Adult Education and Modernity in the Arab Republic of Egypt

A Comparative Study of Adult Education Policy

in the Arab Republic of Egypt and England

By

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ABSTRACT

ADULT EDUCATION AND MODERNITY IN THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT- A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION POLICY IN THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT AND ENGLAND

By Saeed G. Soliman

The present study is an attempt to apply Holmes' "Problem approach" to the staggering modernity stride in the Arab Republic of Egypt since 1952. Throughout the whole period, various documents have been keen on expressing the leaders' zeal for the establishment of a modern State both politically and economically. However, the outcome has been disappointing. An inapt adult base in terms of unmodified internalised attitudes and inadequate skills, has made the realization of modernity proposals difficult. With the possible contribution of adult education in mind, the study assumes that if Egypt is to modernize, an adult education policy that penetrates the Egyptian adult masses is a pressing demand for Egypt's future.

Part one deals with 'Problem Statement' through which the background of the problem is given in terms of 'rising expectations' versus 'growing frustration' in many countries of the underdeveloped world since the mid-twentieth century. The part reviews as well the inconsistency as clear in the Egyptian case, raises the hypothesis and explains the method followed throughout the study.

Part two deals with 'Problem Intellectualisation' after Holmes' 'Change-No-Change' method of analysis. 'Change' is illustrated by modernity proposals in post-1952 documents in comparison with those before 1952. 'No-Change', on the other hand, is represented in the unmodified attitudes of the adult masses, and skill inadequacy that have stood in the way of realizing the above proposals.

Part three deals with the 'Proposed Policy Solution' which is reached through the identification of 'modernity' in various schools, the ideal typical modern society and man; together with the investigation of the possible contribution of adult education to modernity in so far as attitudes and skills of its clientele are concerned.

Part four deals with the 'Contextual Analysis' in which the adult education policies in post-1944 England, and post-1952 Egypt are analysed. The socio-economic differences between the two countries are well recognized, but two major policy trends form the basis of cultural borrowing, namely the integration of adult education into the national system of education, and partnership between providing agencies.

Part five deals with the 'Workability of the Solution'. It takes some salient aspects of Egypt's institutional, normative and environmental conditions as base for judging possible success in the adoption and implementation of the recommended policy.

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PART ONE

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The starting point of a 'problem' in Holmes' approach is expressive of a 'confused situation' that an investigator sees as such from his own experience, background of knowledge or from his awareness of educational debate. It is possible that the problem of an investigator's choice may have a broader or even universal scope which touches upon countries other than his own. The starting point acquires its special relevance in the 'Problem approach' in so far as it gives a certain perspective to the problem under consideration, and whether it is socio-economic, educational, or otherwise.

Part one of the present study includes one chapter (chapter one) in which is displayed the background of the problem as one common among many countries of the underdeveloped world struggling for modernity since the middle of the present century, but with a great deal of frustration. Egypt, as one of these, is suffering from a staggering stride notwithstanding the detailed and carefully worded plans included in its various political documents. The chapter suggests that the Egyptian adult masses, who are still 'pre-modern' in terms of their attitudes and skills, loom large among other impediments to the realization of modernity proposals.

The chapter intuitively takes adult education that penetrates the greatest numbers of such masses to be capable of making them more apt for the realization of such proposals. The chapter displays, as well, the method followed throughout the study, which is Holmes' 'Problem approach'.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Following the end of World War II, the achievement of 'modern state' has more than ever before become the passionate preoccupation of the millions throughout the underdeveloped world. The expectation explosion after six years of sufferance by a great many countries involved in War served to deepen the feeling of discontent with what had already been accepted before War as status quo. Change in the aspirations of peoples and governments alike as reaction to the destruction caused by War was, indeed, dramatic.

Moreover, the struggle against imperialism in many parts of the world gained momentum in the two decades after the end of War. So high was the tide of independence that between 1945 and 1968 more than sixty states got their independence.[I] This was not without significance to the cause of modernity. Millions of individuals in Africa, Asia and Latin America were put face to face with their destiny and with aspirations for a greater share in the life and goods of modern world.[2] Government, in most cases, has been placed in the hands of nationalist leaders, and many of the native experts hurriedly replaced foreigners in key posts that required knowledge and experience. But, awareness of the unfavourable conditions amidst which they were left to stuggle for modernity was governed by sentimental rather than rational thinking. Feeling of national dignity was the new impetus that their   nationalist leaders succeeded to arouse. Acceptance of backwardness or underdevelopment

as destiny was shaken when the great dream of independence
eventually came true. The lucid account given by Abernathy
is worth quoting:

"The belief has spread that poverty and weakness are not
tolerable facts of life but intolerable liabilities, and
that through conscious effort, man can realise more fully
than∧before his own potentialities and those of his
environment." (3)

But the expectations which are easily aroused can only
with great difficulty be turned into reality. The 1950's,
which was a decade of growing expectations for the under-
developed world,soon eclipsed before a decade had passed.
Many such countries,which embarked on modernization schemes
after gaining their independence,failed to put their high
expectations into sound practice and hence, many were led
to disappointment,though at varying grades. If the 1950's
was the decade of rising expectation, the 1960's was rightly
seen by Rogers as a decade of 'growing frustration'.(4)

How the 'rising expectations' turned into 'frustration'
is a complicated matter in which a great many interrelated
and interdependent factors are involved,which we are not
concerned with in the present study except from one angle.
The problem with many of these countries is not whether to
modernize, simply because they have detailed proposals for
modernity which are eloquently worded in various political
documents, constitutions, programmes of political action
and speeches of leaders. The gap between what is proposed

and what is actually attained points out to defects in the
human factor. 'Man' in such countries is inapt whether in
his internalised attitudes or his skills in carrying out
the proposals included in various documents. In simple words,
'pre-modern man' in such countries is given the responsibility
of building 'modern' state and hence, these countries fall
short of fulfilling one essential condition for the realization
of modernity which can easily be deduced from the following
statement by Inkles and Smith:

" a nation is not modern unless its people are modern ..."[5]

Only when/modern man in such countries is available in terms of
his attitudes and skills that it is possible to see modernity
proposals realized.

The necessity of having individuals with favourable
internalised attitudes as a condition for modernity realization
is no exaggeration. The united Nations strongly advocates that:

"Within the range of the possible, attitudes are usually
the decisive factor. Whether initial community progress
can be maintained and the needed institutional machinery
firmly established will be apt to depend on attitudes."[6]

Such decisiveness of attitudes is what eminent educationists,
sociologists and economists have put before the eyes of the
aspiring countries. There is, as Holmes states, "a limit
beyond which institutional change cannot proceed without
creating severe problems unless appropiate attitude
modifications occur fairly rapidly in the relevant sectors
of the normative pattern."[7] Palmer, holds a view similar

to Holmes' asserting that "changes in institutions and
techniques will not solve the problems of development unless
they are accompanied by radical changes in beliefs and
behaviour."[8] Recent empirical studies support the views
of both Holmes and Palmer, and even go further. In their
'Becoming Modern', Inkles and Smith studied individual
development in six underdeveloped countries, and one
conclusion which they came to was that:

"nation building and institution building are only empty
exercises unless the attitudes and capacities of the
people keep pace with other forms of development."[9]

The above argument serves to support the notion that
'modernity' or 'backwardness' is, in the first place,
attributed to the people themselves rather than to physical
and other factors. While not ignoring the economic factor,
Adam Curle, with his long experience with such peoples,
came to associate underdevelopment with the people themselves.
To him, some countries are underdeveloped:

"because most of their people are underdeveloped, and
when people are underdeveloped, national institutions
acquire a form which impedes progress and growth of
egaliterian policies."[10]

Stating that the people are 'underdeveloped' is echoed in
the term 'tradition bound' which is used by Palmer and Stern.[11]
They use it to indicate that only a small segment of the
people is modern in its orientation. Enchantment with
tradition 'regardless of the modernizing aspirations of

their leaders' stands behind the failure of the efforts
to accomplish modernity.[12] Recognition of the link
between underdevelopment and the people themselves is
encouragement enough to accept Lerner's outlook at
underdeveloped countries as those in which the 'moderns'
are few and the 'traditionals' many, or in other words,
a few only in those countries are committed to change both
in their values and their needs. It is seen rather as an
association between the degree of a society's modernity,
and the number of 'moderns' among its individuals, for,
"The more persons who are 'going modern' in any country,
the higher is the overall performance on the indices of
modernity."[13]

Building on the above views, a society is generally
regarded as traditional if ways of behaviour among a great
many of its individuals continue with little change from
generation to generation regardless of the aspirational,
institutional and other changes brought about around them.[14]
When traditionalism is prevalent, the behaviour of the majority
of the masses does not accord with the requirements of change,
and the society is generally governed by custom.

