ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

THE INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL PLANNING

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I. INTRODUCTION

In this study the author deals with the sociology of development. Development theoreticians, planners and administrators speak of economic and social development but too often the economic aspects are emphasized to the detriment of the social aspects.

To some extent this is understandable since the economic concepts are much easier to identify and are at least conceptually easy to quantify. The sociological concepts, on the other hand, are difficult to isolate and much more difficult to measure since precise methods for the measurement of such concepts are themselves in the developmental state.

In this study the author attempts to delineate some basic sociological principles and problems which have a bearing on the development process.

In section II certain sociological concepts involved in national development are laid forth while Section III contains a brief discussion of the Determination of National Desires. Section IV analyzes certain key problems which sociology has enabled us to identify. Section V provides a treatment of the crucial question of nation building and development.

This study then, provides the student of development with an insight into the social aspects of the development process. Further, it indicates the symbiotic relationship which exists between sociological and economic analysis.

Unless the development specialists of any country
have a profound grasp of the sociological factors involved
in the development process in their country they will be
unable to establish the national preference function
which is the basic instrument needed in any economic planning.
In fact, without the preference function determined according
to the specific social characteristics of the country, the
econometrician will be unable to develop a workable economic
model for the country.

This study is dedicated to the development specialists,
both economist and sociologists, who, working together,
further the implementation of development in order to meet
the needs and aspirations of their fellow citizens.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS INVOLVED IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Definition of Development

Development is a generic concept. We can say that development can be defined, in the sociological sense, as induced progress. The starting point for this development will be different for different nations since the already established commitments have to be considered. The starting points will differ also due to the fact of differences in the availability and accessability of resources. Whatever the starting point, we can observe that what is actually attempted is induced progress.

Development defined as induced progress indicates that the process to achieve this requires change. This is true whatever the degree of progress being sought. A societies' ability to tolerate change is an indicator which development sociologists would very much like to measure since it would yield much information with which to build comprehensive development models. The present state of technology in the field does not provide us with a precise methodology to measure such a concept as a societies' ability to tolerate change. We do know, however, that individuals and human groups do not welcome change. We humans gain efficiency and function effectively in a familiar environment because we know what is pre-dictable. Certainly, some individuals and groups can tolerate more environmental ambiguity than others, but the need for predictability is there and it is this predictabi-lity in our environment which begins to be affected by social change. The old ways at least were known to work, no one knows for sure or can predict to himself that the new ways will. Development, therefore, affects the basic human drive to maintain predictability of environment.

There are many factors which will inhibit or accelerate the rate at which a given nation will seek to induce progress--induced societal change toward economic betterment. One of the factors which should be considered by the sociologist is the question of what are the _impeti_ for development. Of particular importance is the impetus of values such as:

(1) the desire for security and national prestige;

(2) the desire for material properity;

(3) the desire to build a nation.

Any of these values or all of them and more can and do serve as impeti for development. The priority assigned to any one of them can be seen to affect the way in which development will occur. One of the more fascinating impeti for development which the sociologist accesses in a developing nation is that of efficacy.

The Notion of Efficacy and its role as an impeti for Development

The notion of efficacy is an important one to consider in discussing the sociology of development. As was stated above, commitment to development is a commitment to the future, to induced progress. The built-in assumption here is that progress does not happen by itself but that it can be made to happen. This implies an attitude which in itself is new to many peoples since in this attitude the future is viewed as a possibility. Now this implies that man can intervene to make possible what he wishes. Hence control over and manipulation of the environment become not only admisable, but acceptable notions. This attitude occurs at different paces in a given population. Those in power have this view often before the rest of the population.

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It is useful to consider the components of power in discussing this notion of efficacy. Power can be defined as the actual capacity to bring about a course of events with the authority or capacity to enforce ones decisions because the power held has legitimately been institutionalized. When power is projected into future use the term efficacy is used. Efficacy is an estimate of the power to effect or bring about a desired future state. Those who have a high sense of efficacy think they can effect the future, that is, actually bring it about. Those in power in any social group (including nations) usually have a high sense of efficacy. At the same time, large portions of the population retain a fatalistic attitude and they can be said to be possessed of a low sense of efficacy. The larger part of any national population manifests a dependency on the forces which they cannot control and in general, most of the people do not see the effect of their relations on the social sphere nor at the aggregate societal level. A sense of high efficacy does not necessarily mean that a ruling elite is actually possessed of the power to achieve what he (she, they) think(s) he (she, they) can achieve. Nevertheless a sense of high efficacy in the elites can be a motivating factor for the people as a whole and a nation with a high sense of efficacy coupled with determination to induce progress can indeed bring it about as we can see in the examples of Japan, Mainland China, and the USSR, to cite only a few examples.

