in the affairs of the State.

The sum of these historical forces have led to the rise of capitalism in Western Europe and England. According to Marx(1953:25-26):

Civil society is the most developed and many sided historical organization of production. The categories which explain its conditions to the relations of its structures, thus give us an insight into the structures of all those forms of society which have already disappeared and on whose ruins civil society has been built.

Under capitalism the State and Civil Society achieve this distinct separation. Production in Civil society under capitalism is totally bereft of community oriented considerations. The State exists by legitimizing the class structure of economic production and in itself represent the ideology of the ruling class.

Under the capitalist mode of production, Marx argued, the production process is governed by the most blatant form of exploitation. Society is differentiated by two

antagonistic classes; the class of capitalist who own the means of production (capital and machinery) and the class of labourers who own nothing but their labour which they must sell to the capitalist for a wage in order to survive.

Surplus Value:

In seeking to expose the manner in which the working class is exploited by the capitalist class Marx puts forward his theory of surplus values. Surplus value is the profit made by the capitalists by exploiting labour value. In not giving to the labourer his entire share of labour value, but merely giving to him wages enough for his subsistence and continuation as a worker, the capitalists also treats labour as a commodity which can be exploited.

Money in this system of production is both the beginning and the end of production. The capitalist purchases commodities with money and after the production process he sells the commodity for money. The money achieved in the final analysis is always more than what was spent. According to Marx, surplus value come only

from labour. Capital exists so that surplus value can be created. On its own capital does not create surplus value.

In not being able to possess the means of productions, nor the products of his objectification, on the contrary, in being forced to sell his labour in order to survive, labour achieves the higher point of its alienation. On this point Marx notes:

What constitutes the alienation of labour? First that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his nature and that consequently he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself has a feeling of misery rather than wellbeing, is physically exhausted and mentally debased...his work is not voluntary but imposed forced labour. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there are no physical or other compulsions it is avoided like the plague. (Bottomore 1963:124).

Under capitalism money is man's alienated self, since it reduces all human qualities to quantitative interchangeable values devoid of any specific values. Accumulation of money diminishes man's real capacities for externalization and self expression. "The less you are the less you express your life, the more you have, the greater is your alienated self and the greater is the saving of your alienated being" (1963:174).

Further money's power makes it possible for its possessors to acquire qualities otherwise missing in them. They can acquire these qualities by purchasing them with money. "What I am and can do is, therefore not at all determined by my individuality. I am ugly, but I can buy the most beautiful woman for myself. Consequently, I am not ugly, for the effect of ugliness its power to repel is annulled by money." (1963:191).

Since only the possession of money can create effective demand, only the man who has money has demands and effective needs. For those without money, there are no effective demands or needs that must be realized. Consequently money is a negation of man's personality.

Section- II : THE MARXIST THEORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

A. THE HISTORIC PROCESS

Marxist theory of social change is rooted in a more fundamental belief in which Marx explains how within matter itself there exists an impulse which drives everything towards change. Change is the essence of all

things, human activity is also change in so far as through activity matter is sought to be transformed. However in so far as human consciousness is endowed with intentionality, change always comes into existence as a result of historical necessity.

In studying social change, Marxist scholars give the greatest importance to change in the economic structure of society. They regard economic change as being first in order of time and importance. These are then followed by changes in the superstructure.

In this sense we can say, that social change for the Marxists is a change in the mode of production. According to Marx the forces that give rise to a change in the mode of production are forces inherent in the existing mode of production. This importance given to changes in the modes of production, is illustrated by Marx in his discussion on the modes of production in different historical epochs. By using the materialist methodology, Marx' analyzes the various modes of production from primitive communism to slavery to serfdom and finally to wage labour.

In his discussion on pre-capitalist economic formation his enquiry into the historical forms of property conditioned by the particular modes of production, leads him to outline the following stages in the growth of property : (a) communal property; (b) communal and state property; (c) Feudal or rank ownership of property; (d) Labour as property under capitalism. (Hebsbawn 1969: 27-30).

B. SOCIAL CHANGE AS A DIALECTICAL PROCESS

According to Marxism, the basis of all change is contradiction. Marxist scholars in studying change try to identify the "fundamental contradiction". This provides them with the key to understand and interpret the entire process of change with all its complexity as it occurs in society. Yet, we must also be aware of the fact that change in the Marxist approach is a continuous process. This means that the fundamental contradiction will only be such for a limited period of time. New forms of opposition will emerge giving rise to new antagonisms and struggles which will finally bring into existence yet another new synthesis or unity. This in times will again be subjected to the law of dialectics.

Seen in a historical context, the fundamental contradiction in modern industrial societies is expressed in the class struggle resulting from the capitalist mode of production. According to Marxism the struggles of the working class in their effort to break free from the fetters developed by the capitalist mode of production would in turn result in the emergence of socialism. Modern industrial capitalist countries had reached their stage of evolution in which the system had sowed the seeds of its own destruction. They were ready for the transition to socialism.

In his developmental perspective to social change, Marx also adopted an evolutionary model of explanation. His explanation was however rooted in the methodology of historical materialism. Stages in the development of human societies were explained by making reference to the particular mode of production prevalent in the period. The mode of production revealed not only the particular level of development of human consciousness, but also the nature of the society as a whole.

Marx argued that unlike earlier modes of production, capitalism was a universal mode of production. Capita-

lism as a world wide system was inevitable (Marx/Engels Works vol.I:36-37). One definite implication of this observation is that underdeveloped societies all over the world would inevitably be forced into a capitalist mode of production. It is only after capitalism had reached the geographical limits of its expansion that it would begin the course of its own self destruction, leading to the abolition of private property.

While Marx never made a systematic attempt to outline the future of society following the destruction of capitalism, he has vividly pointed out (Marx:1977:96-7) how under Communism, man resolves the contradictions set forth by private property under capitalism.

However, there exists enough historical evidence to prove that nowhere in the contemporary world where capitalism has been overthrown and replaced by Communism such a society has been realized. Marx himself saw change as a dialectual process and in this sense a continuous process of change. The abolition of private property according to him would first lead to the creation of communal property and the abolition of class division would

in turn give rise to a single class -- the working class. This first stage of communism which he characterized as "distributive communism", would in turn give rise to the second stage where division of labour is completely done away with. According to Marx, it is the division of labour that gives rise to the erroneous notion that people fundamentally, differ with each other. Abolishing the division of labour implied the emancipation of man from the narrowness and partiality imposed upon him by alienated labour.

The abolition of the division of labour, would give rise to man developing his multifaceted self without being fettered by the objects of his creation. Communism is thus the actual phase necessary for the next stage of historical development in the process of human emancipation and rehabilitation.

III. PRAXIS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A final consideration of the Marxist approach to social change must take up for consideration the term "praxis" which forms a significant component in the doctrine of change.

Unlike other theories of social change that seek to explain the nature of social reality in the process of change, marxism has differed very drastically, in that it also combines a theory of social action in its discussion of social change.

The word "praxis" is used by Marx to explain the unity of theory and action within the process of social change. Marx argued that traditional philosophy presupposes a distance between itself and the reality it seeks to interpret. The point however as Marx argues is not to interpret the world, but to change it.

In bringing social and philosophical explanations into the realm of reality, Marx makes of praxis both a tool for changing the course of history as well as a criterion for historical evaluation. Praxis in this sense, sets the basis for revolutionary action.

It is in the context of its material needs that Marx establishes the revolutionary role of the proletariat. The needs of the proletariat are both universal and radical. The proletariat however sees their needs

only as problems related to the external world. On this point Marx(1956:73) observes:

But these messy communist workers, employed for instance in the Manchester or Lyons workshops, do not believe that pure thinking will be able to argue away their industrial masters and their own practical debasement.

.... They know that property, capital, money wage labour and the likes are no ideal figment of the brain, but very practical, very objective sources of their self-alienation and that they must be abolished in a practical-objective way for man to become man not only in thinking, in consciousness, but in life.

Revolutionary praxis has thus a dialectical character, objectively it is the organizing of the working class movement, subjectively it is the change the worker achieves by his self discovery through the movement. The working class movement helps change the consciousness of the worker and of his society. Above all, they bring him into contact with his fellow workers and show to him that his fate is not a subjective affair pertaining only to him, but a part of the universal scheme of reality. There will certainly be differences in the degree to which individual workers understands his purpose in this

dialectical movement of history. But this according to Marx, is dependent on the level of class consciousness. It is in the unity of theory and action wherein each providing the meaning for the other that leads to the onward development of class consciousness and the working class movement as a whole.

The Marxist approach to social change maintains that the individual must be involved in the process of changing reality before he can begin to understand its essential qualities. This initial position implies not only the involvement of a value judgement, but also a conscious commitment to a class position.

IV. IMPORTANT CRITICISMS

The Marxists approach to the study of advanced technical societies under the general subject of capitalism has been widely criticized. From a developmental point of view the following points can be said to be of general significance.

As a developmental theory of society the theory has two major defects: (a) It belongs to the genre of

Grand Theories that emerged in 19th century Europe (Evolutionism). The underlying assumption of all such theories is that they sought to project law like propositions on the nature of human behaviour irrespective of the differences that marked the quality and variety in human behaviour. Despite their attempts to root their conclusions in historical observation, the very nature of their theoretical perception shaped the character of their historical observations. As a consequence, this a priori character has prevented Marxism from becoming an experimental theory based on investigations and the inductive method. (b) A second significant criticism that emerges as a consequence of this Grand theorization is the insignificant role given to individuals and the individual contribution to the overall process of change in society. In Marxism the individual has character only in so far as he can be identified as being a member of one or the other of the antagonistic classes. Seen in this rigid class structure irrespective of inherent individual traits, all individuals are endowed with imposed class qualities. Such a conception of the individual must by necessity be narrow and

limiting in its explanation of human behaviour in any particular historical situation.