Other features of traditionality are generally shown in
both 'apathy' and 'lack of consciousness' among the individuals
of the change around. The former refers to the degree to which
they are aware of the changes and ready to respond favourably
to them. They show little 'empathy', or to use Lerner's terms

they have little readiness to place themselves in the roles
of others.[15] On the other hand, without adequate
consciousness, the positive attitudes of the individuals
towards change are hardly found and modernity realization
is hampered as Berger has found:

"The people caught in the thores of transformation may not
be aware of the degree of the change going around them and,
therefore may fail to work toward change in the other
traditional sectors of their social life ...."[16]

But, the possible harm of having so many individuals
with traditional or unmodified attitudes exceeds mere apathy
or unawareness of change. The traditional elements in a
society may be a source of both active and passive resistance
to change. In their old state, they are committed by a limited
perception of alternatives and rigorous sticking to traditional
loyalties and status-structures, or by self-interest, to blind
preservation of existing values and institutions. Accordingly,
the new proposals for modernity as well as the institutions
founded in accordance with such proposals may fall without
being given a fair chance to be tested. Hence, the efforts
for the accomplishement of political or economic systems,
however faithful, may be impeded. An individual who is deviant
in respect to his values, is a threat to the social group
by implying a low valuation on the things which the group
holds high, and a high valuation on the things which the
group holds low or in negative regard. In the absence of

a real proximate reference group large enough to sustain his

convictions, he will be unable to exercise influence within

the society or take over action to change it.[17]

In addition to the above, the prevalence of the traditional

and unmodified attitudes represents a heavy burden on the

stride of modernity in that an extra effort is needed to

modify the antecedent values of the people favourably with the

new goals. Such effort may be exerted at the expense of the

modernization process itself. Apter, for example, denies

that the traditionalist systems do not change, yet the problem

as he views it, is rather with innovation which is extra-sytemic

has to be modified within the social system and linked with

antecedent values.[18]

But the internalised attitudes, however great their

impact on modernity might be, do not explain the whole matter.

It is argued that advanced or 'modern' economy needs

individuals with skills be they literate workers, technicians

or scientists 'if it is to maintain its efficiency.'[19]

Complex technical occupations on which modern economy is based

necessitate that 'man' has realized a certain degree of skill.

Such occupations, as Radwan believes, 'cannot be acquired

haphazardly by any individual. Because of their complicated

nature and the informational background involved, they

necessitate certain aptitudes and capacities.'[20]

To develop these capacities is essential, yet difficult to
come by. On the one hand, the matter is broader than mere
vocational training but rather a matter of discovering and
developing cpacities. On the other hand, the development of
capacities does not function in vacuum or in seclusion,
but rather in accordance with broad policies whether
economic or otherwise.

The special attention given to the development of
capacities was not without relevance to the cause of
modernity. Modern economy, which until the middle of the
twentieth century was associated in the first place with
capital and secondly to labour, begins to witness reverse
in priority as Young,[21] Harbison and Ibrahim,[22] have
advocated in the case of Egypt. The United Nations has also
come to reconsider its thoughts in a similar way. The
proposals of action of the United Nations' Development
Decade put the new trend in clear-cut words:

"Economic growth in the advanced countries appears to
be attributable in larger part than was previously
supposed to human skills rather than to capital.
Moreover, the widening of man's horizons through education
and training, and the lifting of his vitality through
better health, are only essential pre-conditions for
development, they are among its major objectives......
While at the beginning of the last decade the problem of
developing countries was viewed essentially as a problem
of producing wealth, by the end of the decade it became
widely acknowledged that the crucial factor was not production
but rather the capacity to produce, which is inherent in
people."[23]

The above argument serves to throw light on the puzzle of 'rising expectations' versus 'growing frustration' in the underdeveloped countries struggling for modernity. The key is to be attempted in 'man', whose attitudes are still unmodified and his skills inadequate for the realization of modernity. The lesson they have eventually come to learn is that the proposed aspirations in whatever sphere remain unattainable in the world of reality unless the individuals are oriented for modernity in terms of their attitudes and skills. Only when this twofold task is adequately fulfilled it is likely that their people are capable of shouldering the responsibilities of modernity, similar to what Lerner calls 'the prevalence of the modern group'.[24] Failure to get this task fulfilled simply means that the bright aspirations for modernity are undertaken by inapt individuals. A problem is at hand represented in the gap or conflict between, on the one hand, 'high aspirations for modernity', and on the other, 'low internalised attitudes ' and 'inadequate skills'. The outcome is stagnation rather than modernity.

The latter is especially the case with the Arab Republic of Egypt since 1952.

The Problem

A new regime started in Egypt in I952 with the cause of modernity on the top among the national goals to which the revolution leaders have eversince dedicated themselves. A quarter of a century of such dedication has shown itself in the various political documents as well as in the many speeches given by the leaders themselves. Throughout all this period, the aspirations for modernity were not always the same in specifity or clarity, for they ran along distinguishable chronological stages in the lives of the governing leaders themselves, first as young military officers equipped with no theoretical guideline, as Nasser its leader admitted, except the six major principles announced on the eve of the revolution.[25] With experience in rule, revolutionary documents expressed the maturity gained. In I962, the 'National Charter' was issued after a unanimous approval on the part of the whole popular powers. The revolutionary theory that the Charter dealt with in detail was once more ascertained in the 'Permanent Constitution' (I97I) as well in other documents only with slight changes in the last few years.

The revolutionary regime brought with it different proposals for modernity from what had been before, in matters of politics and economy. The two major proposals that the I923 Constitution fostered, and which continued

without change until 1952, related with the accomplishment
of complete national independence and the establishment of
a democratic rule approved by the people after a long period
of suspension.

The country had been under the British occupation
since 1882 and only gained its independence with four
reservations in February 1922.[26] This 'partial'
independence was seen as violation to Egyptian sovereignty
over its territories, and was thus recognized in various
documents and manifestoes of political parties as an
urgent goal to be accomplished. The 1936 Treaty with Great
Britain served very little to abate the nationalist feeling.

To have a constitutional democratic rule was the second
goal that the popular revolution of 1919 presented to the
masses. The first Egyptian constitution in the country's
modern history was promulgated in 1923. However, the
democratic principles brought forth by the Constitution,
reflecting the socio-economic conditions, cared little
for the 'ignorant, sick and poor masses'.

As a grant from the King,[27] the democratic principles
included in the Constitution had to accord with his will in
the first place. By the Constitution text, two fifths of the
Senate members were to be appointed by him as the head of
the executive authority. Besides, he had a strong suspensory
veto and the right to prorogue the Parliament and adjourn it
for a month.(28)

It is true that the Constitution recognized the
formation of political parties giving them due political
heaviness. Yet, amidst the country's conditions in the
pre-revolution era, the whole authority was placed in the
hands of a handful of feudalists and capitalists supported
by the king. Common people were reluctant to participate
in the democratic façades that were created in accordance
with the Constitution, and the democratic experiment
remained futile until the mid-century.

Economic proposals before the I952 revolution were
as well confused and vague. Concentration of both wealth
and political power in the hands of a few feudalists and
capitalists, who accounted for 5% of the whole polulation[29]
served to shape the economic goals away from the interests
of the broad masses. The image of an agrarian economy was
thought to be the most fitting. Meanwhile, two attempts to
introduce industry were made, the first of which was
carried out amidst the 'Egyptianization Movement'[30] in
the early I920's. The second took place in the I930's and
was carried out throughout and after the Second World War.
Both attempts emerged mostly out of the desire to benefit
by the international climate in the world around rather
than out of a carefully worked out plan to diversify economy
and launch it in the direction of modernity. Private
enterprise with some direct, though limited, government

intervention was encouraged to serve the interests of
rich capitalists.[31] With the prevalence of the above
economic trends, the utmost that could be aspired for was
the attainment of a decent standard of living for the people,
the vast majority of whom lived in rural areas mostly at
subsistence level in the vast estates of the feudal lords.[32]

With 1952, the revolution flared up bringing with it
a clear change in the aspirations for modernity both in the
political and economic realms. Six major principles were
announced on the eve of the revolution as a guide for
the national stride.[33] Though broad and vague, these
marked a shift in the aspirations that the new leaders
found worthy of struggle. They included, beside the
establishment of a 'sound democratic system', other goals
such as the accomplishment of complete national independence,
the ending of feudalism, the elimination of monopoly and the
domination of capital, the establishment of social justice
and the building of a powerful national army.[34]

The concept given to 'sound' democracy in the
post-revolution documents differs from that given before
mainly in matters of 'participation' and 'representation'
of the broad masses in the political affairs of the country.
Political democracy was identified by Nasser as the one form
capable of achieving compromise between the inherent value of
the individual, whatever his social or economic status, and
the community at large. While political democracy appreciates

the active participation of the long deprived masses, it
offers,in the meantime,protection for the interests of
the whole community from the domination of feudalism and
capitalism that had turned the pre-revolution democratic
experiment into a dictatordhip of reactionaries.(35) In the
National Charter (I962), the aspired for democracy was given
six basic features, namely the rejection of the domination
of one class, the inseparability of social and political
democracy, the adoption of co-operation between all the
powers of working population, the encouragement of trade
unions for workers and co-operative societies for farmers,
and freedom of criticism and self-criticism.