Social Engineering

There is an important manipulative or social engineering concept which is useful to spell out bluntly when considering the notion of efficacy for it can be misused. The concept "Not only is it possible to control the environment, it is also appropriate to do so", as stated, is in accordance with any sound religious, political, social or ideological view.

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The problem lies in the fact that the desire and will to control the environment often leads to the temptation to view each individual as purely instrumental to the objectives of the society. Certainly, on one hand individuals have an instrumental role in bringing about development by their personal contributions to the social order and on the other hand, individuals accept and seek a certain amount of social engineering with respect to the attainment of development goals. Where individuals become mere instruments for the attainment of goals and where the present becomes merely an instrument for the future, the social engineering has overstepped its purpose.

Sociology and Development Model Building

Motivations or paths toward modernity vary. There are also great variations in the role of governments as active or passive stimulators of development. The sociologists particularly concerned with the sociology of development are interested in determining what are the conditions that help determine which model would be most appropriate for a given country. It is true that various ideologies have set up a priori answers as to the suitability of their model for development purposes. We see this with respect to the ideologies of communism and capitalism both of which proport to have the solution. The sociologist, like the economist, is concerned with the pragmatic problem of establishing suitable models based on empirical evidence rather than on a priori answers.

III. DETERMINATION OF NATIONAL DESIRES

Levels of Living and National Priorities

It was stated above that development is induced progress, that is, induced societal change toward economic betterment. The question then arises, what are the needs and wants the satisfaction of which a given population will perceive as being indicative of economic and social betterment. Needs and wants can be determined by a technical process in which populations are scientifically sampled to determine their needs and wants by measuring their attitudes with respect to certain elements and then ranking these elements to develop a profile of national needs and wants. More often than not needs and wants are determined by the technocrats and the politicians. Targets are established such as the eradication of malaria, and diversification of industry and economic betterment is often then defined in terms of the degree to which these targets are met. Political and technical determination of need obviously raise the problem of what the population actually wants and whether this is reflected in the politicans choices. Of course, it must be recognized that large segments of a population may be unaware of the types of economic and social measures that are necessary to bring about satisfaction of their needs and wants.

Having said this, it is useful to note that needs and wants have to do with levels of living. Basically needs are grouped or are clustered around the basic human needs for food, shelter, and clothing. Economic betterment is presumed to bring about a broader spectrum of choices. The United Nations has developed a roster of levels of living which include the general categories of needs for any nation. The ordering or ranking of these categories may and does differ from country to country.

In its recommended roster to define levels of living the
United Nations includes the following:

    (1)   HEALTH, both personal and environmental;

    (2)   FOOD and NUTRITION;

    (3)   EDUCATION;

    (4)   CONDITIONS OF WORK AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES;

    (5)   AGGREGATE CONSUMPTION and SAVINGS;

    (6)   TRANSPORTATION;

    (7)   HOUSING, including facilities;

    (8)   CLOTHING

    (9)   RECREATION;

   (10)   SOCIAL SECURITY;

   (11)   HUMAN FREEDOMS.

According to this roster nations can be compared to see the
priorities they assign to the various elements.

There has been considerable emphasis on economic
indicators since economic development is viewed as a nec-
essary condition for the satisfactions of aspirations the
society may have. However, it is useful to note that
non-economic sapirations may be more significant. This can
be seen in many developing nations which place an increased
emphasis on education and health. These new demands must be
respected, however one must recognize that the ability to
satisfy the non-economic aspirations is dependent on the
achievement of economic levels which will support the ful-
fillment of these aspirations.

Ways of Conceptualizing Satisfactions and Dissatisfactions.