The Marxist explanation of capitalist societies has also faced a number of criticisms that emphasize the changing character of both the Western capitalist societies as well as the socialist countries which have developed on the belief that they have overthrown capitalism.³

The paradox of today's issues has been aptly expressed by Stuart Hampshire(1977:12) as follows: "We need more and more comprehensive planning, yet lack a reliable theory for it. Since our knowledge of society is necessarily limited and we are bound in social engineering to produce many unforeseen effects".

3. For a detailed criticism see Stuart Hampshire and Lezer Kolokawski(1977), pp.2-7.

Section- III : MARXIST APPROACH AND THIRD

WORLD DEVELOPMENT

I. KARL MARX

A Marxist approach to the study of change taking place in underdeveloped countries, must begin by considering some important aspects, which Marx pointed out in relation to the capitalist mode of production.

According to Marx, capitalism is a universal mode of production. In so far as technology must inevitably lead to a rationalization of both material resources and human action, property has now been demystified leading to a universalization of relations between human beings. However, though capitalism helped to free the medieval man by removing his dependence upon other men, it bound man up again by making him dependent on objects which are in actual fact the projections of his own alienated self.

This dependence on objects is the universal dimension of capitalism. It is based on exchange value through cash payments and its only motive force is the

self-interest of the capitalist class. This universalization of man's dependency on objects (products) sets the pace for the world expansion of capitalism. In Communist Manifesto, Marx(1970:36) writes:

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nation into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarian intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction to adopt the bourgeoisie mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization in their midst, i.e., to become bourgeoisie themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

Marx himself, never went into investigating the dynamics of capitalist expansion on a global scale. Yet, in his own study of capitalism he managed to make an important observation about the growth of capitalism. He observed, that in so far as there existed the possibility of new markets, capitalism would continue to grow. Only when capitalism reached a geographic limit of its expansion, would it then start to sow the seeds for its own self-destruction.

II. LENIN : IMPERIALISM, ITS HIGHER STAGE OF CAPITALISM

Lenin's ideas on imperialism and its spread in underdeveloped societies is a development of both Marx's own idea of capitalist production and J.A. Hobson's work on Imperialism.

Lenin argued that imperialism is a necessary stage of capitalism. The main factors leading to this higher stage of development of capitalism were according to him (1978:118-20): (a) the increasing concentration of industries by large oligopolies which controlled a major part of industrial production in the capitalist countries; (b) the control and decision-making in the area of industrial production by huge financial institutions; (c) The declining rate of profit in the advanced industrial countries; (d) the rival amongst capitalist powers in the conquest of new territories; (e) the export of surplus capital to backward countries. He writes:

As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will never be utilized for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country. For this would mean a decline in profit for the capitalists. It will be used for the purpose of increasing those profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward

countries. In these backward countries, profit usually are high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low raw materials are cheap. (Christman 1966:216).

Further, the export of capital to the backward countries and its development there, is in no way a gain for the backward country. Under the terms of "free trade", capitalist relations with the backward countries took on its most drastic form of exploitation. Not only did it successfully demolish the subsistence economy of these backward countries, it forced the local people into a new mode of production for their material sustenance. In doing so imperialism created an international division of labour, capitalism achieved world domination dividing nations into rich and poor.

In Lenin's theory of imperialism, we observe how in the first instance of their relationship with the advanced capitalist countries, the underdeveloped and backward countries were coercively compelled to adopt a new form of production (and by implication of a new life style) in keeping with the capitalist system. In the course of time these backward countries were soon made part of the world capitalist system.

Lenin's theory clearly brings to light the dynamics of the colonial situation in which a transplantation of the capitalist mode of production in these underdeveloped societies takes place. It also throws up very important questions to those scholars of development who are inclined to see only the positive gains of capitalism for these backward countries thus, would the people brought under the control and subjugation of the empire been better off under some alternative pattern of development? Would an alternative system provide greater economic and moral growth? True the questions are hypothetical. Nonetheless, their implications for the present are important.

Lenin's work on imperialism was completed and published in the middle of 1917. A number of historic changes have followed from this period, namely — the World Wars, the Russian and Chinese Revolution, the rise of the United States to a position of world leadership amongst the capitalist countries, and the emergence of a number of nation states. All these changes provide a new situation for imperialism, which did not necessarily correspond to Lenin's interpretation of the process.

Whether it was a lack of data sources or some other factors, the thesis that "it was the declining rate of profit which led to capitalist expansion, was quite heavily criticized. According to these new scholars of imperialism like J. Galtung (1971); G. Frank(1969a); P. Baran(1957), etc., the transfer of capital is seen as one of the many contributing factors to the realization of imperialism. These scholars have observed that these structural difference that distinguishes the new imperialism from the old is the replacement of an economy in which many firms compete, by one in which a handful of Giant Corporations in each industry compete.

One important follow-up from the various wars of independence that occurred in many colonies of Asia and Africa, was the fact, that "Direct Control", by the Advanced Economic over the lesser developed ones was no longer possible. The new kind of imperialism must now establish itself on a new footing.

The new basis has been seen by some scholars to be evolving around a nexus of indirect control. What is meant by indirect control can best be observed in

Galtung's model of the new imperialism(1971:83).

According to him:

Imperialism is a relation between a center and a periphery nation so that:

- (i) there is harmony of interest between the center in the center nation and the center in the periphery nation.
- (ii) there is more disharmony of interest within the periphery nation than within the center nation;
- (iii) there is a disharmony of interests between the periphery in the center nation and periphery in the periphery nation.

Galtung, as can be observed from this structural model of imperial relations is mainly concerned with how groups in underdeveloped countries based on principles of self interest and opportunism, create the nexus for the continuation of imperialist relation.

The trend in the discussion of imperialism thus far, has mainly been in observing its effects on the metropole or advanced capitalist countries. Only as a secondary observation has it tried to study its consequences for the periphery countries.

Dependency Theories

A final aspect of the Marxist approach to change, concerns the school of Marxism that has sought to put forward the theory of Structural Dependence. For these scholars, mainly hailing from Latin America, the State of underdevelopment in most Third World countries is the result of their "dependence" (coerced) on the metropole countries for their development. Dependence here is seen as an indirect form of domination on the economic, political and social spheres of underdeveloped societies, such that they must continue to be dependant on these rich countries for their development.

Frank(1969) the most important theorist of this dependency approach, developed a structural model of metropole-satellite relationships. The underlying principal governing this metropole-satellite relationship is the principal of domination. According to him underdevelopment is a logical consequence of the expansion of the capitalist mode of production in these backward areas. He follows the same line of argument as that of Paul Baran(1957).

Baran pointed out that the advanced capitalist countries of the West had a vested interest in keeping the backward countries underdeveloped. According to him the underdeveloped countries provided the advanced capitalist countries with raw materials and an outlet for investment. Further, the advanced capitalist countries had an edge over the underdeveloped countries. In so far as both were members of the world capitalist system, the backward countries were compulsorily dependant on the advanced capitalist countries, since they controlled the capital, technology and market organizations so essential for economic growth.

Gunder Frank's dependency theory is also along these same lines. From a detailed study of Latin American countries both on the international level as well as within the national set up, Gunder Frank(1969:16-17) observes that even within national boundaries the urban and the rural sectors reveal a well integrated structure of metropolitan-satellite relationship.

In "Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America", Frank(1969:16-17) writes:

This same structure of dependence extends from the macro metropolitan center of the world capitalist system down to the most supposedly isolated agricultural workers, who, through this chain of interlinked metropolitan-satellite relationship, are tied to the central world metropolis and thereby incorporated into the world capitalist system as a whole. The nature and degree of these ties differ in time and place, and these differences produce important differences in the economic and political consequences to which they give rise. Such differences must intimately be studied case by case. But these differences among relationships and their consequences do not obviate their essential similarity in that all of them, to one degree or another, rest on the exploitation of the satellite by the metropolis or on the tendency of the metropolis or on the tendency of the metropolis to expropriate and appropriate the economic surplus of the satellite.

In the light of such an exposition of underdevelopment, Frank goes on to point out that in the present structural arrangement of the world capitalist system, it is highly impossible for the countries of the underdeveloped world to initiate on their own any form of economic growth. Any form of growth for these countries is dependent on the larger level metropolitan centers, which dominate them. The same principal also applies within a country where lower level satellites are dominated by regional metropolises.

Further, in the event of a weakening of this relationship of dependence, two forms of development can occur. Either the country returns to subsistence economy (passive capitalist involution) or the country can take to autonomous capitalist development of a limited kind (active capitalist innovation). India's drive towards development can be explained as the latter case. (This is owing to the fact that despite her protectionists policy, she is still dependant on outside technology and outside capital for her internal development).

Real change (implying a break with this oppressive metropolitan-satellite chain of inter-relationships), can only come about when, due to the growing polarization of the two sides, the transformation of the system moves from the metropole to the satellite. It is at this point in the historical process that revolutionary action is called for. It is at this time, that the bourgeoisie both national and regional must be overthrown and the chain broken.

DEPENDENCY THEORIES : SOME CRITICISMS

On the whole we can say that unlike its non-Marxist counterpart which sees economic underdevelopment in terms of social and cultural obstacles, dependency theory begins by analysing the social consequences of a capitalist mode of production and its imperialist expansion. It studies the ways in which new structures of exploitation are set up and how these in turn obstruct economic growth. Further in so far as it also recommends a revolutionary transformation of the structures that presently continue the process of exploitation, like all Marxist writings it is also a statement of political action.