The socialist style of the 'one-party system' was
adopted since the liquidation of all political parties
in January I953. Whether in the 'National Union' (1957-196I)
or in the 'Arab Socialist Union' established since I962,
the alliance of the whole popular powers within one
political organization was strictly adhered to. However,
with the faults that arose in application, a radical change
in the concept of 'political democracy' was witnessed
since the mid-I970's when political parties were once more
allowed.

In the economic realm, industrialization is taken in
various revolutionary documents to signify modernity, a trend
which Shils found to be common among the 'new states'.(36)

The National Charter justifies the high regard given to
industrialization on the grounds that it is capable of
realizing the aspirations of the economic and social
development as well as enlarging the production base in
a revolutionary and decisive manner and in a short time.[37]
However, conceiving modern economy as one based on various
industrialization schemes does not mean, in various documents
of the post-1952 era, dropping agriculture from account
or even underevaluating its role in an originally agricultural
country like Egypt. Horizontal and vertical agricultural
expansion was stated as necessary for the modern economic
system.[38] To these is added the belief in planning
both short-and long-termed, comprehensive and sector-wise.[39]
A fourth trend is associated with the effective role that
the State has to undertake in order to ensure that the
economy is directed the way that serves the set goals.[40]

However, when the bright aspirations for modernity
are put aside, actuality shows very modest accomplishment
which is hardly comparable to aspirations, what Rejwan
identified as 'the gap between the lofty ideals of the
Egyptian revolution and the grim, age-old realities of
contemporary Egyptian society and culture'.[41]

Political documents were honest enough to admit various

failures. The October Working Paper (I974) did not hesitate

to condemn the democratic line since I952 as deviation from

sound democracy. In clear words the Paper states:

> " we must honestly concede that political freedom has not
> run the course the people wanted. Centres of Power and
> other bodies rather imposed their custody on the masses
> and several restrictions and measures ensued. This went
> to the extent of diverting measures of social conversion.."[42]

The political organizations,initiated by the revolution,failed

one after the other. 'The Liberation Ralley' (1953-1956)

gave place to the 'National Union' (1957-I96I) which soon

proved to be ineffective in mobilizing the masses or

infiltrating the reactionary elements. The 'Arab Socialist Union'

came into being in I962 but its failures were such that

President Sadat had to announce/its futility as a political

in I975,

organization.[43] The alternative solution since I976

has been the establishment of various political parties.

If the Egyptian experiment since I952 has not been so

successful, Egyptian 'man' is brought in the focus. Active

participation was encouraged but never adequately responded

to by the masses. Criticism and self-critisism were

allowed by the National Charter (I962) as necessary for

enriching the democratic experiment.[44] All guarantees

for the practice of freedom were repeatedly ascertained by

the government since the early I970's . Yet, the easily stirred [45]

masses were moved by extremists to commit acts of violence

under the veil of freedom. The heavy losses of January I977

induced the government to condemn the misuse of democratic

atmosphere. [46]

In economy, the standard of living is very low, and · is

found to be even lower than all the other Arab States with

the exception of the Sudan and the two Yemeni Republics. [47]

Per capita production, as El-Ghannam found (I975) is very

modest when compared to other countries. [48] Planning is

carried on with some success. Yet, the economic crisis

since the early I970's could not be predicted in due time.

Industrialization, which is seen by the October Working Paper

as 'Egypt's future' [49] was given a great push in the I960's

but has slowed down its tempo in the I970's due to various

socio-economic conditions. [50]

Apart from Egyptian documents, failure is pointed out

by prominent figures like Lerner, Apter, Wilber and

Szychiowicz. The last of these figures was given to lament

that:

"Twenty years have elapsed since the revolution, and many
aspects of the Egyptian life have still not undergone the
transformation that was anticipated by most observers." [51]

Failure to accomplish the aspirations for modernity is

attributed to the Egyptian individual who makes it 'the main

job of the government to prevent the population that has

tasted modernization, but cannot quite cope with it from

slipping back.'[52] The above analysis by Apter seems

to be echoed by Wilber who, as well, throws the responsibility

on the Egyptian masses who are passive and apathetic. [53]

He seems to favour attitude change as a solution for such

dilemma:

> "The recent Egyptian aspirations are of a degree and kind
> that will require, if they are to be achieved, the
> transformation of the traditionally passive masses into
> a source of active political, economic and military
> strength."[54]

To the present study, the above argument seems

plausible in so far as it attributes the staggering modernity

in Egypt to defects in 'man' who is still pre-modern

in terms of attitudes and skills.

The Egyptian masses still have passive attitudes toward

participation in political action.[55] Reluctance of many

among them to share actively in government severely

diminishes their role, particularly in the countryside, to

mere 'recepients to government edicts'.[56] The passive

and apathetic attitudes among the masses toward the

examination of the political and other decisions, impedes

the process of sound decision-making which is based on

a variety of initiative views raised by those who are

concerned.[57] Another phase of passive attitudes is shown

in the use of the masses to their ballot right which was
weak until it was made compulsory since 1957. [58]

The adult masses, particularly in the countryside,
show unwillingness to cope with the authorities which
blows up bridges of mutual confidence that the government
tries to build for the benefit of the peasants themselves.
The family and the clan, not the State, are still the most
important social units and therefore elicit the deepest
loyalties. [59] To this is added the apathetic attitudes
among many adults toward the service of society as might
be indicated in the weak spirit of public service. A still
dominant feature of the character of the 'Fahlawi' among
the Egyptian masses is the indifference to the problems
of society. [60]

In economy, the internalised attitudes of the adult
masses are no better than the ones previously mentioned
in politics. While industrialization represents the major
phase of modernity in the economic perspective, the attitudes
of the adult masses toward work, especially 'manual' work,
are still undesirable. To the majority, it is disgraceful
and even shakes the image of the individual before others. [61]
In the meantime, clerical and white-collar jobs are given
exaggerated social ranking whatever the salary or chances
of employment and promotion. This is illustrated by the
reluctance on the part of many youth to join technical

and vocational schools and centres, pressing hard to
join liberal education. Consequently, a great surplus
of the graduates of the theoretical studies, whether on
the secondary or higher education level, is suffered from.
In the meantime, the country suffers from an acute
shortage in skilled and semi-skilled workers for industry
which threatens the industrialization schemes and is
expected to aggravate until I985.[62]

Whatever high is the place given to science and
scientific thinking in the Permanent Consitution (I97I),[63]
the National Charter (I962)[64] and the October Working
Paper (I974),[65] fatalistic attitudes still prevail among
a great many among the adult masses urging them to see the
will of God as a sufficient explanation for all matters of
life. The human effort is, subsequently, minimized with
whatever bearing on productivity.[66] Other than in production,
the fatalistic attitudes among the masses paralyse the
enthusiastic efforts made by the government to check the
population explosion that the Charter regards as 'the greatest
obstacle that faces the Egyptian people .'[67] With all the
efforts made in birth control and family planning, the rate
of natural increase has dropped only from 23.0% in I953
to 22.6% in I973.[68]

Attitudes toward time, punctuality and perfection among
Egyptian masses still do not accord with the ideals of modernity.

Considerable degree of leniency characterizes the
behaviour of the rural masses. Individuals, particularly
thoses flocking to towns from rural areas in search for
better employment of living chances, are not adequately
adjusted to the requirements of the new conditions.
The need for haste or punctuality has always been
disregarded in the country life, but has to be replaced
by more favourable attitudes to production.

In matters of skill, the majority of the Egyptian
adult population fall short of satisfying the requirements
of modernity. With the prevalence of illiteracy, the
promotion of their skills becomes a difficult task. The
Five-year plan (1978-1982) recognizes/that the high illiteracy
rate 'means the incapability to cause comprehensive and
deep cultural changes as well as the inability to rise
to the level of 'modern' society. (69) The main obstacle
is represented in the inability of the trainees to
understand the necessary instructions. Heavy industriali-
zation schemes are,thus,undertaken by a workforce, most
of which are skilled and illiterate.