People are dissatisfied if their elemental needs
are not met and if their primary values are not met or if
their individual self-images are not satisfied. In sociology
of development we say that a society can be said to be in a
state of "relative depravation" when the attainment of needs
and values are not attainable by all.

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It is useful to note when discussing needs that there is no end-point to the continuum, for example, the desire for health and for enlightenment are self-escalating needs. So in this sense it is correct to say that the needs can never be satisfied for by the time satisfaction of last years needs occurs, the population will be seeking the satisfaction of previously unidentified needs. The introduction of change itself leads to increasing dissatisfaction and the problem becomes one of either inducing change or being victimized by it.

One of the factors that may help or hinder the process of change is that modern society entails a systematic pattern of social mobility. There is geographic mobility permitted by laws, and made feasible by modern technology. There is also the social ability to be mobile in modern society. Lerner says that "The transplanted man (that is, the geographically and socially mobile man) no longer needs to be his Fathers Shadow". There is further a psychic mobility in which the high emphathetic capacity is the predominant personal style of the modern man due to the fact that he lacks the bonds of inter-dependence present and characteristic of a traditional society. The need for a shared experience creates this capacity for empathy and in a sense replaces the "loss" of the traditional system of inter-dependence. Dissatisfactions with the degree of geographic and social mobility in a developing society very often are present and serve as a force for change.

Many aspirations have to do with _how_ one earns a living rather than _what_ one can buy. Such aspirations often require a drastic change in organized activity and a spirit of innovation. Such is the case if a country was formerly 80% agricultural and suddenly seeks to change to heavy industry with agriculture retaining 30% of the labor force. The aspiration as to _how_ one earns a living would then be in favour of industrial pursuits rather than agricultural but vast changes in organized activity and massive retraining schemes would be required together with a spirit of innovation.

The very innovational spirit is both necessary for change and
is itself a product of change and implies economic develop-
ment itself. Even if one thereby admits that economic develop-
ment is at the crux of the societal change, it must also be
admitted that the very process of solving technical problems
are of a social-political nature. In technology itself, the
change is from a simple technique to the application of
scientific knowledge and of the scientific method which is
rooted in a notion of causality alien to many, in fact most,
traditional societies.

IV. SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT

The Problem of Atimia

One of the serious problems affecting the nation
which seeks to induce progress and is attempting to set up
priorities is that of atimia. Atimia is defined as loss of
status or more precisely, as individual or national per-
ception of a loss of status. Nations found out the extent
of their underdevelopment at the United Nations. At the
present time when the idea of nation as the major symbol
with which one identifies occurs, atimia, or loss of status
can cause aspiring nations to establish priorities which
enhance status but do not necessarily advance economic
development.

Atimia in economic and political status has effects
one of which has been called the "demonstration effect"
by Horowitz. The demonstration effect, according to
Horowitz, means that the developing nations have defined
themselves as being in a race with the developed nations.
Little consideration is given to whether or not the type
of political or economic system of the developed country
is in fact seriously imitable. Rather, there is an
assumption on the part of the leadership in the developing
countries that the developed countries are imitable and
that they should be imitated. Often, of course, this
assumption is reinforced by the developed countries who
seek to maintain dominance over the developing nations.
Too little attention is paid by the developing countries
to the development of their own unique solutions. (Hagen
also refers to a demonstration effect but Hagen's
demonstration effect has to do with individual consumption
patterns.)

With reference to the demonstration effect of
Horowitz and to the question regarding the extent to which
the developing countries should attempt to imitate the
developed ones, it is useful to note that in no nation we
know of at the present time has either the capitalistic or
communistic model as such been adopted. In all countries
the solutions to development problems represent various
forms of experimentation which represent a mix of the exist-
ing models. It is this mix which emerges that often poses
problems for national policy makers. The so called developed
countries, whether capitalistic, or communistic are continually
involved in the dynamics of adapting their respective
"models" to changing times and to the new demands placed on
their systems. At present there is no such thing as a
country which follows a purely capitalistic or purely
communistic system.