Despite its important relevance for understanding development and underdevelopment in Third World countries, we shall say that the dependency approach suffers from certain misconceptions as an analytical model of change. These are:

(a) To what extent can dependency theory really prove the point that the capitalist mode of production leads to the dissolution of all other forms of existing modes of production?

In India there is enough evidence to show that even in the present period, feudal relations as a mode

of production thrives in many parts of the rural economy. Besides, how does one trace the dynamics of exploitation inherent in a metropolitan-satellite structure in the case of rural Indian society which is undeniably dominated by a caste structure?

(b) A second point of criticism must concern the metropolitan-satellite structure. While at the global and national levels it might not be too difficult to identify the two poles and their respective dynamics of interaction, as we go down the ladder to regional and local levels such a task of identification becomes increasingly more and more difficult. This is so because unlike at the international and national and (to an extent) even regional levels it is possible to witness the working of a market based economy, at local levels such a task is all too often very difficult and desist all attempts of generalizations of any sort. The concept of dependence suffers from a lack of clarity and structural specificity.

(c) Thirdly, while dependency theory might bring out the antagonisms of structures governed by a principal

of domination, It fails to recognize the important points that domination of one group by another is as important as co-operation of one group with another to maintain the overall structure of exploitation. It therefore becomes important to specify the conditions under which different types and degrees of structural dependence or domination exist.

(d) Fourthly dependence theory seems to pay too much consideration to the factors of exchange. The aspects of distribution and consumption are also important forces that contribute to the character of market economy. But Frank and other dependence theorist seem to offer no analytical insights into these two aspects in underdeveloped societies.

(e) Finally, in so far as a Franks model of structural dependency is mainly concerned in depicting change as an exogenous influence, It completely fails to recognize the indigenous sources of change that can occur especially in an underdeveloped society.

Once again, as in the case of the modernization model we are involved with a preformulated model of change.

In the present case however, the course of theoretical abstraction follows a different pattern of movement in its effort to conceptualize the phenomena of change that is presently occurring in Third World societies.

Here we note that concepts are generalised on the basis of history. "Capitalism" is studied as a mode of production occurring within a historical moment. It was preceded by other modes of production that led up to its development. But again as a "mode of production" its history is specific. Its claims to universality both as a positive force leading to universal changes as well as a negative force whose emergence is necessary for transition to socialism (again universal) must continue to remain questionable. In not being able to take into consideration the particular culture associated with a mode of production, the marxist approach also suffers from an ethnocentric bias.

Chapter- V

EDUCATION AND THE MARXIST APPROACH

A. THE PLACE OF EDUCATION IN THE MARXIST APPROACH

A Marxist approach to the study of education and its place in society must begin with a consideration of the term "culture". In German ideology Marx argues that culture has its roots in man's double relation to nature and to other men (species being). Man's adaptation of nature to develop the means of his sustenance is effected only through the forms which his social collaboration with other men assume. This relationship of the material social world and its related social formations is the basic materialist premise on which rests the entire meaning of culture. Further, in so far as this materialistic notion of culture implies the specificity of time and space, it is always rooted in one or another historico-particularistic situation.

Unlike the more common and prevalent descriptive characterizations of culture, Marx uses the term culture in a dynamic and developmental sense. Culture is a totality constitutive of the production process. Human culture is in this sense a form of human knowledge perfected

within the material process of production and is in turn preserved and transmitted through interaction with this production process.

In providing such an interpretation to the term culture, Marx is able to establish one fact of central importance to Marxist theory, i.e., human culture is determined by the production process (Marx 1977:20-21). In order to explain the interrelationship between culture and the material process of production, Marx elaborates on the concept of ideology. For Marx ideology is seen as a 'reflection' of the material basis of production. Comparing the process of reflection with the human eye, he writes:

If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in a camera obscura, this phenomena arises just as much from their historical life processes as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life process (Marx/Engels 1976:37).

The reference to ideology made in this inter-relationship between culture and the production process must be seen as the basis from which Marxists have sought to develop their entire conception of the super structure

and its composite elements in relation to the production process.

The historical significance of ideology in the totality of the production process and its relationship to consciousness has been expressed by Marx as follows:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force...so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it....The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of dominant material relations. (Marx/Engels 1976:59-60).

Thus for Marx, an ideology is understood as a system of representation which signify a set of relationship which are real, but which conceal another set of relationships between people which are no less real. The post-Marx literature on the concept of ideology has produced some sophisticated developments, which we shall presently consider. At this point however, it is necessary to state that Marxism places education within the broad general realm of the ideological superstructure.

The system of education is seen as a part of the ideological apparatus through which the ruling class

seeks to perpetuate its continued existence within a society. This ideological basis of education according to Rachel Sharp(1980:117) focuses on three main issues in the realm of education. These are -- (a) the content of education; (b) the control of education; (c) the access to education.

Marxist scholars studying the ideological context of education, have generally conducted their analysis within the context of these three issues in education. While the general Marxist literature on the subject of ideology is quite vast, we shall take up for consideration here only those ideas that offer us some understanding on the ideological basis of education. In this connection, we can take up for discussion some of the ideas put forward by Louis Althusser and Antoni Gramsci.

Unlike the earlier conceptions in Marxism which saw ideology as one general system devoid of any distinctions or differentiations, Louis Althusser makes a distinction between two kinds of ideologies: (a) Theoretical ideology which can be recognized as an abstract system of thought; (b) Practical ideology which

can be recognized in the way individuals live their relations within their real conditions of existence invoking a sense of ideology as lived experience rather than mere thought(see Sharp 1980:96).

Practical ideologies are the ideological embodiments that exists in the everyday reality of an individual. These practical ideologies must by necessity be involved with the production process in society. Within the production process, practical ideologies not only define a material situation within which man relates to the instruments of production, but also a social situation where man enters into social relationships with other people.

Practical ideologies help us to understand many important aspects of the ideological basis of a given system of education. The process of formal socialization that is normally supposed to take place within the sphere of education can serve as an excellent illustration of the working of practical ideology. Here we observe that not only does education provide the student with the requisite knowledge and skill to fit him in the

wider sphere of production, it also moulds his personality into a certain type by which he is indoctrinated into a particular position within the general limits of a class structured society. In other words, education provides the student's consciousness with a certain perception and meaning of the reality he/she lives in. This perception and meaning is not value free and must be seen as being part of a larger system that can be associated with the ruling class in a society.

While Althusser's concept of practical ideology offers some very valuable insights on the nature of ideology in education, it is necessary to remember that in a class structured society practical ideologies occur within a specific relation of domination and subordination based on the distribution of power. It is in this realm that the ideas of Antonio Gramsci are of particular significance.

The central idea from which Gramsci develops his theoretical contributions to education is that man has a "total productive relationship" which his physical and social world. In this sense, man is an active

thinking and doing agent who not only comprehends his reality, but also attempts to change it.

Change therefore according to Gramsci is more than economic change, it is also intellectual and cultural. In other words, not only can the cultural and intellectual realm provide a crucial component in activating change, it also provides the basis under which any change can be sustained. It is in this context that Gramsci expounds his idea of hegemony.

Hegemony refers to a set of assumptions, theories, practical activities, a world view through which the ruling class exerts its dominance. Its function is to reproduce on the ideological plain the conditions for class rule and the continuation of the social relations of production. (Sharp 1980:102).

Hegemony in this sense is an active process which requires individuals not only to master the skill of intellectual production but also use them in the development of the particular ideology that would provide the basis for the creation of stability within the social order of a class society.

It is within such an understanding of hegemony, that Gramsci (1971) develops his ideas on education. Gramsci argues that education in a class structured society breeds intellectual functionaries who share common interests with those of the dominant political elites and who provide the hegemony which becomes the central source of the ruling ideology. It is they who provide the scientific rationalization of the existing production activity within the production process.

The role of education within the ensuing class struggle taking place in society thus becomes a radical contribution to the success of the class struggle. Gramsci emphatically argues that the struggle on the economic front must be simultaneously accompanied by a struggle on the cultural and intellectual front to establish the counter hegemony over the hegemony of the ruling class.

"Hegemony, therefore, has to be viewed as a dynamic movement continually responding to unresolved conflicts and new ideological tendencies" (Sharp 1980: 103). In the resolution of such a continuing conflict, it is necessary to remember, that the ruling class

resorts to a variety of strategic manipulations. Thus, at times when counter hegemonic forces cannot be defeated they are often incorporated into the structure of hegemony, or as Gramsci (1971) has pointed out the dominant class can even control and produce its own counter hegemony in a manner such as to leave the main parameters of the status quo untouched.

Gramsci's ideas on hegemony have significantly helped to destroy the myth of formal socialization associated with contemporary education. The social engineering that lies garbed under a plethora of rules, regulations, attitudes, gestures, discipline, norms, values, etc. in the context of Gramsci's observations is nothing more than a hegemonic activity by intellectual functionaries of the ruling class undertaken to provide the stereotype necessary for the continued existence of the class structure.

The theoretical contributions of scholars like Althusser, Gramsci and others have provided Marxist studies of education with a strong conceptual framework within which to observe the process of education in a class structured society.

Contemporary Marxist scholars engaged in the analysis of education in a class structured society have focussed on a number of issues and problems that stem from the particular ideological relationship that education has with the production process. These issues and problem not only bring to light the manner in which education provides for stability in the production process of class society, they also try to reveal the various mechanisms within education by which economic and cultural reproduction of social classes takes place. Let us briefly consider some of the observations that these contemporary studies have come up with.