Quantitatively, shortage in semi-skilled labour
is estimated, by the Institute of National Planning, at
500.000 in 1975, and this affects the execution of various
industrialization schemes.   Likewise,in the category
of skilled and assistant technicians the shoratge amounts

to 267.000 in the same year. The dilemma of skill in

Egypt/complete when unskilled labour is taken into
is

consideration. Paradoxically, the acute shortage in

the above mentioned categories, coincides with a much

greater surplus in the third category of the unskilled

labour exceeding I.0I9.000 in the same year.[70]

When stated in specific terms, the problem of the

present study runs as follows:

The aspirations proposed by various documents in Egypt

since I952 for the realization of modernity in the

political and economic realms hit with many barriers.

Among these must be regarded the unfavourable geographical

and physical resource conditions with over 96% of land

barren desert,and the difficulty of horizontal and

vertical expansion of agriculture due to access to water

for irrigation. Besides, one must have in mind the population

explosion, the incapability of the country's education to respond

to the requirements of modernity, the inherited heavy burden

of backwardness and instability that has accumulated

throughout long periods of foreign domination, to mention

a few. However, the prevailing internalised attitudes among

a great many of the Egyptian adult masses and their

inadequate skill loom large among impediments.

Some adjustment in the attitudes of the masses has

actually been attained, and some attempts to raise skill of

the adult masses have been succeful.[7I] Yet, the element

of timing, which Holmes highly regards in so far as the
response to change is concerned, is still lacking in the
Egyptian case. The rate of change in the modification of
the anti-modern attitudes, and the promotion of skills
of the masses is slower than the change in modernity
proposals. While change in the latter is quick and vigorous,
change in the former, if any, is out of proportion with
what modernity realization requires. [72]

Relevance of Adult Education

Recognition that the inaptness of 'man' is a major
constraint before the realization of modernity proposals
signifies, in an indirect way, that education is involved.
To deal with the quality of 'man' is, to deal with his
education and absorption capacity for knowledge, skill
and experience. The challenge of modernity, in this sense,
turns to be an educational challenge that necessitates the
provision of good-quality education to as many individuals
as possible. The whole argument runs in line with the
ever growing belief since the 1960's in education as the
'key that unlocks the doors to modernization'. [73] From
this argument may be deduced the relevance of adult education
as recently expressed by Rogers and Groombridge 'that a
country which is backward in adult education will be
backward absolutely.' [74] Yet, in specifity that scientific
research requires, such a statement   is likely to be

a too

/broad generalization unless the nature of such relation

is elaborated.

It has to be admitted that data on the relation between

'modernization' and 'education' is still inadequate. One cause

for this is that the concept of 'modern' state has not yet

got universal agreement.[75] Until recently, terms like

'modernity' and 'modernization' are admitted by scholars

to be vague and that standard definition is, accordingly,

non-existent.[76] Szyliowicz admits the existence of

semantic difficulties. Though he admits that education

contributes directly to modernization, the complaint is

rather that "no adequate body of theory is yet available to

permit the testing of specific hypotheses with data from

the Middle East".[77]

However, lack of theories that specify the role of

education does not conceal the responsibility of invest-

igators to deduce such role from what it has been capable

of doing.

Taking adult education as specific case, the

underdeveloped countries of the present time are invited

to learn from the great social movements of the West

represented by the Industrial Revolution, the Renaissance

and other similar upheavals. Adult education, in whatever

form, stood as noticeable driving force behind the

accomplishment of social change. Such great movements,

it is stated, 'were all founded on the ability of the

adult mind to learn and change.' [78]

In Scandinavia, adult education movements have done
a great deal to consolidate the chosen social order,
Western democracy based on social justice. The folk high
schools with their more conservative and nationalistic
orientation associated themselves with groups having a
conservative philosophy. Meanwhile, the Workers' Institutes
became closely related to the political and economic
branches of the rising labour movement. Social democracy
with its great emphasis upon social justice and the welfare
State became the dominant political ideology in the
Scandinavian countries.[79]

Other than the lessons of history, the association
between the education of adults and social change is
ascertained in studies by such scholars from the
underdeveloped countries, as Roy Prosser[80] in so far
as such education increases the absorptive capacity of
the masses to social change.[81] Adequate adult education
provision, to Prosser's way of thinking, narrows the gap
between what is supposed and what the masses actually
undertake. Cole's argument of the contribution of adult
education to the processes of national development is
made in accordance with two propositions: the first
associated with the improvement of human resources, and
the second links improvement with the total mental
development, not merely the acquisition of vocational skills.[82]

The twofold mission of adult education carries within it

differentiation between the materialistic task, that is

the satisfaction of the needs for skills in certain numbers; and

the   human development that transcends mere vocational

aspects. The matter is, hence, related with individual

orientation as it is with materialistic advance, the

former being condition for the fulfilment of the latter.

The twofold task of education is also ascertained by

Korten and Korten (I972) when studying the problems of

modernization in Ethiopia. They see education as capable of

at least two critical contributions to the modernization of

the individual. 'The first is the development of the relevant

skills and the second is the development of modern

motivational and attitudinal orientations.' (83)

What Prosser, Cole, the Kortens and many others claim

must be taken only with caution. What one means by 'adult

education' may, quite possibly, be different from the others.

Giving a common definition of the term 'adult education' is

one of the difficulties of the present study.

Limitation of the Scope of Investigation

'Adult education' has hardly got, until present, a

universal agreement on the international level as to what

it actually is, the tasks expected of it, policies of

provision or content of programmes. Concept difficulty ·

is admitted both on the international and local levels.
The report of the 'First International Conference on the
Comparative Study of Adult Education' (Boston, 1968)
admitted the lack of international agreement in terms of
defining adult education.[84] Though a recommended
definition was adopted by the 'Third International Conference
on Adult Education' (Tokyo, 1972) as:

"a process whereby perscns who no longer attend school on
a regular and full-time basis (unless full-time programmes
are especially designed for adults) undertake sequential
and organized activities with a conscious intention of
bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding
or skill, appreciation and attitudes; or for the purpose óf
identifying and solving personal or community problems,"[85]

the 'Final Report' had still to express an urgent need 'for
more and better documentation and for internationally
comparable statistics.'[86] As for the terms used by the
Conference delegates, they were 'ambiguous and unclear,....
.. an international dictionary of adult education was badly
required.'[87]

On the local level, i.e. the level of individual countries,
adult education has not got universal concept within national
systems of education comparable to what 'formal education',
for example, has got.[88] Egyptian educationists and policy-
makers have not yet reached a clear concept of the term
on which a comprehensive strategy might be built.[89]

In England, the case is evidently better, but not without vagueness. Lowe (1970), criticizes lack of taxonomy for describing the education of adults in England and Wales, and laments that "If only we knew exactly which forms of education and what scale of provision are currently being provided, then at least we would have a firm base from which to plan development."[90]

When educationists within one country are not so much in agreement about what adult education actually is, difficulties arise before comparatists who touch upon adult education in their studies. The difficulties are lucidly described by Lowe:

"Confusion still reigns about the meaning of adult education both within each country and in international exchanges of ideas and information. What appear to be more or less similar phenomena are described by a perplexing welter of names such as Fundamental Education, Social Education, Mass Education, Continuing Education, Life-long Learning and Education Populaire*[91]

Investigators who undertake comparative studies on adult education, are left to choose from the 'welter' of definitions given. However, it is possible to distinguish two broad types of adult education:

(a) Random adult education that comes randomly as a result of the wide-range contact that the adults have with the environment, be it a political organization, a religious meeting, a sporting club, ... etc. Such scope is broad enough to include what Bergevin lists as 'Listening to

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* italicised in the original

radio, watching television, reading, talking to people,

planting flowers, going to concerts, playing bridge or

pool, and everything else an adult does, is adult education

of one kind or another."[92]

(b) Organized adult education which comes intentionally,

i.e as a conscious effort by certain agents to change

human behaviour, knowledge, skills, .. etc. It is easy

to distinguish the organized type of adult education on the

basis that, whether in its dissemination, programmes or

other practices, it is subject to planning towards goals

it attempts to achieve.

For the present study, the second type suggests a

more practicable treatment. Within organized adult education,

one cannot fail to find a minimum common ground for

comparison if one sticks to adult education of formal

nature which is provided through funds or financial support

out of rates and taxes for that purpose.

The present study is after policies not institutions,

though the organic relation between policies and institutions

is not disregarded. The warning that Coombs addresses to

those who undertake comparative studies on adult education

in 'advanced' and 'underdeveloped' countries is taken into

account.[93] The due consideration to differences that

Coombs preaches is as well shared by Holmes whose 'Problem

approach' is followed in the study. The key to such consid-

eration is the function of the English case in the method

followed. Concentration is, in the first place, on the
Egyptian case as the core of the present study. Adult
education policy in England since 1944 is put under
focus mainly to see in what way it might enrich the
Egyptian experiment. 'Comparing what is comparable', which
the 'problem approach' highly regards,[94] is committed to.
What is more, is that whatever might be the trends of
policy that are recommended for the Egyptian case, they
are subject to careful examination in the light of Egypt's
initial conditions.