The Problem of Consensus

The problem of consensus is one of the biggest
policy issues in development, it is the problem between the
legislators and the people. In no country that we know of
at the present time, whether developed or developing, is
there perfect correspondence between the people and the
legislators. Of course, it is at the present time very
difficult to measure the degree of consensus with statisti-
cal accuracy and significance. Several development socio-
logists have tried to develop measures of hopes and fears
for oneself and ones' country. Lloyd Freed, for example,
has tried to establish a self-anchoring scale where the
segment of the population being surveyed is asked to identify
where, relative to this scale, they are. Results in the
sampled countries indicate a disparity between the actual
populations' hopes and fears and those of the ruling elites
who legislated for the country.

<u>Cultural Drift and the Development Process</u>

In a traditional society role systems and institutions are highly predictable. Patterns of dependence are fixed. An example of cultural drift frequently used which gives an insight into the problem for development is that of the movement from a rural to a town setting. The very fact of mobility itself puts pressures on the known system. Outside of the rural context there is a change in the impact of traditional elders and hence too a change in the patterns of dependence by the individual. The area of permissivenness of the transitional society widens and this fundamentally alters the pattern of both rural and town societies. This change tends to increase the level of dissatisfaction for the individual has not yet established a new pattern of predictability with respect to his environment. To illustrate, consider briefly the following changes that do take place in a movement from a rural to a town setting.

Basic Input of Agriculture Changes

Labor Migration to Town

Urban Environment Changes	Separation of Production and Consumption Functions of the New Migrant
Traditional Stratification Changes	Added welfare Functions Exist
Legitimacy of Basic Relations is questioned whereas before they were assumed to be correct	Broadens the Spectrum of Choice

Leads to a Gradual Association with
Town Types along Issue and along
Ideational Lines

Changing Role of Elites in Development

The basic function of the modern intelligencia in the development process is role definition. The modern intelligencia has to almost take over the many tasks which are or were held by traditional groups. The big source of frustration for the secular intelligencia which pushes innovation is that the people remain tradition bound and do not accept change as rapidly as was hoped. Generally the intelligencia tend to be cosmopolitan in character and they become quite separated from their traditional society and thus, to some extent they lose their effectiveness to induce change among the populace. There is also a tendency for them to become tied to parts of the establishment and in this process the thrust for innovation can also be lost.

Very often political and military elites no matter who they are, frequently fail because of their narrow perspective. This is noticable whether the elites are in developed or developing nations and sometimes it is more pronounced among leaders of large power blocs if they allow themselves to become isolated from the aspirations of other nations. Often political and military elites do not have the visionary capacity to see the long run effects and possibilities of their present course of action. On the other hand, the intelligencia's problem is that there is no bridge between the critidisms of the existing situation (the idea and the ideas held) and the ability to implement them since they are not in a position of power and have lost their link with the populace. The world has seen many miss-matches between great ideas and a lack of capacity or opportunity for their implementation.

Diffusion of Plans and Programs to meet National Needs

Any national planning organization presented with an hypothetical or actual list of the populations desires for better living has not solved the problem there.

The desires must be translated into reality and this becomes, in most countries, the job of the government. This translation requires the stating of priorities. This is done by a very small percentage of the nations' population and does not solve the bigger problem of mobilizing the population to induce change. Birth control programs present one of the most significant examples of the problem. Let us assume for the moment that the entire adult population of Country X was surveyed and asked to state their hopes and fears for the future. Further assume that the country was experiencing a fairly good annual increase in Social Product but that its population was increasing at an even fater annual rate than the increase in the Social Product. Ninty-seven percent of the population interviewed stated that their greatest hope was that their children would have a more prosperous life in which they would have a broader spectrum of choices and an income level at least double the present. The fear most often stated was that things would get worse. Now let us assume that the government of Country X and various citizen interest groups have worked with the technocrats to find out how this greatest expressed desire can be translated. It is shown from the data that the greatest single problem inhibiting the satisfaction of the identified desires is the galloping population growth and hence a massive birth control program is indicated as the best approach toward realization of the desire of the people. The problem from the standpoint of the sociologist arises when the campaign begins and the social planners, politicans and others of the ruling elites find to their dismay that the campaign is a failure and that receptivity in the masses requires much more than an official announcement. We know from sociological analysis that the planners of the program neglected to consider the question of diffusion of a new idea.