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis(1977) in a revealing study of I.Q.(IQism) in the U.S. class structure observe that despite the popularity of the IQ in US academics and the various conclusions that the educational establishments have drawn from their IQ analyses, the IQ in itself is irrelevant to the understanding of economic disparity in the US. Their conclusion of IQ analysis reads:

Our findings based for the most part on widely available published data document the fact that IQ is not an important

cause for economic success. Nor is the inheritance of IQ the reason why rich kids grow up to be rich and poor kids tend to stay poor. The intense debate on the heritability of IQ is thus largely irrelevant to an understanding of poverty, wealth and inequality of opportunity in the United States (1977:68).

On the contrary, Bowles and Gintis argue that IQ serves to legitimise the hierarchical division of labour not directly, but primarily with its relationship to the educational system. This legitimation is done in three ways: (i) the strong influence on parents and children of the competitive school environment and its clear connections with the technocratic perspective of the economic order; (ii) By making educational attainment dependent not only on ability but also on motivation, drive to achieve, perseverance and sacrifice, the status allocation mechanism acquires heightened legitimacy; (iii) By gradually cooling out individuals at different educational levels, the students' aspirations are relatively and painlessly brought into line with the probable occupational status. Through competition, success and defeat in the class room the individual is reconciled to his or her social position(1977:83).

In their effort to examine the class structure of US education, Bowles and Gintis reach the conclusion that "differential patterns of socialization in schools attended by students of different social classes and even within the same schools do not arise by accidents. Rather they stem from the fact that the educational objectives and expectations of administrators, teachers, parents and the responsiveness of students to various patterns of teaching and control differ for students at different social classes". (1977:90). Thus, not only are the rich schools more able to provide the facilities and environments for rich students to score well, the rich parents too have a greater command of resources in the education of their children.

Yet another area where Marxist scholars have done studies in education is the area of symbolic transmission. Two prominent scholars in this area are Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu. Both scholars have basically tried to highlight the point that education as a process of learning involves the assimilation of certain symbols and codes. These symbols and codes however are not merely

neutral elements in the process of learning. On the contrary, they are infused with class and ideological meaning.

Discussing the Marxist tradition in symbolic systems Bourdieu(1977:144)writes:

This tradition explains symbolic production by relating them to the interest of the dominant class. In contrast to myth which is a collective product collectively appropriated and consumed, ideologies serve sectional interests which they tend to produce as universal interests common to the group as a whole. The dominant culture contributes to the effective integration of the dominant class.

In seeking to bring out the aspect of domination in a given social formation, Bourdieu introduce the concept of "cultural capital" which he explains is the symbolic translation of economic capital. Further, he points out, that the extent to which a class produces its cultural capital is also the extent to which it can establish its ideological domination within the class struggle. Symbolic power for Bourdieu is very important in the necessary process of legitimizing other kinds of power relations like the economic and the political.

The importance of symbolic power in the field of education is seen from the fact that the culture of the dominant class is defined as "the culture". It is this culture that is transmitted through the educational system. In this way the educational system tends to reproduce itself through the reproduction of the hierarchical distribution of cultural capital. Bourdieu's conclusion of his analysis of symbolic systems is that education from the very start is biased in favour of the dominant class since they already possess the appropriate dispositions and attitudes to language and the other precondition for achieving success in education.

Another important contribution in this field of cultural reproduction of classes is the works of Basil Bernstein(1971;1975,1977). His major contribution in this field of symbolism has been to show how classes in relation to their position in the production process (economy), reproduce themselves within a system of capitalist education. An important aspect of his analysis on class and symbolism attempts to show that despite efforts at equality made by the liberal welfare

capitalist state, the fact of class reproduction remains unaltered, and separation of school from work is impossible in a class society.

Bernstein(1975) explains this reproductive phenomenon in education by pointing out to the existence of an invisible pedagogy.

It is clear, he writes, that in advanced industrial societies, especially in the West, there has been a considerable increase in the division of labour, of social control based upon the specialized modes of communications (symbolic control). This has created a vast range of occupations dedicated to the symbolic shaping and reshaping of the population.

Knowledge, Bernstein argues in a class society takes on the form of a "symbolic private property". The ownership of this symbolic property is made available in educational institutions. Within the class structure of capitalist society the symbolic property acquired in the form of knowledge and skills is manifest in a fraction of the middle class and the upper class. It is this class, Bernstein argues that carries out on an organized scale the social control of knowledge, through the criterion of selective admissions.

A study by Maurice Levitas (1975) on contemporary education in post-War Britain, clearly substantiates Bernstein's conclusion on the class character of education in a capitalist society. Levitas points out, that in general all the well paid administrative, technical or professional occupations are the monopoly of the upper classes. The working class must continue to be a victim of elitist and class discriminations.

The Marxist approach to the study of education in underdeveloped societies is an area in which scholarly research is severely lacking. Most of the underdeveloped societies it must be noted, were earlier colonies of the White rulers. As peripheral societies, "the spread of education" was certainly not an easily acceptable idea by the colonial rulers. However, as and when the economic and political system reached a point where the need for education was felt, it was always an imported model of education that was imposed on the natives by the White rulers. The system from its inception was based on selective admissions and in the course of time was inclined to develop an elitist image of itself. The class character of education can therefore be uncovered from this basic

elitist foundation which underlies the development of education in the underdeveloped societies.

Section-II

B. EDUCATION IN INDIA

Before we take up for discussion how the Marxist approach seeks to explain the growth of higher education in India, let us briefly consider a statement by Marx on the colonial situation in the specific instance of the British rule in India. He writes:

We must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive, though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of oriental despotism, that they restrain the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it, of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruins of empires, the perpetuation of unspeakable cruelties, the massacre of the population of large towns, with no other considerations bestowed upon them then on natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who designed to notice it at all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnatory, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part in contradistinction, wild aimless, unbounded forces of destruction and rendered murder

itself a religious rite in Hindoostan. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by destruction of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man to the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social stage into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of KANUMAN, the monkey, and SABBALA, the cow. (Marx/Engels Selected Works vol.I 1950:350-51).

We quoted this passage in full because, it is a highly revealing passage. To begin with there is a deep rooted ethnocentric bias highly indicative of the evolutionary influence in the same period. Secondly, the tendency to be so evocative on a subject about whose knowledge Marx knew so little about is indicative of a major problem with materialistic thinking. The sort of generalization that are justified in the name of capitalism seem to undermine the importance and value of knowledge concerning the specific and particular historical context of any underdeveloped societies.

This unwarranted enthusiasm for a world capitalist system (Because capitalism was the only way to socialism) made Marx negate the historical and civilizational aspects

of all cultures preexistent to capitalism as being barbaric, despotic, idyllic, vegetative etc. In doing so his humanizing dream returns to the mechanistic vision of Western capitalist society based on what was then called "scientific knowledge of man" (Selected Works vol. I, 1950:351). Thus, against the forces of science the individual is nothing and must ultimately succumb. History in this rigid sense, becomes a crushing destiny for man.

Despite this limited informed observation by Marx on colonialism in the underdeveloped countries of the world, the contemporary Marxist approach to underdevelopment (as discussed in the previous chapter) has provided a strong critical insight into the phenomena of material and cultural exploitation that follows colonialism.

The Marxist consideration of the colonial situation is based on a historical materialistic analysis of the kinds of social formations that exist in these underdeveloped societies. According to the broadly accepted historical view, the Marxist approach explains colonialism as that phase in the history of world capitalism when the so called underdeveloped societies were coerced into a violent transformation in which the forces of capital brought large scale change on the economic and social

fabric of these traditional societies.

In the context of India's subjugation under the colonial rule of the British Empire, Marxist scholars like A.R. Desai, Bipin Chandra, Sumit Sarkar, etc., generally point out the following aspects of colonial rule in Indian society:

1. Introduction of a capitalist mode of production
2. Economic exploitation of India's rich resources and cheap labour
3. A near complete destruction of traditional artisan and handicraftsmen who now had to earn their livelihood by wage labour
4. The creation of a Market economy and the consequence of this for the existing traditional social structure
5. The criterion of wealth (money) emerging as the most important status factor
6. The commercialization of the traditional subsistence agriculture
7. The induction of India into the world capitalist system.

Under such a situation how do Marxist scholars interpret the growth of education? Marxist scholars like Desai have taken the view that in so far as education was being introduced by a conquering power whose very presence was questionable, the function of education could only be in the interest of the colonial powers.

Two main causes are identified in this connection(Desai 1967:99).

- (a) The development of an English speaking Westernized Indian elite, who would serve as the local support in the center of the periphery nation;
- (b) The creation of cheap skilled labour.

This two point policy despite changes from time to time served as the backbone of British policy in education in colonial India. Let us consider for our discussion these two aspects as the political and economic components of British educational policy in India.

I. The Political Component.

The political component of British educational policy in India is marked by its central purpose to establish a cultural domination of the Indian society. The political forces underlying this main objective developed in relation to the prevailing situation existing in Indian society.

From this point of view, it is possible to point out some significant aspects of their educational policy as it developed in relation to the larger forces of colonial domination in Indian society. They are:

(1) The Orientation Policy in Education:

The main objective of the presence of the British in India was to carry on their exploitative trade. Thus, for almost two hundred years of the East India Company rule in India there was no effort made to carry out educational programmes for the Indian people. Despite this however, company administrators did attempt some measures to develop education. These early efforts however were marked by a "policy of appeasement". Any

efforts in developing education by the Company rulers during this period were carried out mainly to win over the support of the ruling Indian elites, who were now a defeated lot.