Hypothesis

The realization of modernity proposals depends on
the availability of 'apt' man whose abilities and
attitudes are shaped mainly through education. The
logical examination of the hypothesis suggests that if
the relation between modernity and education is true
both in the positive and negative states, it is then
true that in education we find a clue for the rise or
decline on the indices of modernity. If we accept that
modernity is associated with man's attitudes and skills,
and if these are, in turn, associated with the kind of
education provided to him, then change in education
yields change in man. Hence, education becomes a basic
factor for encouraging or impeding the realization of
modernity proposals.

Given that the inavailability of apt man in Egypt
is a big hindrance for the realization of modernity,
and that adult education in Egypt is such that the
majority of the masses have remained incapable of
assmilating and implementing modernity proposals, then
the fundamental reform of adult education policy to meet
such requirements represents a main factor for bridging
the gap between what is proposed and what is attained,
and subsequently for the realization of modernity.

Methods of Inquiry

The study follows Holmes' 'Problem approach' as its
major framework. The inconsistency between the expressed
wishes for modernity whether in the political or economic
realm since 1952, and the policy of adult education that
has been incapable of extending the service to penetrate
the majority of adult masses, is identified as a problem
in accordance with Holmes' approach. Holmes recognizes
the rise of a problem if norms, values, attitudes, etc...
on the one hand, and social institutions on the other,
plus the physical environment, show signs of inconsistancies.
In case any of the above elements does not change (within
a particular social order) at the same time as others,
inconsistancies arise which are the outcome between and/or
within 'non-material culture' (norms, values, laws,.. etc)
and, 'material culture' (social institutions) and 'economic
institutions'.(95) Hence, the previously stated lag in

the case of Egypt forms one example of inconsistency that needs be cleared up. The way in which the problem is dealt with until it reaches a solution (perplexity resolved) takes into consideration the characteristics of the followed approach and its suggested steps.

What distinguishes the 'problem approach' from other approaches in 'Comparative Education' falls in two points: (a) The resort to the scientific method of thinking in all its recommended steps and which are ultimately directed to educational reform. The selection of a problem for study, its intellectualisation, identification of initial conditions under which the solution might work, and the prediction of outcomes, are all, as Togores states 'well interrelated and grounded on theoretical bases'.[96]

(b) Commitment to 'prediction' which, however difficult for investigators, is seen as the key to more recent thinking in Comparative Education. While the possibility of explaining the differences in terms of existing school systems is not denied by Holmes, yet it is made clear that:

"A more difficult and yet more rewarding study would be one which attempted to predict and compare cross-culturally the educational consequences of a reform ...".[97]

The 'problem' in the Holmsian sense has to run through two distinctive stages: selection and analysis. Selection as has also been recommended in various methodologies,

depends upon the investigator, whose experience, knowledge
and awareness of current educational debate direct his
attention to a confused situation or 'problem' whether in
his own culture or of international significance. Stopping
at mere statement of the problem, and hurrying prematurely
to examineits solution may cripple further steps of the study.
'Problem Statement' requires further analysis in which Holmes
recommends that the data relevant to the problem to be solved,
and out of which the problem becomes clearly formulated,
has to be included in what he terms: 'Problem Intellecutalisation'
or 'Analysis'. [98]

Next to intellectualisation, the policy solution is to
be attempted through analysis and specification of context.
In the present study, as has been mentioned before, the
solution centres round the possible contribution of adult
education to the realization of modernity. Comparable
aspects of adult education policy in England since the end
of World War II presents an example which has its relevance
to the Egyptian case.

However, the predicted solution in the 'problem approach'
represents only one link in a series of stages each leading
naturally to the next. There are four such stages:

(a) The 'intuitive' stage in which the solution springs
spontaneously from the rather vague presentation included
in the introduction, and which is inspired by the hypothesis
or solution formation.

(b) The stage in which the solution ceases to be a mere possibility and turns into 'tested probability'. Such a stage requires a theoretical basis in the light of which the proposed policy solution might be analysed. In case of the present study, 'modernity' has to be defined and identified in various schools of thought, followed by an analysis of the possible contribution of adult education to modernity. Following this, analysis and specification of context is made possible, and the investigator eventually comes to recommend a solution to be attempted for the problem tackled.

(c) The stage of 'implemented solution' is recommended to build on sound 'cultural borrowing', that is by taking the initial conditions under which the solution would work into the investigator 's consideration. To see whether the lines that have characterized adult education policy in England since I944 would work in Egypt,necessitates an analysis of the predicted difficulties of adoting these lines of policy as well as the difficulties involved in implementataion.

(d) The fourth stage which completes the above three, is to anticipate the 'outcomes' of the solution, a step which Holmes admits to be difficult, yet completes the rungs of a long chain. Educational reform based on scientific thinking is eventually made possible.

Notes - Chapter One

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3. ABERNATHY, D. B. The political dilemma of popular education: an African case. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969. p. 3.

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II. PALMER, M. and STERN, L. 'Introduction: traditional societies and social change', in M. Palmer and L. Stern (editors), Political development in changing societies. Canada: Heath and Company, 1971. p. 4.

I3. LERNER, D. The passing of traditional society, modernizing the Middle East. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964. p. 83.

I2. PALMER, M. op.cit. p. IO

I4. see HAGEN, E. On the theory of social change: how economic growth begins. Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc. 1962. p. 55.

I5. LERNER, D. op.cit. p. 50.

16. BERGER, B. Societies in change, an introduction to comparative sociology. London: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1971. p. 40.

17. HAGEN, E. op.cit. p. 72.

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24. LERNER, D. op.cit. p.51.

25. ABDEL-NASSER, G. Speech before the National Assembly on March, 26, 1964. Cairo: Dar al-Ma'aref, n.d. p. II.

26. VATIKIOTIS, P.J. The modern history of Egypt. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. pp. 265.

27. Preamble to the 1923 Egyptian Constitution.   (Arabic text)

28. The 1923 Egyptian Constitution, ibid. articles 38 and 39.

29. SAID, G. E. M. The way to socialism, the July 23 revolution Cairo: Dar al-Nahda al-Arabia, 1962. p. 265.   (Arabic text).

30. A national movement in Egypt in the early 1920's led by Talat Harb and some national economists, intellectuals and politicians. The aim of the movement   was the diversification of Egyptian economy and lessen the entire dependence on cotton cultivation. The movement was also an expression of resentment of the control of economy by the foreign community. see MABRO, R. The Egyptian economy 1952-1972. London: Oxford University Press, 1974. pp. 107-109.

31. ROSHDI, M. Economic development in Egypt, Vol. 2 Cairo: Dar al-Ma'aref, n.d. p. 101.   (Arabic text) also SAID, G.E.M. op.cit. pp. 261-262.

32. SAID, G. E. M. ibid. pp. 46-102.

33. ABDEL-NASSER, G. op.cit. p. II

34. ibid.

35. UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, INFORMATION DEPARTMENT. Draft of the
Charter, May, 21, 1962. Cairo: 1962. p. 35.
On page 35 of the 'Charter' it is stated that:

> "The domination of feudalism in collusion with the exploiting
> capital over the economy of the land, naturally and inevitably
> enabled them to dominate political activities in all their forms,
> guranteed their direction to serve their alliance at the expense
> of the people and to subjugate the masses by deceit or terrorism
> until they either acquiesced or surrendered.
> Democracy on this basis was merely the dictatorship of reaction.
> The people's loss of their social freedom led to the robbing of
> the political freedom- bestowed by the ruling reaction- of every
> significance. Therefore, the 1923 constitution was a gift gra-
> ciously donated by the king."

36. SHILS, E. Political development in the new states. Paris, Mouton,
The Hague, 1968. p. 9

37. The National Charter, op.cit. pp. 57-58.

38. ibid. p. 57.
> The Charter stressed the three areas in which the great
> battle of production must take place in Egypt for the sake of the
> development of its countryside:

> "First: The horizontal extension of agriculture, by reclaiming
> the desert and the waste land. The process of land reclamation
> should never cease for a second. The area of green fields must
> become larger every day in the Nile Valley. We should reach a
> stage at which every drop of the Nile water could be transformed
> on its banks into creative life that would not be wasted. ....
> Second: The vertical extension in agriculture through raising
> the productivity of cultivated land. ....
> Third: The industrialisation of the countryside which is based
> on agriculture opens vast ranges for the chances of work in the
> country .... (The Charter, pp. 55-56)

39. ibid.

40. ibid. chapter 6. p. 45.