In the program of diffusion of a new idea it is very important to transmit the _rationale_ for the idea and not just the technique of how to do it.

Without the transmission of the rationale, there can neither be receptivity on the part of the masses nor the capacity to mobilize the human factors to induce change. Further, receptivity of the masses is not the same as the ability to mobilize the factors to induce change. With a program such as birth control which touches the most personal area of human life, the social planner must be aware that social engineering is a delicate business and he cannot in conscience deny the right of anyone to ask the questions: of what means and for what ends? If, in the diffusion of an idea such as family planning the rationale is laid forth and the justification of the program is stated in terms of the satisfaction of identified needs and if the method of diffusion allows for the respect of individual rights, the program has a greater probability of success.

In any program requiring the diffusion of a new idea it is very important to consider what the <u>pattern</u> <u>of</u> <u>diffusion</u> will be which will create the minimum amount of distortion in the retelling. It is just as important to consider the matter of <u>who</u> <u>is</u> <u>the</u> <u>diffusor</u> of the message. Again to consider national birth control programs, we find that some of the unsuccessful attempts failed because they chose the wrong group as diffusors of the message. In some countries physicians were chosen to plan, administer, and implement the birth control programs and such programs failed because the physician, being a technician, tended to treat birth control as a technical matter and completely ignored the fact that change to the notion of the practice of birth control involved attitudes much more than techniques.

By carefully planning the pattern of diffusion by means of which the rationale for a new idea and its techniques will be carried out and by choosing a diffusing agency, group, "national voice", etc., receptivity toward and support for a new idea can be generated.

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V. NATION BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT

<u>External and Internal Social and Economic Implications
for Nation Building</u>

The 1960's were blithly called the "Decade of
Development" and this created expectations among national
leaders and the masses alike that development would only take
a decade. Overoptimism at all levels from the United Nations
to its member states created a situation of rising expecta-
tions in the world population. Today we can see the result
of this all over the world. As the rising expectations became
more and more those of the larger part of the population,
the realization that the expectations are not met creates a
blame pattern in which the individual either blames himself
(not likely), his political leader, foreign powers, or
fate, "kismet" or God. The inability of a nation to meet
expectations which are a result of promises results in a
scepticism in the population and makes it ever more difficult
to obtain receptivity or support for new programs.

The overoptimism of the 1960's may well be a mani-
festation of the "Compression Effect", that is, it took
England 150 years to become industrialized, the United
States 80years, the Soviet Union 60 years, and Mainland
China at its present state seems to be doing it in 30
years. Of course, the US, USSR, and China did not all begin
at the same place England, or for that matter at the place
where the state prior to it did. They had acquired tech-
niques which the prior country(s) did not have. It was this
"compression Effect" which may have lead to the euphemism
"Decade of Development". The actual case is that many of
the countries seeking to develop were or are at levels or
stages of development which served only the interests of
their former colonizers, stages which did not prepare them
with the many techniques of management and mobilization
which would allow rapid growth.

Commitment to a program of development is a commitment to
the future: What are the economic and political implications
of this statement? There are a multitude of answers and
among them, one must admit that politically one may ask:
Commitment to the future of who, of what? The commitment
to development implies a commitment to nation building.

Many of the nation states we have today are carved
up sections of the universe carved according to the desires
of the former colonial rulers so the first problem facing
many political leaders is that of actually creating a
nation. <u>Nation building implies increasing the homo-
geneity of a country.</u> Amalgamation involves providing
mechanisms on which one group in the country is dependent
on other groups. By amalgamation the amount of common
valuation is increased. This is perhaps the most signi-
ficant element in developing a sense of nation in the
masses. Where there is no common valuation or where it
is at an extremely low level, the possibility of building
a nation is reduced greatly. Another factor of importance in
nation building is that of increasing the visibility of the
central government. This leads to an increased government
machinery and does entail some degree of increased central-
ization. Efforts to increase the power and prestige of the
nation with reference to other nations also is a factor
in nation building. Social and economic development
programs provide a useful vehicle for nation building be-
cause there is a self justifiable necessity for increasing
central control and increased central control also increases
the way in which the existing power can enforce the deci-
sions it makes.