This fact has been well established by the observation cited by Narullah and Naik(1964:32). They wrote:

The Calcutta Madrassah was founded by Warren Hastings in order to conciliate the Mohammedans of Calcutta. In order to qualify the sons of Mohamedan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative positions in the State, and to produce competent officers for the Court of Justice to which students of the Madrassah on the production of certificates of qualifications were to be drafted as vacancies occurred.

The Banaras Hindu Sanskrit College was founded in 1791 by Jonathan Duncan. The considerations underlying this project were the same as for the one in Calcutta only in this case it is the conquered Hindus of the new territories who were sought to be conciliated (Narullah and Naik 1964).

The political considerations underlying this intrusion into the sphere of traditional Indian

education laid the basis for the development of the Orientalist school. This school of thought believed that the existing traditions in the field of Indian education, were enough for the Indian people. Company's support to these traditional endeavours would not only completely serve its political intentions of maintaining stability and control, but would also incur a very low educational expenditure on their part.

More than anything else this was a policy of pacification of the Indian elites whom the British themselves had earlier conquered in order to win over new territories for trade and commerce.

The changing situation in both India and Britain however led to a shift from this Oriental policy of education. As long as the British were mainly interested in the wealth India had to offer this sort of policy served their intentions very well. Two important changes were however significant to the shift in policy.

(a) The Changing Character of Colonial rule and the response of the Indian Elites:

The changing character of colonial rule is seen in the fact that Britain was conquering larger and larger

tracts of Indian territory. It sought to establish this transition from a trading power to a military-political power by setting up on a country wide scale bureaucratic administrative, legal and economic institutions that would lay the foundations for the emerging capitalist State.

Simultaneous with this development of the colonial State, Indian elites who had already begun to reap the benefits of the orientalist education began a concerted drive to demand for expansion of education. The contributions of Raja Ram Mohan Roy on this aspect of educational growth are very revealing of this tendency. These elites who supported the rise of modern education held the belief that the new education could serve as a liberating force to the masses in Indian society rooted in their outmoded traditions.

(b) The Rise of Industrialism in Britain:

The transition of British economy from mercantalism to industrial manufacturers, led to a change in Britain itself. The rising influential industrial class wanted India to be a market for their manufactured goods as well as a supplier of raw materials. This was not possible

under the trading policy of the East India Company. In 1833, when the British government passed legislation abolishing the trading rights of the company, the stage was set for a new policy in education.

(ii) Orientalism - to Anglicism, Control to Change:

With Britain emerging as a political power in India, British policy on education also underwent a change. The Wood's despatch of 1854, laid the ground for the first all-India Policy on Education.

The new policy like its earlier predecessors continued to emphasize the cultural domination of India. The method of the new policy were however different. Macaulay's Minute clearly stated this:

...we must do our best to form a class, who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern. A class of persons Indians in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. (Narullah and Naik 1964:136).

Therefore the key to British policy in education in India was to make Indians a culturally dependant group.

Sir Charles Trevelyan puts the whole situation even more pointedly:

No efforts of policy can prevent the Nations from ultimately regaining their independence. English education will achieve by gradual reform what any other method will do by revolution. The nations will not rise against us but we shall stoop to raise them. (Mayhew 1966:21).

The Anglican policy of education in India, sought to impose a model of education that was ideologically geared to make Englishmen out of the Indian elites. Education through the medium of English not only gave rise to an English speaking group of Indian, in the larger context it set into motion a system of ideas aspirations and attitudes that set the basis for a new status differentiation in Indian society. Further, the British rulers by introducing a structure of rewards and statuses into the new system openly acknowledged its superiority as compared with any other. In the course of time local culture too began to acknowledge this culture superiority.

(c) Anglicism to Self-Control:

A final phase in the British policy on education, emerges after the turbulent period of 1919. The strong nationalist trends that emerged in this period forced the British to hand over control of education to the Indians.

Despite severe criticisms of English education by the leaders of the nationalist movement, they themselves were incapable of affecting any radical change to the growth of education. While a great deal of their efforts were severely constrained due to a lack of available funds, their efforts to come up with their own national systems were a failure owing to the strong links established between the job market and educational qualifications.

In actual fact what they ended up doing was expanding a little more the existing pattern of British education.

In conclusion it would not be wrong to say that during colonial rule, British educational policy had successfully established its cultural hegemony over the educated classes in Indian society. English education (especially higher education) did end up becoming a prized commodity and an entry into the ranks of the elitist classes. It has firmly established the basis for a new criterion of social differentiation thus furthering the cause of social inequality.

II. The Economic Component

While British policy on education in India was primarily geared towards the creation of a cultural dependency in India, a second important objective was the procurement of cheap educated labour.

Owing to its pacifist nature, during the period when education was guided by the oriental policy, the economic component of education was not so much emphasized. If it did co-exist, its role was not seen as being of any major contribution to British rule.

However, during the period of the Anglican policy in education, India was simultaneously involved in the erection of the country wide administrative-bureaucratic-legal and economic state. It is to equip the gigantic state structures, that the economic aspect of education comes to be emphasized. The cost of recruiting English officials in England and paying for their huge salaries together with other benefits in India, was a heavy drain on the colonial rulers. They resolved it by placing educated Indians into these lower levels of the administration and bureaucracy (Desai 1967:99-105).

In creating an opportunity structure for their education, the British education in India was atleast firmly entrenched. The Indians began "to want" British education, because it was the only way to get a job with the government. These government jobs even by Indian standards offered a lucrative income. The status of wealth was simultaneously gaining in popularity within Indian society.

British policy on education was from the very beginning an attempt to develop education through private enterprise. Local Indian enterprise was all along encouraged to take up the financing of education. After the period of the Wood's despatch, Naik and Narrullah(1964) observe that local Indian enterprise emerged as the most dominant supporter of education in India. One consequence of this policy to encourage private entrepreneur in education (observed by Narrullah and Naik 1964; Desai 1967; etc.) was turning education into a commodity. In doing so, only those who could afford the price of the new education were able to pursue it. Therefore more than anyone else, it was the upper classes in Indian society, who availed of the new education.

A further step in the same direction, was the creation of the Grant-in-Aid. By making available a certain limited amount of funds to Indian education, the Grant-in-Aid only furthered the interests of the vested groups involved in education (Narrullah and Naik 1964).

From the economic point of view British education in India was completely oriented towards their economic and bureaucratic requirements. The culture of the "clerk" that developed in response to this education was a fact that distressed a number of Indian reformers. So intricately were the various issues like methods of technique, syllabus, examinations, degree qualifications etc., combined to propagate this bureaucratic bias in education that even Jawaharlal Nehru was agreed upon the fact that Indian education had to be radically restructured if it must be of relevance to the Indian society.

In concluding this discussion on the British policy of education in India, the following criticism of A.R. Desai (1964) have relevance in the context of future

consideration of educational growth after independence.

i) In keeping with their colonial interests the British developed an elitist system of education totally unsatisfactory to the needs of Indian society;

ii) The education of the masses was severely neglected, the illiteracy and resultant of the masses inevitably obstructed social, political and economic progress.

iii) Despite its tremendous importance for development, the expansion of technical education was carried out on a very low key;

iv) Given the general poverty of India, the new education in terms of an economic analysis turned out to be an expensive model of education.

Its positive contributions according to Desai is the fact that it exposed Indian (especially those of the nationalist movement) to the Western ideas of liberalism, secularism, democracy, rationality, which became the intellectual foundations on which the nationalist movement for independence was established.

At the time of its independence India was the possessor of an educational structure that span the whole country. The new education had emerged as one of the important institutions bequeathed to the Indians from the colonial heritage. That this educated did not serve the needs of a developing society like India was an admitted fact by all those who had realized the importance of education as an agent of social change.

But changing an institution is no easy task. Depending on the kind of changes that need to be made, there are a corresponding series of resistances to be met. What sort of changes and the resistance that these have met will be the focus of our attention in discussing the post-Independence period in the particular field of higher education.

Section- III

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

In analysing the developments in higher education in the post-independence period, Marxist scholars first begin by identifying the overall form of development

taking place in Indian society. In this connection A.R. Desai (1984:26-29) provides a whole host of evidence on India's path of capitalist development.

As constitutional evidence, Desai points out how property is a fundamental right enjoying all legal, political and economic security, whereas labour is considered as merely a commodity devoid of all social, economic and legal security.

From India's planning activity Desai emphasizes the fact that Indian planning has helped to strengthen the proprietary classes which it considers as the driving force for socio-economic development.

From the operation of the economy Desai notes that production for the market and profits are the central objectives of production in the strategy of development. The various privileges and facilities that the Government has offered the proprietary classes in order to augment production is clearly evident of the class structure of India's economy.

Based on all these evidences, A.R. Desai concludes that the Indian State since its emergence after indepen-

dence has been following a capitalist path of development.

As a concluding note on his discussion he writes:

It (the evidence) should prime facie establish that the aim of the rulers of India since independence is to develop a society based on capitalist foundations. The capitalist path of development is accepted by both Congress and Janata Governments. Whether this path is given the cloak of "socialist pattern", or growth with justice, garibi hatao or Gandhian development, the essence, the common thread which binds all this sloganry together is the capitalist one's of the path of development. (Desai 1984:29).

Given this evaluation of Indian society as pursuing a capitalist path of development, how does the Marxist approach explain the development of higher education in post-independence India?

The Marxist approach in its discussion on education has not provided for a specific analysis of higher education. Nonetheless the observation and conclusion arrived at on the development of education in India, could as well be applicable for the development in higher education. Further, having already provided the background data to this growth in higher education in chapter II, we can move directly into the area of explanation.