41. YOUSSEF, A. S. "The Charter as a basis for a throry of values"
Al-Tale'ah(monthly Egyptian magazine), Year 2, No. 6, June 1966. p. 107.
also REJWAN, N. Nassirist ideology: its exponents and critics.
Tel Aviv: The Shilaoh Centre for Middle Eastern and African Studies,
Tel Aviv University, Israel ., 1974. p. 4.

42. MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, STATE INFORMATION SERVICE, The October
Working Paper, presented by President M. A. El Sadat, April 1974 .
Cairo: n.d. p. 38.

43. EL-SADAT, President M. A. Speech given on June I6, I977
Al-Ahram (Daily Egyptian paper), issue No. 3306I, June I7, I977.
p. 3 and I2.

44. The National Charter, op.cit. pp. 7I-72.

45. The October Working Paper, op.cit. pp. 37-40.

46. EL-SADAT, President M. A. Speech given before the Supreme Council
of Universities, January 30, I977. Al-Ahram, issue No. 32924,
January 3I, I977.
also President's speech to the nation on February 3, I977.
Al-Akhbar (Daily Egyptian paper), Year 25, issue No. 7687, February
4, I977.

47. The average GNP per capita in I970 was only 2I0 U.S. dollars
which is seen as one of the lowest throughout the Middle Eastern
area.
see AHMAD, Y. J. Absorptive capacity of the Egyptian economy, an
examination of problems and prospects. Paris: O E C D, I976.
Table 2.b p. I8.
see also EL-GHANNAM, M. A. 'Development, human resources and
adult education', paper presented to the International Expert Panel
on Adult Education and Development with Special Reference to the
Arab States, Sirs-El-Layyan: 29 November-9 December I975.
Table I, p. I3.

48. EL-GHANNAM, M.A. ibid.

50. HANSEN, B. and NASHASHIBI, K. Foreign trade regimes and economic
development: Egypt. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research,
I975. pp. 222-223 also Table 8.6 p. 224.

49. The October Working Paper, op.cit. p. 64.

5I. SZYLIOWICZ, J. S. Education and modernization in the Middle East.
London: Cornell University Press, I973. p. 256.

52. APTER, D. E. op.cit. p. 47.

53. WILBER, D. N. United Arab Republic - Egypt: its people, its
society, its culture. New Haven: Hraf Press, I969. p. 94.

54. ibid.

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London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., I964. p. II5
also SMITH, H. H. et al, Area Handbook for the United Arab Republic.
Washington: The American University, Foreign Area Studies, October
I970. p. 277

56. WILBER, D. N. op.cit. p. 99.

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58. ZARTMAN, I. W. op.cit. pp. II4-II6 and II8.

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Bahgat supports the view that Egypt's need at present is for 'stained hands and clean brains'. He laments that all hands in Egypt have turned into 'soft hands' only for stamping signatures and giving instructions while no one produces or stains his hands at work.

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63. THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, The Permanent Constitution, I97I. article 49.   (Arabic text)

64. The National Charter, op.cit. pp. 74-76.

65. The October Working Paper, op.cit. pp. 45-46

66. UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, MINISTRY OF PLANNING. Follow- up and evaluation report on the First Five-Year Plan 1960/61 - 1964/65 . Part I, Follow-up and evaluation of development basic facts. Cairo: I966. p. 57.

67. The National Charter, op.cit. p. 53.

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69. ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, MINISTRY OF PLANNING The Five-Year Plan 1978-1982. Vol. 2: Egyptian Man - Education, Scientific Research, Training and Manpower Planning. Cairo: I977. p. I7.

70. YOUSSEF, Y. K. and EID, W. M.   op.cit. p. 32.

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74. ROGERS, J. and GROOMBRIDGE, B. Right to learn: the case for adult equality. London: Arrow Books Limited, 1976. p. 13.

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see ROBERTSON, R. and NETTL, J. P. International systems and the modernization of societies, the formation of national goals and attitudes. London: Faber and Faber, 1968. pp. 42-57.

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New York: Syracuse University, 1975. pp. 13-14.

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"The development and organisation of adult education in Kenya with special reference to African rural development 1945-1970", Edinburgh University, 1971.

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Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967. pp 2-5.

82. COLES, E. T. Adult education in developing countries
London: Pergamon Press, 1969. p. 3.

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86. UNESCO, Third International Conference on Adult Education.
                    Final . Report
Paris: UNESCO, 1972. p. 13.

87. ibid.

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Coombs argues that '.. in contrast to the relative neatness and
coherence of the formal education system, nonformal educational
activities are an untidy mélange that defies simple description,
or the diagnosis and measurement of systematic planning. Few nations
have even a moderately good inventory of their present activities
in this realm, much less an assesment of future needs and how best
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PART TWO

PROBLEM INTELLECTUALISATION

Having stated a problem in a rather brief and vague manner, a researcher following the 'Problem approach' has to go deeper. Holmes agrees with Dewey on the necessity of analysing or 'intellectuali ing' it, i.e. turning what has so far been stated as a 'confused situation' into a a 'problem' with specific dimensions. This is made through an analysis of the data relevant to the problem. Besides helping the clearer formulation of the nature of the confused situation, intellectualisation 'sharpens the foci' of a researcher on specific aspects and relations to which his attention in later stages of his study will be directed.

How this 'intellectualisation' is reached, has to do with the concpetion of 'inconsistency' that Holmes envisages between any and/or the normative, institutional and environmental realms. Such inconsistency may be guided by reflection on the three major explosions that the world has witnessed, especially since the mid-twentieth century, namely explosion of population, of expectations and of knowledge. When these are not met by proportionate change in any educational, social or economic aspect, an inconsistency arises which needs detailed analysis.

In the present study, the aspirations for modernity in Egypt since 1952 have far exceeded the availability of an adult 'modern' base on whom the realization of proposals largely depends. In this line, the argument is made in capters 2, 3 and 4 which form this part. Chapter 2 deals with the 'change' aspect showing how the modernity proposals in Egypt have changed since 1952. 'No-change' is dealt with through an analysis of the two areas that have, more than others, crippled the realization of proposals, namely the unmodified attitudes of the Egyptian adult masses, and skill inadequacy. Both are dealt with in chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

Chapter Two

Change: Modernity Proposals Before and After 1952

When modernity proposals in the Arab Republic of Egypt
are dealt with, 1952 is taken as a transitionalist date that
seperates two distinguishable epochs: the pre- and the post-
revolutionary. However, a further limitation has still to be
made as regards the initiation of the pre-1952 era. This date
is suggested to be 1923 which, similar to 1952, stands as an
important landmark in Egypt's modern history. By that date,
Egypt had resumed its constitutional democratic life as
a partially independent country, after a long period of suspension
since 1883. The 1923 Constitution remained the main document
that unfolded the aspired for norms until the mid-century.
Except for an entrim period between October 1930 and December
1935, when a substitute constitution more favourable to the
Royal authority was imposed, writers agree to take it as the
main document regulating Egyptian life and expressing the
peoposals that the country was aspiring for until the
Constitution was cancelled in December 1952.[I]

The setting from which the pre-revolution modernity proposals sprang

A. The Political Setting

With the British Occupation of Egypt in 1882, the country's
position as an independent state within the Ottoman Empire was
violently shaken. Soon after, the constitution that

had been in action until then, was cancelled in line with
Lord Doverein's suggestions of I883.[2] In place of the
old democratic setting, Doverein's 'Organic Law' (I883)
provided for representative institutions, provincial
councils, Legislative Committee, and General Assembly. However,
these were 'purely consultative and had no influence on
policy'.[3] Feeling that the new setting that emerged was
imposed rather than chosen by free will, helped as well
to shape the national objectives at the end of the nineteenth
and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Led by the
'National Party' and its leader Mustafa Kamel, the country
had its political aspirations centred round two proposals:
independence, and constitutional democratic rule which,
however ununderstandable to the illiterate masses, were
agreed upon as the national goals worth of struggle.

With the resignation of Lord Cromer in I908, the British
showed more understanding to the national goals. In_stead of
allowing a complete constitutional life at one dose, Sir Eldon
Ghorest, Cromer's successor, tended to broaden the scope of
tasks undertaken by the 'Provincial Councils'. These councils
were granted more independence and elasticity in practising
their tasks. Furthermore, he cancelled the 'Consultative
Committee' and the 'General Assembly' that had so far existed
and issued a law according to which more importance was

attached to the 'Legislative Committee'. The attempt, however,

did not appeal to the masses who were successfully mobilized

by the 'National Party'. The 'Legislative Committee', even

with a broader scope of tasks, was basically consultative

in most matters. It had not the right of initiating

legislations or censorship. What was more important from the

point of view of Professor Rateb is that the Cabinet of

Ministers was not responsible before it.[4] The first elections

for this 'Legislative Committee' were made in I9I3, and its

elected members met for the first time in January I9I4.