Some level of political integration is necessary for
any economic and social development to take place. Some
components of basic infrastructure serve the purposes of
nation building and of economic development. Transportation
and communication systems are two good examples. So the
question is not nation building versus economic and
social development.

There is a reciprocity between development and nation building. One of the important aspects of nation building is the institutionalization of political roles. This is difficult in today's world since so many of the nations depend on charismatic leaders. Unless a pattern is established irrespective of the personality of the leader a vacumn results with his political demise.

Global interdependence patterns have increased and this makes it more difficult for the new nations since the big powers want to make the world more predictable through a pattern of foreign policy decision making to suit their own and not the new nations, needs. The feeling which both sides of the two world blocs have that they are both right creates tremendous pressures on the developing nations who are being pursued by these powers. On the grounds of effectiveness we can see that there are leanings toward the USSR model because of the tremendous need for centralized planning.

The interdependence on outside support creates tremendous problems for the people building a nation. In the economic sphere, foreign funds and often technical assistance are required for development but they bring problems. Military assistance too, is often sought and given. There are many boundary disputes which remain unsolved. Many of them are a result of the way in which the colonizers carved up continents for their own purposes without respect to cultural entities. Military assistance gives the outside powers a tremendous leverage over the people attempting to build a nation. The outside powers use the flow of weaponry as the bait which they hold before the new nation to mold itself in the power's image.

The satalite characteristic of the developing economies is accentuated when one considers the problems of fluctuations in the world market. The more the developing nations' products are primary products the more is this true.

These factors perpetuate a state of economic, political,
and psychological dependency on some world power. Since
most country plans do not incorporate planning for future
nation and international markets the pattern of dependency
is perpetuated. Most of the countries expect and hope for
rather sharp increases in the growth rates for their goods
on the world market. This is an overoptimistic expectation
which renders the situation impossible unless a country can
actually diversify its products and move out of the primary
product cycle. Diversification tends to decrease dependence
on the international market and therefore to decrease
political and psychic dependence. This being true, it is
not in the economic or political interests of the major
blocs that diversification occur and in fact, we find little
evidence of the major blocs assisting any nation in a really
effective way to remove itself from the cycle of dependency.
Assistance of what ever form usually tends to strengthen the
ties that bind the weak nation to the powerful one.

Institutionalization of Change

The degree of domestic tranquility depends to a
large extent on how change occurs within a given estab-
lished system. The change should come about within a norma-
tive framework. What is required is some kind of image of the
Future state of affairs since any change requires lead time.
Decisions made today are already by that fact commitments to
the future. This means that there are already in any nation
certain productivity patterns, education patterns etc.,
established and susceptible to very little variation right
now. It is in this sense that we can say 1975 is already
with us. Country plans should be concerned about 1980 and
1985. One of the problems that all nations face is that
there are no established systems on a national scale which
in fact allow people to effect change now. So often the
five years for which a plan exists were already determined by
the course of events before the plan frame was ever developed.

Country plans pay too little attention to this
fact and national governments are daily grinding out
projections based only on the past. The past as base line
for planning is simply not enough. The planning has to be
futuristic. In order to do this the nation must consider
how far into the future it is commited by the present, by
the next five years, before it can really begin to alter
the pattern of its present existence. In a sense, it has to
plan twenty or thirty years ahead and work back institution-
alizing the process of change in oder to achieve that goal.

Nation Building and Role Theory

We said previously that the basic function of the modern
intelligencia is role definition. This is a fundamental
task in the process of nation building. When there is a
desire to institutionalize new roles in the process of
nation building the development sociologist must study the
pattern of behaviour of norms; transferability from position
to position; what provides access to social roles; and what
roles are the preconditions for development activities.

In nation building one must ask what are the latent
consequences of large numbers of individual autonomous
decisions. What is the overall product of these decisions.
We stated above that an attempt is made to created homo-
geneity in the newly forming nation. As the process of
nation building occurs, individuals and organizations should
be able to form coallations, that is, they should be able to
reach agreements. If agreements are reached then things
become mutually predictive and the need to calculate what
way to act is minimized. Individuals and social groups
enter into coallation to decrease impredictability. There
is a need to have some kind of assurance that by becoming
your ally (personal or organizational) the needs of each are
met. All the value patterns need to be satisfied on a
continuous basis including the value of maintaining the
organism, that is, the new nation.