For Marxist scholars like A.R. Desai(1964,1967), and D.P. Mukherjee(1965), the development of education is seen very much in the same lines as the overall path of capitalist development in post-independent India.

The capitalist form of education according to Desai(1967:93-94) can be identified on the following issues:

1. The particular aims and approaches to the context of education becomes the articulation of a certain class and the nature of its communication process comes to be identified with the characteristic culture of class domination.
2. Education is considered as a commodity available to the purchasers, depending on the purchasing capacity of the family or groups from which the individual consumer springs.
3. The financing of education is provided for by various agencies such as individuals, private bodies, endowments of various types as well as the State. This inturn implies that the extent, quality, facilities and conditions of education would be dependant upon the

objectives of the financing body. A further implication from this is that the State's effort in regulation and controlling the growth of education is faced with severe constraints from these private interests.

4. The organization providing education will be composed of an amalgam of the heterogenous bodies and groups providing finances. This will demand a peculiar equilibrium between these various agencies having different objectives for providing funds, having different and varied patterns of organizations with differing or even conflicting sets of conditions, rules, facilities, and assessment of status and positions of different elements composing the organisation.

I. Expansionism

In the context of the developments in higher education (and for that matter the entire educational system) in the post-independence period, the Indian State emerged as the most important body controlling, regulating and financing the growth of education in the country. However, in this regard, it must not be forgotten

that the Indian State is a class structured State. Economic and political power is concentrated in a small ruling minority. From this point of view, what is actually implied when we say that the Indian State became the chief agent for propagation of education, is that a small minority comprising the ruling class and the articulated middle classes could undertake a pattern of growth in education in keeping with their own particular social, political and economic interests and ideologies.

The essence of this class character in educational development is to be seen in the Constitution itself. Despite all the loud claims made by the ruling class regarding the role of education in the process of national development, within the constitution, education does not enjoy the status of a fundamental right. In other words the ruling State does not deem it fit to consider education as a fundamental social right that every citizen of the republic must avail off. By maintaining a vast majority of the Indian population at an illiterate position, the ruling class can maintain its hegemonic rule over the masses. Further, such a state

which denies to its common citizen the right to educate, works on the implicit assumption that the state can be managed with a group of experts.

This elitist conception lies at the core of the State's ideology on expansion in education. The Constitution treats education in its directive principles. But more than three decades of growth in higher education under the supervision of this directive principle has made it more than clear that higher education has been mainly availed of by the upper strata of Indian castes and classes. The heightened image of inegalitarianism that this growth has manifested is clearly indicative of the fact that the directive principle does not yield its desired effects.

On the contrary vested and powerful interests have pulled the development of higher education to their own ends. One can certainly argue that higher education has produced perhaps the largest educated force in the world. But the central contradiction of this growth is its beneficiaries. As in most other spheres of development India's higher education has helped the populations of the urban areas and metropolises. In the village its impact is secondary and very often marginal.

The ideology surrounding the organization of higher education in India has made it such, that the educated feel more akin to the urban environment. In this sense no matter how much more we educate their impact on the rural areas where a majority of India's population lives in, will continue to be marginal. It is therefore a wishful hope on the part of such a directive principle to imagine it can yield the goals of development. In fact as Desai(1967:115) argues:

The capitalist pattern of industrialization in underdeveloped countries prevents the capitalist class and the State which wants to erect an industrialized society. From erecting a social floor for all citizens. In fact it creates greater inequalities. The political authority introducing such a pattern of industrialization is not in a position to assure even the minimum prerequisites to the form of political and social rights considered crucial for democratic existence.

Expansion in higher education thus, according to the Marxist approach has developed along discriminatory lines. The growth of figures that the government so proudly proclaims, are figures whose majority lies in the urban setting. Even amongst these population it has mainly been the upper castes and wealthier classes.

Being treated in the nature of a commodity, it is but obvious that only these who can afford high education will use it.

A corollary to this discussion on expansion must be the observation that Government also does not have a control on the output of higher education. The quantitative crisis that are expressedly manifesting themselves in the form of devaluation, unemployment, youth unrest, etc., are clearly indicative that planning has had a very marginal impact on educational growth.

II. Attitude to Change

Arguing that development in education has taken place along capitalist lines, the Marxist approach identifies the various sorts of changes taken place in higher education as changes subscribing to the designs of vested interests and the ruling class. The Marxist approach takes up the position that higher education in its structural form has continued unchanged from its colonial origins and maturation. In this sense it views the various amendments and correctives as efforts to improve the system rather than to transform it thereby making it relevant to the needs of Indian society.

That the system of higher education was elitist in its basic orientation was recognized even in the colonial period. The Congress Party which spearheaded the nationalist movement, comprised a large section of an educated middle class who saw in this form of education an opportunity to procure an administrative job and generally improve the standard of living.

After independence as observed by B.B. Mishra(1961) these middle classes become the most strong and articulated voice for the expansion of this form of education. As it was in the past, their motives even now were governed more by self interests and self-betterment rather than any goals and objectives of national development. Thus for example, the need to expand in the scientific, technical and professional areas of higher education are more in the nature of catering for the capitalist form of industrialization taking place rather than in keeping with any strategic goals of development.

Therefore attempts at reforming education to make it relevant to the goals of national development in the post-independence period, have at best been mere paper

changes and paper reforms for the mass of Indian society.

In the particular case of higher education, reforms towards making it more relevant to the Indian situation have all been a failure. According to D.P.Mukherjee (1965:278) the inability to control this malaise must be seen in the general climate of education where thought is completely divest from action.

Since independence, the ruling class has failed in its efforts to make education relevant. Vested interests had forcefully linked the expansion policy in higher education with the development of capitalist industrialization taking place in India. Under capitalism, knowledge is conceived as a commodity that can be purchased from the educational institutions. This commercialization of education must inevitably lead to a fall in the standards of quality and excellence.

In other words the commodification of knowledge in a capitalist system implicitly emphasizes selective ownership based on the purchasing power of the individual concerned. Genuine reform of this approach must

therefore imply not the sophistication of the educational package but a restructuring of the relationship through which such knowledge comes to be acquired. Such radical transformations are however beyond the perspective of a class structured State. As observed by D.P. Mukherjee (1965:270):

A change in education depends on the nature of the State. If it be a class state then the academic standards will be the reflection of the social standards of the class, with emphasis on leisure, classical and liberal education open to the privileged few; if it be a democratic socialist State, then academic standards will depend upon the speed with which the socialist society absorbs scientific and technical knowledge for the improvement of its standard of living.

III. Directions of Change

The basic premise for observing the directions of change in the context of educational developments, according to the Marxist approach must be located within the larger direction of change of the capitalist system in India.

For Marxism the growth of the capitalist State sows in itself the seeds of its own self destruction. The contradiction that breeds between the forces of production

and the relations of production, must at a certain stage give rise to the class struggle that will ultimately end with the demise of capitalism. The working class movements in underdeveloped countries (and for that matter also the developed countries) have however not subscribed to such a historical prediction. In many underdeveloped countries either working class movements exist on a very fragmentary scale, or the ruling class has a successful hegemony over them and at times having their own working class movements.

However here we are concerned with the way in which Marxists perceive the direction of change taking place in higher education. While on the one side, Marxists appreciate the growth made in technical and professional education, they also very strongly criticize its ideology for the underlying capitalist pattern of industrialization from which such a scientific and professional expertise has emerged.

Otherwise the system of education must continue in a more or less similar fashion as it is now and as it was in its colonial days. Elitist, competitive, discriminatory

embodied in a "system" and continuing to serve the interests of the upper classes in Indian society.

The Marxists disprove the State's egalitarian falsehood by a simple direct convincing argument.

Desai(1976) and others hold that given the structure of the existing "system of education" the mere economics of providing such education to the masses is exorbitant and in realistic terms an impossibility to fulfil. They argue that the interest of the capitalists is exactly against such a spread of education. Not only would the diversion of such huge resources from the State treasury to education bring about a crisis in the system of production, it would also be disadvantaged, because it would make people more critical of the system. The elitist education must therefore continue, since its existence is seen or necessary by the ruling class.

Marxist scholars also examine the State of crisis that is being bred by such an education in its movement towards achieving the goals and objective of national development: the growing number of educated unemployed; the increasing numbers of those who desire higher

education but cannot avail of it; the growing devaluation of education qualification; the irrelevance of class room realities in the context of social realities; the growing frustration, unrest and politicization of student groups, etc.

Despite its sympathetic solidarity with the victims of the educational crisis, the Marxist approach is more focussed in the working class movement. The meaning and values granted to the upsurges in education are measured by the extent of the relationship that such movements have with a working class movement. However, with the exception of a sort of vague legitimization, of the working class struggle, the intelligentsia has contributed very sparsely to the growth of the movement. The elitist foundations of India's intelligentsia has been a severe constraining factor to the development of a workable relationship between the intelligentsia and the working class. It has internalized for itself the roles of leadership and/or guidance but has never questioned itself on the basis for adopting such an elitist position.

Further a brief survey of the student movements and other such associations of educational groups, immediately draws our attention to the successfulness of the State's coercion and control apparatus in containing the disturbance of these unrests. In other words the possibility of an initiative by the educated intelligentsia to mobilize the forces of working class to wage class war is at the present just a wishful hope of white collar radicalism.

The directions of developments in higher education are firmly rooted in the direction the present capitalist pattern of industrialization will take. In so far as the introduction of new technologies for production will continue to give the capitalists higher profit gains, there is reason to believe that further diversification of specialized activities within this elitist formal mould would be the significant trend of change in the future.