They practised their tasks for approximately . five months

only, at the end of which the. 'Committee' was suspended

due to the conditions of the First World War and the

declaration of Egypt as a 'British Protectorate'.

The outbreak of the World War (I9I4-I9I9) served to

indicate the strategic importance of Egypt and its Canal

to the British interests. On the opposite side, the incidents

of the War gave rise to another matter which proved more

influential on the development of the political aspirations

until I952. Encouraged by President Wilson's pronouncement

of the principles of self-determination (I9I7), the Egyptian

leaders began to press harder for the attainmant of political

independence and for separate representation at the 'Peace

Conference'. By late I9I8, al-Wafd al-Misri (The Egyptian

Delegation) emerged under the leadership of Sa'ad Zaghloul,
as a broadly based nationalist political organization which
held a very high standing in Egyptian politics as the most
powerful of all Egyptian parties until the liquidation of
all parties in 1953.

The unrest that prevailed the country due to the failure
of the nationalist leaders to get a hearing at Paris, induced
the British Government to send a special mission headed by
Lord Milner in 1922 to explore the probable solutions. The
mission proposed the renunciation of the Protectorate, the
declaration of Egypt as an independent country, and the convention
of an alliance treaty between Egypt and Britain to ensure the
respect of the British and foreign interests. However,
the negotiations failed. Soon after, the Lloyd George Government
gave the famous '28th February 1922 Declaration', according to
which Egypt was proclaimed an 'independent sovereign' but,
with four reservations left subject to further negotiations
and which included: security of the British Empire Communications
through Egypt, defence of Egypt by Britain against all forms
of foreign aggression, protection of foreign interests and
protection of minorities in Egypt, and the _postponement_ of any
decision of the status of the Sudan until further agreement.[5]

Feeling that the 'Declaration' was announced only on
one part, and that it did not give the 'complete' independence

the leaders had aspired to accomplish,drove the matter of

the accomplishment of complete political independence

at the top of the goals that all the political parties

until 1952 worked to accomplish.

B. The Economic Setting

The First World War witnessed the consolidation of the

'laissez-faire' economic policy in Egypt according to which

the State abdicated from the commanding position it had held

over economy during the reign of Mohammed Ali (1805-1849).

To O'Brien, it retreated further from interference with

production than any time since 1800.[6] Its commercial policy

was characterized by free trade and no restriction was put

on capital movement across the frontiers. Until the early 1920's

she had not got a central bank or attention forms on the

money supply.

The economy until 1920 was predominantly agricultural

and even more, with specialization in the cultivation of

one crop 'cotton', the size of which increased from

3,100,000/in 1879 to 7,700,000 in 1918, i.e. it more than
       cantars

doubled in less than forty years.[7] Thus, the total area

cultivated with cotton alone rose from 11.5% of the

cultivable land in 1882 to about 22.5% in 1914.[8]

With the continuation of such a policy, the agricultural

sector remained dominantly the biggest and the balance

with other economic sectors was lost. /2.3 millions
In 1907,

representing 70.3% of the whole manpower were engaged in

agricultural production. By 1917, the number amounted to

about four millions [9] who represented 68%. [10]

Industry, as will later be indicated, was stagnant

throughout the first two decades of the 20th century, with

even a tendency of decline in the number of its absorbants

as indicated in table 3.

Table 2.1

Percentage Distribution of Labour Force by Economic Activity [11]

1897-1927

Years	1897	1907	1917	1927
Agriculture	68.0	70.0	68.5	67.0
Industry	11.5	11.5	11.5	10.6
Transportation and commerce	8.0	7.6	10.0	12.5
Services	12.5	10.9	10.0	9.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Rather than supporting industry, the economic policy of

that time gave priority in public expenditure to the execution
were
of schemes that thought more relevant to the country's

economic growth.[12] Almost all attention was given to
irrigation, drainage and other sectors related to agriculture.
The Aswan Dam was built in 1902, heightened in 1907 and 1910,
Zefta Barrage was established in 1901 and 1902, Assiut
Barrage in 1902, and Isna Barrage between 1905 and 1908.[13]
Such was the attention given at that time to agriculture
that an American scholar could only describe it as an
'agricultural revolution'.[14]

As for industry, no measures were taken to encourage
and protect it until World War I. The 8% tax imposed in
1901 by the government on all cotton manufactures led only
to the depression of the existing industries.[15] A system of
loans and other facilities was not available. Industrial
schools were inadequate both quantitatively and qualitatively
for the satisfaction of the industrial expansion with the
trained manpower required.[16]

Egyptian investors, on the other hand, were reluctant
to invest their money in industry. Investment in industry
amidst the country's unstable socio-economic conditions
represented a greater risk than investment in property or
other sectors.[17]

Absence of protection for industry under the 'open-door'
policy that the government followed served to deal heavy blows
to the existing industries of the day. Only a few companies

survived under the 'open-door' policy, and even this few

suffered greatly during the crisis of 1907. Between

1907 and 1914, 26 companies with a paid-up capital of LE.

2,251,000 or 26.8% of the total industrial capital were

liquidated.[18]

The social setting of that time had an influence

that cannot be ignored. The emergence of a powerful class

of large landowners that grew under the system of

lanownership was a characteristic of the Egyptian economy

throughout the nineteenth and during the early decades of

the twentieth centuries.[19] With the majority of the

labour force living on agriculture, the distribution of

ownership became relevant. Such a distribution, by the end

of the 19th century, was clearly uneven, but was aggravating

more in the earlier decades of the 20th century. In 1896, the

number of large landowners (who possessed over 50 feddans)

amounted to 12,475 or 1% only of the total landowners the

number of whom was 1,153,749. These rich landowners

possessed 2,366,602 feddans or 45.3% of the total agricultural

land area out of 5,289,277 feddans. At the other

end , 87.2% of the landowners possessed less than 5 feddans

each,with a total area of 1,264,084 feddans or 24.5%. In 1914

and 1918, the largerlandowners possessed 43.9% and 42.0%

of the total land respectively while they represented no more

than 0,8% and 0,7% of the total number of owners respectively.(20)

In the two decades that preceded the rise of the
1952 Revolution, the rural population grew from 10,579,000
in 1929 to 13,700,000 in 1950 meanwhile the number of
landless families as a precentage of the total rural families
grew from 24% to 44%. The number of lanholding families
declined. from 1207 to 997 during the same period. This
explains the aggravation to which social injustice has
sunk in the middle of the 20th century as indicated in table 2.2.

Table 2.2

(21)
Number of landless families in rural Egypt before the Revolution.
(in thousands)

Agricult. census Yr.	Rural Pop.	No. of rural families	No. of landholding families	No. of landless families	Landless families as a percentage of total rural families
1929	10.579	2116	1207	508	24%
1939	11.664	2333	993	887	38%
1950	13.700	3740	997	1217	44%

The population growth since the outset of the 20th century
added to the grinding effect of the uneven distribution of
landownership making the gap between the rich and the poor
even wider. The per-capita share of cultivated land declined
from 0.53 feddans in 1897 to 0.39 in 1927, a drop of about 27%
over a period of 30 years. As for the per capita of the cropped

land, it dropped from 0.7I feddans to 0.48 during the same
period, a drop of about 32%.[22]

One more effect of the uneven land distribution, was
concerned with class stratification which, in turn, had its
effect on the ongoing political and economic affairs during
that period. The large landowners, whatever the ethnic and
social differences among them, formed on the whole, a
distinguished coherent class: the 'agrarian bourgeoisie'.
Their material status enabled them, amidst the unstable
conditions of the day,to be most influential in all spheres
of the Egyptian life. They came to occupy the top of the social
hierarchy and hence, political authority forming a class that
looked down upon the wide masses of landless and poor peasants
who lived almost at subsistence. With time, both political
and economic policies were easily directed the way that
protected their interests. To Mabro and Radwan, their privileged
   position:
   "enabled them to dominate the country's political institutions.
   They were referred to as "representatives of real interests"
   in the country. Successive governments made sure that their
   economic policies were primarily designed to protect and
   promote those "real interests".[23]

Modernity Proposals 1923-1952

General Norms

From the above preconditions emerged the aspirations
that the leaders in the pre-revolution era hoped to see
realized. Such aspirations found expression in the 1923
Constitution as well as in other political documents. All
these aspirations were mainly drawn from the goals of the
1919 outburst led by Sa'ad Zaghloul, and which can be put
under four broad ones:

1. The accomplishment of complete national sovereignty by
ending the remaining phases of foreign occupation
particularly the 'four reservations' included in the 28th
February 1922 Declaration.