There are four classes of societies problems and
they are as follows:

    (1)   dissatisfaction of existing needs;

    (2)   new needs, both technical and ideational;

    (3)   anticipated problems; and

    (4)   anticipated emergence of needs.

There is little concentration on numbers three and four
in the world today but all of the above problems lead to
any emphasis on innovative behaviour. When innovative
pressure emerges a society has the choice of altering or
redesigning the existing institutional framework or of
developing a new organization. Some of the problems
which sociologists have identified with the redesign of an
existing system are useful to consider. In many cases
these same problems appear when designing a new system.

    (1)   The more internalized the existing patterns
the more difficult it is to introduce an
innovation.

    (2)   The more people there are of whom the social
engineers expect innovation the more
difficult it will be.

    (3)   The faster one trys to introduce and imple-
ment the innovation the more difficult it
will be.

    (4)   The greater the human scope of innovative
activity the more difficult it will be.

    (5)   The more the innovative activity requires
education the greater the need for more "bits"
of knowledge and the more the innovative
activity requires rapid absorption of such
knowledge to modify the existing body of
knowledge the greater the pressure on the
education system. (The obsolescence of
knowledge is a problem in all societies at
this point in time.)

Where these patterns of valuation become possible and co-
alitions are formed there exists the motivation which makes
institutionalization probable. Institutionalization occurs
relative to these needs and values. Certain exchanges become
patterned. That is, they cease to become characteristics of
persons alone but also become a part of the social fabric. In
their basic normative structure they become systems of social
roles. Institutionalization is something which involves the
role relationship and not the bearer of the role. For example,
the concern is with the presidency, not the president, with the
system of roles education implies and not the teacher himself.,
Patterns of behaviour become normative and systems of roles
develop. Normative patterns of behaviour and hence systems
of roles are in transition in the nation attempting to
induce development. Since normative patterns of behaviour
and role systems of the traditional sort are often not suited
for the new purposes so it is these which become the target
of social change. But since it is these role systems
which have given individuals and groups the ability to pre-
dict what they should and should not do in their environment,
it is expected that attempts to change them will be met with
resistance. The more the role systems are integrated into
the core cultural variables of a people the greater will be
the resistance to change.

INnovative Behaviour and Development

It was stated previously that innovative behaviour
is both necessary for and a product of development. In this
section we will examine the contribution of innovative
behaviour particularly with respect to institutional and
organizational framework.

When existing needs are not being satisfied by the
system of roles in operation there is motivation to change,
that is, motivation to alter the pattern and this leads to
innovative behaviour.

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(6)   The more vague the consequences of the
      innovative behaviour are, the less desire
      there is to change.

(7)   The longer the institutionalized pattern has
      existed the longer it takes to change.

Problems associated with setting up a new organization
are further:

(1)   The greater the transfer of authority re-
      quired the more organizations affected by it,
      the greater the problems of resistance are.

(2)   The more dissimilar the pattern of staffing in
      a new organization from the previous
      situation, the greater the problem of innovation.

(3)   The more people of existing skills who are
      adversely affected by the innovation, the
      greater the problem of dissatisfaction and
      resistance.

      It is useful to note here that not all organizations
are institutions in the sense in which the sociologist uses
this term. Further, all that is institutionalized is not
organizations. Values are institutionalized and institution-
alization of a value is a total process. For example, the
institutionalization of the value _enlightenment_ is, presumably,
the educational system. An organization which simply exists
in an isolated form in a community and establishes no linkages
with other organizations or individuals and does not ascribe
to the common value patterns cannot be said to be institution-
alized. Such an organization can exist for a long time
period without ever becoming part of the social fabric, that is,
without ever becoming an institution in the sociological
sense.

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Institution Building and Nation Building

A nation is composed of people having a common valuation and living together in a homogenous group. This of course, does not deny the presence of many sub-cultures within a nation but it does imply some degree of cohesion among the people if the nation state is to establish its identity. Now in modern society, individuals work in consort with others. Modern economic life and indeed, social life is dependent on organizations which facilitate the processes of production and distribution of the social product. Hence, in any discussion of institutitions in connection with their role in Nation Building we must consider how these institutions are themselves built.