In its present form the model of higher education is firmly entrenched into the inegalitarian structure of modern Indian society. In its elitist mould it has served very well (and continues to do so) the status and knowledge requirements of the upper classes of Indian society. It is these classes who have gained

from it. It is these classes who will continue to gain from it.

Some Important Criticisms

Being rooted in a tradition of social criticism the Marxist approach does offer a number of valuable insights and criticisms regarding the role of education in a class society. In the context of underdeveloped societies it has done very well in recognizing the kind of structural changes that are required if there has to be a change in the present educational process. Further, in linking up education with the production process, it has also indicated the progressive path education can play if its existence has to be seen as being relevant to the goals of national development.

The Marxist approach however also faces certain limitations, both from a theoretical standpoint as well as in terms of an alternative approach. These are:

- (1) The generality of abstraction within which the Marxist approach develops its class criticism of education tends to neglect the specifics of the education process. Thus, while education in class society can be

seen as an ideological apparatus of the State, education itself as an operational system is made up of many parts, all of which do not have the same function.

(2) In treating the structure of a class as the central determinant in the analysis of an educational process, there is an implicit correlation assumed between an individual's position in the economy and their accessibility to education. In many underdeveloped countries, India included, such a relationship is only partially correct. There exist ample evidence to prove that very often individuals having high occupational positions do not have the corresponding high level of education. In other words one would argue for the position that irrespective of their educational holdings, the members of the wealthy classes will in any case find well placed positions in the economy.

(3) While the Marxist approach has put forward some very strong criticisms on the class character of education in India, it has itself proposed no alternative to this system. It has certainly suggested a few basic guidelines such as that education be rooted

in the social reality, or that education should make the individual more conscious of himself and his social world, or that education should help to build the new social order etc. Such suggestions however throw no light on either how such a system should be constructed or what sort of a relationship it will have with the larger social order.

(4) The Marxist approach also tends to see education as an institutionalized need in society. Yet given the nature of underdevelopment Indian society is faced with, it is simply impossible as an economic undertaking to provide all citizens with an education of this type.

(5) Finally the nature of Marxist theory itself sets a limitation to their consideration of the present development in higher education. Marxist theory is basically focussed on the class formation in Indian society. Education is considered as one of the components in the ideological apparatus through which class hegemony and class domination is perpetuated. However, the reductionist character of the theory prevent the subject of education from receiving a more fuller and independent consideration.

Chapter- VI

C O N C L U S I O N S

We began this study with the intention of wanting to know the extent to which two dominant theories of social change have been able to provide us with an understanding of educational development in underdeveloped countries. In order to concretize the theoretical relationship between education and society we took up as a case study the analysis of certain trends in the development of higher education in post-independent India. Seen from our theoretical discussion of both the modernization approach and the Marxist approach, it would seem apparent that there exists a wide gulf of difference between the two theories. Despite this difference however, there do exist a number of similarities between the two theories. These we can enlist as follows:

1. In terms of their origins both theories are rooted in the intellectual environment of 19th century Europe. Despite the difference in the intellectual tradition from which they developed, both theories are deeply rooted in the notion of "progress" that marked the thinking of the classical thinkers in the European

society of that period. As a corollary to this observation, one may also add the fact that both theories were deeply concerned with the social order and how, given the climate of social change in European society of this period, one was to interpret the dynamics of the social order.

2. Given their origin in the intellectual climate of 19th century Europe, both theories have striven for a (scientific status.) However in so far as both theories offer statements whose validity cannot be proved by any experimental method, their scientific status is questionable. (While in Marxism the economic argument lacks experimental verification, in modernization the functional theory as we have argued offers a teleological explanation.)

3. Both Modernization and Marxism are (deterministic theories.) Despite their respective attention given to the individual, both negate the importance of the individual in the overall, decisive factors of change. In modernization the system is determined by its roles and functions, the individual is a mere

performer of these roles. Further depending upon his place within the social system his performance is in turn regulated by the regulatory mechanisms that dominate the various spheres of the system.

In Marxism the system is determined by its class structure. Individual action is significant only in so far as it can be associated with the action of a class. In turn members of a class give meaning to their action only in so far as it follows the directives and order of class leadership and authority.

4. Both theories stem from a larger realm of generalization which serves as the basis for justifying the particular theoretical explanation. Modernization theory is rooted in a larger general theory of action systems. It is the theory of action systems which supplies the principles for the explanation of the social action system. In Marxism "matter" is conceived as being in a continuous motion, which is characterised by the dialectic. Social behaviour anywhere is said to conform to this law of dialectics.

5. Both theories explain the sources of change as stemming from within the system. In modernization theory, change is seen as occurring as a result of role differentiation which arises due to the increasing degree of complexity within the social system. In Marxism change is seen as resulting from the economic base of society. The contradictions which arise between the productive forces and the production relations must eventually give rise to the class struggle which will bring about the required change in society.

Further, just as both theories locate the sources of change within the system so also they locate the resistance to change from within the system. In modernization theory, the functioning system is seen as operating in a state of equilibrium. In order to prevent a disturbance to this state of equilibrium the system evolves control mechanisms that offer a resistance to any attempt at disturbing the equilibrium of the system. In Marxism, it is the interest of the dominant class that resist any change in the system. The process of change is seen, as a dialectical opposition between

the forces of progressive change and the forces that resist this change.

6. Finally, both the modernization approach and the Marxist approach are rooted in an evolutionary conception of societal change. Both see societies as developing from fairly simple to very complex social systems. Despite the fact that they establish the path of evolution through different principles of social change. In the final analysis they both adapt a sense direction that places the Western societies at the top of the evolutionary ladder. In their attempt to include the underdeveloped societies of the contemporary period within such a framework, they have attempted a universalization of western values. Despite this intellectual exercise, the ethnocentric bias in both these theories continues to persist and limits the capability of both to explain the process of change occurring in underdeveloped societies.

While the similarities between the modernization approach and the Marxist approach are mainly in the context of very broad generalization, it is within the context of their analysis that the marked differences

emerge. These major differences are:

1. They differ very significantly in the method they adopt to study social reality. The functionalist methodology of the modernization approach seeks to develop a series of abstract proposition in conceiving the working of a social system. These abstract law like propositions are placed within a deductive framework from which the particular processes of the social system are sought to be explained.

The Marxist approach as discussed in chapter III is based on the method of dialectical materialism. This method is essentially critical and revolutionary. The main emphasis of this methodology is to grasp the central contradiction of a given historical moment and in so doing provide for an understanding of the entire social process.

2. In their respective approach to the analysis of social change the modernization approach seeks to establish law like proportions of human societies as a consequence of a comparative analysis of different

societies undergoing similar social situations. Thus for e.g., through an analysis of social stratification in different societies they conclude that stratification is indicative of a certain evolutionary level of change in a society.

The Marxist approach on the contrary, observes social change in terms of changes in the modes of production. Further, they base their conclusions on the historical analysis of a society as it undergoes changes from one mode of production to the other.

3. A final difference in the two approaches must be seen in the context of the manner in which they seek to explain development in the underdeveloped societies.

The modernization approach seeks to explain development mainly in the context of institutional change. The theorists who adopt this approach hold firmly the belief that the societies of the underdeveloped countries can move towards a path of development only through the necessary changes in institutions making them compatible with the goals of modernization. The changes they project for these institutions of underdeveloped

societies, are changes that will restructure these institutions making them similar to such institutions as existing in the Western societies.

The Marxist approach on the other hand argues that societies of the underdeveloped countries are the victims of economic exploitation by the advanced developing countries. Despite their political independence, they argue, that capitalism as a world wide phenomena has created a structure of domination and dependence that simply prevents these countries from developing on their own. Development according to the Marxist approach, can only be brought about through a class struggle wherein the proletariat in these underdeveloped countries can come to power. In so doing they can break these structures of dependence and exploitation that are the major obstacles to the socio-economic development of these societies.

Turning now to the developmental aspect of these two approaches, one observation that immediately comes up at the end of this study is our agreement with Long(1977), that the term "development" is infused with

controversies both conceptual and ideological, and yet, in the continued existence of underdeveloped societies, it is impossible to negate either the significance of this term or what it implies.

Our study of the developments in higher education has shown us that neither of the two approaches are in themselves sufficient in the explanations that they have to offer, concerning, social change and educational development in post-independent India.

From the kind of growth that has been going on in the field of higher education, neither the modernization approach nor the Marxist approach have offered a suitable and sufficient explanation that can help us understand how this growth has been taking place. Both approaches begin by imposing a pre-formulated structure of explanation on their observations in the development of higher education.

In the case of the modernization approach this structure of explanation is seen in the manner the social system is characterized, followed by the neat ordering of roles and actions in the context of

institutions. Our study has shown us that this is not the case. Even, if institutions do develop, there is no guarantee that their development by implication involves the achievement of the goals of modernization. Our study of the institution of higher education in the post-independence period clearly proves this point. No effort on the part of planners to chart the course of developments in higher education, has met with any measure of success. No doubt higher education has contributed a resource of skilled man power and experts for the development of the economy. But there is no reason to believe that this has been the result of some planned activity.

On the contrary the results of planned activity has clearly revealed the fact that the nature of expansion in the field of higher education has been more in the nature of a "senseless drift".

Further, unlike the popular belief, that higher education can provide for a more egalitarian structure in Indian society, the results of thirty years of growth in higher education has more than clearly revealed the fact that higher education has been mainly the preserve

of the wealthy middle and upper classes of Indian society. In this sense, higher education has furthered the evil of social inequality rather than help to remove it.

Finally, the fact that even today both planners and leaders of the ruling class are still talking, in terms of a radical transformation of higher education, clearly reveals, the strength of the vested interests in being able to maintain the status quo in higher education, despite, all attempts to reform.

Therefore, a mere restructuring of institutions in terms of their roles, functions, and a mere pleading to individuals in these institutions to reorient their attitudes and values towards the new goals of modernization is not at all a guarantee that socio-economic development will take place. On the contrary by neglecting and to an extent even denying the cultural roots within which these institutions and individuals must exist. Socio-economic development of Indian society must continue to be a preserve of vested interests and in the overall image of a society, a colossal distortion of growth.

Compared to the modernization approach, there is no doubt that the Marxist approach offers a far more in depth explanation. As a theory of social change, its conclusions are based on a much more deeper understanding of human societies. Further, unlike the modernization theorists who formulate their conclusions on mere surface observations of underdeveloped societies, the Marxist theorists does attempt to probe into the deeper layers of social reality inorder to locate the roots of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, etc., which are the most important problems of underdeveloped societies. Besides, Marxism is rooted in a historical analysis of social reality. In this sense it offers us a continuity in the understanding of the problems in underdeveloped societies.

Yet the generality of its approach combined with its predominant consideration of the economic base, prevents its analysis from dealing with the specific dimensions of social reality. Its treatment of higher education in India as an ideological apparatus of the ruling class has no doubt offered an interesting insight in the manner in which the ruling class perpetuates its ideological hegemony in Indian society. But, it has

neglected almost completely, to deal with the specifics of higher education in the context of the Indian situation. From this point of view, its approach offers us a limited explanatory value. In this regard it is also important to note that even to the present period there is no good work on the Marxist approach to Indian education by either educationists or sociologists.

Further, as a model of human development, Marxism is also limited in its scope of concern. By concentrating on the working class movement as the main agent of development, the model does not cater to situations in underdeveloped societies where this is not the case. The dynamics of the caste element in contemporary Indian society has clearly proved the point that there exists conditions of exploitation that need not necessarily correspond to the class structure explanation provided by the Marxist approach.

Contrarily, the contemporary situation in those societies which waged a successful working class movement, shows to us, that a mere transfer of power need not necessarily imply the existence of a socialist society.

It is what happens after the transfer of power has been affected, that interest us, as students of development. It is in this phase of the development of a social order that we must evaluate the value of the Marxist approach.

The situation in the present period in most of the Communist bloc countries, does not encourage a favourable rendition of Marxism. It is our belief that by emphasizing the "dictatorial status" of the proletarian State, the Marxist approach also offers us a restricted and questionable model of human development.

In so far as the Modernization approach and the Marxist approach present themselves as models of development in underdeveloped countries, it is not only the particular dimension of higher education but the entire model that is questionable.

Both models have their roots in Western culture and Western social science, whether we like to admit the importance of this fact or not, the problems that have emerged as a result of following these models are real and have very serious consequences for the development of the Third World.

One of the major flaws of both these models has been to restrict their understanding of development, to institutional change. Both models seem to give great emphasis to the institutional restructuring of society. Our study of higher education has more than proved the point that institutional changes are in themselves no guarantee for development.

The tragic fate of most underdeveloped countries is that they measure their development efforts in terms of their ability to transplant Western based institutions in the midst of their traditional masses. The sensibility that embodies this new form is however involved in internalizing an alien experience. The effects resulting from such exposures must by necessity involve a collusion with existing structures and identities. Yogendra Singh (1978:173-74) offers an excellent insight on this phenomena, he writes:

The failure to create an appropriate new symbolism in a rapidly changing society, produces historical deformities — a psycho-cultural gap between words and deeds that widens through time and develops ultimately an explosive charge. Under these conditions "hypocrisy" becomes a public style and anxiety increases.

In the contemporary literature on development one of the strongest critiques of development has emerged from these writers who have critically evaluated the scope of institution building. In the works of Ivan Illich(1973); Everett Reimer(1971); Paulo Frere(1972,1970); Paul Goodman(1973), etc., one discovers the whole panacea of institutionalization being brought to light through their probing criticism of modern education.

The main focus of criticism that this group of new thinkers put forward, is that modern development working through its institutionalized outlets, constrains genuine human development, by attempting to transform all human needs into institutionalized needs. Thus learning is only possible within the institution of the "school".

According to Illich(1973:9), "The institutionalization of values leads inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization and psychological impotence. Three dimensions in a process of global degradation and modernized misery".

Thus for Illich, schools are centers of discrimination, their existence benefits mainly the teachers. By

the every nature of their institutionalized condition the students are always an oppressed group.

According to Everett Reimes (1971:87-8), "As provision for human needs is institutionalized, the institutions in question define a product and control access to it. They progressively:

(a) Define the product or service which satisfies the need (e.g., schools define education as schooling);

(b) Induce general acceptance of this definition amongst the needy (people are persuaded to identify education as schooling).

(c) Exclude part of the needy population from full access to the product or service (e.g., schools at some level are available only to some people).

(d) Pre-empt the resources available for satisfying the need (e.g., schools use up the resources available for education).

The above generalizations hold for health, transportation and many other kinds of human needs, as well as for education.

Reimer's(1971:64) main criticism about institutions like schools, is that they justify continuity of hierarchy of privilege "schools qualifies men for participation in other institutions and rejects those who do not meet its requirements of not deserving desirable goals in these institutions.

For both Illich and Reimer institutions like schools are not fit for the modern times. Such institutions according to them, do more harm than good and significantly contribute to the distortion in human personality and societal growth.

In the case of Paulo Freire(1972), the attack on modern education becomes the basis for developing a new social action oriented pedagogy. In his critic of the existing institution of education, Freire(1972:145-46) writes: "Education becomes an act of depositing in which students are the depositories and the teachers is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and "makes deposits" which the student patiently receive, memorize and repeat. This is the banking system of education".

As a counterpart to this banking system, Freire(1972:61) puts forward his own system which he terms as a dialogical method. This form of learning is action oriented and critical. "Dialogue is the encounter between men mediated by the world, in order to name the world". In this form of education there is no hierarchy of privileges. Education becomes a problem solving pedagogy. According to Freire it is a pedagogy for human liberation. The task of such a pedagogy is not only to liberate the oppressed, but also their oppressors. In so far as that the oppressed have internalized the world view of the oppressors, a mere change in the social conditions will not necessarily lead to the liberation of the oppressed, because the oppressed too aspire to become like their oppressors.

Therefore a pedagogy for liberation must root itself in the social reality of its participants. It is only through a critical evaluation of their social reality can man unite to change it.

The radical ideas that have merged from this group of thinkers in Latin America clearly indicate the point that there exist other alternatives to human

development: these alternatives however, have been stifled by the vested interests which seeks to continue the institutional form of development. To realize these alternatives, in this sense, must obviously imply a radical confrontation with the existing status quo.

In the context of contemporary Indian society, a number of these new ideas have very great relevance. The ideas of Paulo Freire in particular have a great relevance for India where there still exist more than 60 percent of the population as illiterates and even of those who are educated, education has been on lines of the banking system of education. However, as mentioned earlier these ideas are radical, in the final analysis they seek to change not only education, but the entire social order.

The basic thrust of this new radical approach is the struggle to create a new egalitarian structure within society. An egalitarianism not based on any categorical differentiations, but on a humanistic platform in which man reconstructs his world and inturn himself through a continuous process of reflection and action.

Action in this context becomes the cultural action for his freedom. In this new approach education and society are inextricably intertwined. Life itself becomes the great reservoir within which all learning takes place. In this sense, education has become deinstitutionalized or deschooled; roles and identities have been deobjectified and learning becomes a natural human activity.

In India a great deal of Gandhiji ideas on learning reflect this view on education. His model of basic education which he gave India in the pre-independence period is in essence a program of societal reconstruction through participation in learning.

The system of education in India, has however, responded to very different objectives. The struggle for egalitarian reforms in Indian society is no longer a mere legislative exercise. The power that the present State has unleashed on the various progressive social groups working in the country is indicative of a more violent reality where the status quo is sought to be maintained irrespective of all consequence. Change in this context can only be witnessed in the effects of the continuing political struggle.

In many writings on the subject of education and society, there exists an inclination to discuss the conclusion to the work in terms of "some proposals for the future". The underlying belief amongst such writers is that the system can improve, can be made better; can be made to work, etc.

Our study of higher education in India suggests no such corridors of hope and enthusiasm. Our analysis on the contrary, reveals that certain intrinsic fundamental structural defects of higher education in India have their larger origins in the structural character of inequality that characterizes post-independent Indian society.

The structural inequality of higher education is not just the blunt fact that some can avail of it and some cannot. It also consists in the fact that those who avail of it stretch further the ambit of social inequality by creating more social differences between them and the rest of society. This intrinsic inegalitarian quality of Indian education, is what prevents it from being a genuine agent of socio-economic development in India.

In conclusion we shall say, that there are areas in the realm of human development, that are amenable to change, and there are others whose resistance to change

can only be broken by some large scale transformative force. Among the latter, is the development of higher education. The potential for any large scale change occurring in higher education is limited. The structure of the system is such that it affords no such perspective. The elitist character of higher education acts as its major obstacle towards making any genuine developmental contribution. Only when the larger structure is faced with some major egalitarian transformations will the activity of higher education undergo the necessary changes making it compatible with the objectives of national development.

Despite the general plethora of indifference, that prevails amongst the intelligentsia of the present period, their value will be measured by the extent to which they contribute to, or obstruct, the emergence of such progressive changes. Our effort today, must be to re-examine our priorities with neither the help of external props, nor the esoterics of ivory tower intellectualism.

This is a very severe conclusion to arrive at, the demand of reality are however no less.

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