In the previous discussion of innovative behaviour and nation building we saw some of the problems associated with such behaviour. Nevertheless, the new values have to be internalized. That is to say, the innovational components have to become institutionalized within the organization. They have to be infused with value in their own right. They have to be judged worthy of being tried by the role actors themselves at least to the point that the innovational activity becomes an accepted part of routine.

In development we are particularly concerned to create institutions out of those organizations and values which enhance the process of economic and social betterment. The functioning of any organizational process is of necessity an aspect of the larger societal context, hence the organization has to have assurance that there is some minimum support for its inputs and that its outputs have a destination. Because of this need there arises the need for institutional linkages. There are some measures, that is questions, which the development sociologist should apply when attempting to judge whether or not an organization is in fact, an institution.

They are as follows:

    (1) Is the organization able to survive without all kinds of external props?

    (2) Is the organization valued for something beyond its mere technical function?

    (3) Has the organization become normative?

Generally, if the answer is "yes" to each of the above questions, then it is safe to assume that the organization is an institution in the sociological sense.

The whole point of attempting to study institution building is of course, to see if there is some kind of technology of institution building which is transferable from one society to another and which is valid for all. The importance of this is obvious if one considers that institutions are a basic unit of nation building. Under the present state of the art of sociology of development we know that in institution building what goes on is the process of accepting new values but exactly what this process consists of we have not yet completely studied. Hopefully the lines of a new technology can be obtained by study of this question in depth. Esman and Bruhns have developed a schema of the variables of institution building are useful in the development of a conceptual model of institution building. They state that there are basically three classes of variables:

    (1) Institutional variables, including Leadership, Doctrine, Program, Resources, and Internal Structure.

    (2) Linkage Variables, including:

        (a) enabling variables such as authority, money, and personnel; and

        (b) Functional variables which are the linkages to those who supply the input and get the output;

        (c) Normative variables, the linkages by which the organization becomes valued.

    (3) Environmental Variables.

When an institution becomes normative it can begin structuring its environment and can transfer the new norms and values

which it has to other organizations and institutions. In
this way development institutions enhance the process of
induced progress.

Channeling of change

It was stated previously that the relationship between
social and economic planning is symbiotic. Knowledge of
the sociological characteristics of a given situation and of
certain techniques useful in attempting to build a nation
are essential inputs into a development plan. Having
said this let us consider the economic implications for
public investment which can be derived from our study of
the sociology of development presented here. If we are to
channel change there must be a plan for such a channeling.
Since the introduction of innovation hinges on the ability
to invest and set up priorities, the author suggests the
following areas for investment of public funds, for any
given country seeking to induce progress.

I   Infrastructure should receive a great deal of
     attention. The critical triggers of induced
     progress have to do with water, electricity
     and transportation.

II   A high priority should be placed on education.
     The application of any of the methods of
     innovation is basically dependent on education.

III Health, too, should be given a high priority.
     But particularly to Public health as a require-
     ment to minimize the use of resources in the
     future. That is, attempts should be made to
     wipe out communicable disease and major de-
     bilitators of the population.

IV   Political stability of whatever form is desired and
     serves to enhance the development process in
     most cases.

V   Counter inflationary measures such as land
     reform and tax reform should also receive
     a priority.

These are the key variables for public investment.

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VI. SUMMARY

In conclusion, we can say that the ability to induce progress depends to a great extent on the extent of common valuation in a given nation. Further, the success of national programs to induce progress is dependent upon the extent to which the planners are aware of the role of the sociological factors peculiar to the nation which can inhibit or enhance the development process.

Where national plan frames are predicated on the basis of sound sociological and economic analysis, the probability of successful implementation is greatly increased.

The study points up certain topics which are of great importance in effecting social change but which are seldom if ever mentioned in country plan frames. This is particularly true with respect to the significance of institution building in the process of nation building.

This study burther took cognizance of the fact that more detailed sociological analyses are needed especially in the areas of:

(1) Methods for the Determination of National Needs; and

(2) The Technology of Institution Building

if thorough and comprehensive development models are to be developed.