2. The abolition of 'Foreign Capitulations'[24] so that
a fair chance might be given to Egyptian citizens to
share in the fields of industrial and commercial activity.

3. The establishment of a democratic constitutional rule
in which the people share in the affairs of the country
through their representatives.

4. To have a more firm presence of the state whether in
politics or in economy in a way that might put some
limitation on the tyranny of the class of feudalists

and rich capitalists. This was envisaged as a necessary step
if the rising middle class ,.   .. .   and espcially its
intellectual elements,were to participate in the rule and
in the issuance of the political, economic and social legislations.[25]

As for the economic realm, the aspirations were mainly
concerned with the reform of the imbalance in the economic
structure that the incidents of the World War I had served
to show. Industry had to be given a place side by side with
the dominant agricultural sector.

Talat Harb, together with a group of nationalist economists
raised the call for a more sound Egyptian economy to serve
the interests of the whole Egyptian nation and limit the
excessive role played by the foreigners. Their call was the
seed of what came to be the 'egyptianisation' and the
'diversification' of the Egyptian economy. The first, aimed
at encouraging the Egyptians by all means to take hold of
their economy through limiting the excessive role undertaken
by foreigners and which flourished under the system of
'Capitulations'. The second trend was fired by the report
of the 'Agriculture and Industry Committee' (1917) to which
further reference will be made. The Committee suggested a
new policy for industrialization in Egypt capable of protecting
the country from the harms of complete dependence on cotton

cultivation with the incessant shakes it caused to the Egyptian **economy** due to the fluctuations of cotton prices in world markets which Egypt had no control of.

Proposed Norms in the Political Realm

The Constitution

The I923 Constitution, prepared by a group of thirty distinguished characters appointed by the King soon after the declaration of the country's 'partial' independence, was to express the national aspirations that the I9I9 outburst fostered. Yet, of no less importance is that the Constitution was presented as a 'grant' from the King as he expressed in the Royal Decree on April I9, I923. Thus, the Constitution sprang, not from the popular will that watches over the respect of its text, but from the will of the King who granted it and had the right to stop it.[26]

Legislature

The norms of the democratic rule as regards legislature, political parties, the executive, judiciary and others were included in the texts of the I923 Constitution.

According to the Constitution, the legislative authority was to be undertaken by the King in collaboration with the Parliament.[27] The two-chamber Parliament for Notables

and Senates was instituted by direct universal suffrage
except for two fifths of the Senate members to be appointed
by the King (article 73). Parliament members were to
represent the whole nation, and the executive authority
had no obligatory rights to impose upon them (article 9I).
All provinces and governorates were to elect their
representatives on equal footing in accordance with the
number of population. One Senate member was to be elected
for every governorate or province with 90,000 to I80,000
(30,000 to 60,000 in the case of notables). Small governorates
with a population less than 90,000 were to elect their
senate members unless they are added to another governorate
or province (article 75).

Parliament members were to be elected periodically.
Membership was limited by ten years for the Senates and
five years for the Notables (articles 79 and 86 respectively).
Half the appointed Senators and half the elected have to
be replaced each five years. However, the Senator, whose
membership has ended   got the right for another period
(article 79).

Political Parties

'Political Parties' which had even existed before the
promulgation of the I923 Constitution, were allowed in

compliance with articles I2, I4 and 2I of the Constitution. They were allowed to undertake their role as one of the three forces that dominated the political scene until I952: the King, the political parties and the British authorities.

The Executive

The 'Executive Authority' according to the text of the Constitution was left heavily to the discrete of the King (article 29). It was the responsibility of the King to appoint and retire officials in accordance with the law (article 44). The Ministers were no exception, their appointment and retirement was affirmed in article 49 as the King's right.

However, the King's executive authority was not left absolute by the Constitution. The upperhand of the executive authority was, according to the text, supposed to be the Cabinet's (article 57). Articles 48 and 6I showed how the authority was to be delegated from the King to the Cabinet with the latter as the body responsible before the Chamber of Notables in all the matters concerned with the public policy of the state.

Hence, the problem tended to be not with the texts of the Constitution itself as it was with the defective application of these texts in the political life of the country.

Judiciary

Judiciary was independent by the text of the Constitution. No authoruty had the right to interfere in the work of judges (article I22). Judges were to enjoy immunity against dismissal from their posts or transference except as organized by law (article I25).

Individual liberty, equality, ownership, belief, worship and opinion were recognized by law (articles 2-22). The Egyptian individuals had the right of assembly but with some stated restrictions as precautions for the maintenance of social system (article 20).

Proposed Norms in the Economic Realm

In his analysis of the Egyptian economy, Professor Saeed admits that the period that preceded the outbreak of the I952 Revolution had no clear stable line. 'There were no drawn goals that the govenments worked to realize in Egypt'.[28] But, a review of the aspirations expressed by such nationalist political leaders as Mustafa Kamel and Mohammed Farid, or economists as Talat Harb, shows that there were, at least, four broad goals in the economic realm during the three decades that preceded the I952 Revolution:

(I) Encouraging Egyptian industry to expand, protecting it from unfair competitions. Thus, the dominantly agrarian

economy that depended almost completely until that time,
on cotton cultivation would be diversified. The violent
shakes caused by the fluctuation in the cotton prices in
world markets would more likely be avoided if Egypt had
other sectors to depend on apart from agriculture.

(2) A fairer distribution of wealth for the benefit of
the suffering masses. This objective was initially raised
by the masses that participated in the 1919 outburst,
but was accepted with caution and even with resentment
on the part of the ruling classes. It should be noted that
the ministers and the political party leaders alike were
mostly wealthy landowners who had naturally no sympathy
for such claims but could not show such feelings explicitly.

(3) A more effective role to be played by the state in
directing the Egyptian economy in accordance with the
national interests. Running in the same line with this goal
was to have the economy organized in accordance with stable
rules. The economy should be subject to some 'planning'
so that the country might avoid the previous economic
relapses represented in the foreign debt that started
in the 1860's and was ever with the country since then,
and until it was ended in 1943.[29]

(4) Putting some limit on the ever expanding role undertaken
by foreign capitalists in Egyptian economy. The 'Capitulations
System' under which such role was consolidated had to give
place to a more fitting formula that regards the country's intrests.

Climate for the Shift in Modernity Proposals

The mid-twentieth century came over Egypt while the general climate was prepared for some new modernity proposals to work for. Rather than from the ecstasy of success, the need for change sprang from the bitterness of failure. The three preceding decades had witnessed clear deterioration in the country's conditions in almost all realms.

Politically, the attempt at a modern political system that had started since the promulgation of the I923 Constitution, proved slow and ineffective. The democratic institutions, founded in accordance with the Constitutional text, could not touch the lives and aspirations of the masses, and hence failed to motivate them to participate actively. The Constitution itself was stopped for over five years, and its text was violated several times by the ruling classes. The proclamation of martial laws most of the time between I937 and 1952 served more to create an anti-democratic climate that led to instability. It was thus that a step forward toward the accomplishment of 'Political Democracy' remained unfulfilled until the outbreak of the I952 Revolution.

On the other hand, the Egyptian economy could not be launched in the direction of modernity. The country remained dominantly agricultural despite the two attempts at industrialization. The experience with the two five-year plans in the I930's and I940's was not encouraging. A clear role for the State in economy was actually started, but had to keep away from the interests of the feudalists and capitalists who were most influential.

However, some four elements had special role in the shift in modernity proposals :

I. The emergence of an Egyptian cultural movement

In the I930's and I940's, Egypt witnessed the relative flurish of an intellectual movement at the hands of some Egyptian thinkers whose works served to spread, among the individuals of the middle as well as the poor classes, some progressive outlooks. New terms such as 'progressiveness', 'social justice', 'equality of opportunities' and 'political democracy' began to be heard. Furthermore, a brave wave of criticism of the social ills from which the society suffered, was led by such eminent figures as Tawfik el-Hakim, Taha Hussein, Ahmad Hussein and many others. Tawfik el-Hakim criticized the futility and showiness of the democratic system.[30] Taha Hussein objectively analysed the Egyptian culture in the light of other cultures concentrating on the necessity of deserting the traditional outlooks that had created a wide gap between the Egyptian society and the modern ones of the West.[31] Ahmad Hussein preached social justice and the necessity to have radical change in the social structure and relations in the Egyptian society.[32]   The writings of the above figures left on the Egyptian society what the writings of Rousseau, Montesquieu
Montisque, Voltaire and others had done in France in so far as the preparation of a new climate for change is concerned.

2. The culmination of class struggle

The odd division that characterized the Egyptian society in the first half of the twentieth century had a driving force on the shift in modernity proposals since the early I950's.

According to Issawi, the Egyptian society was classified into landowners, bourgeoisie, urban petty bourgeoisie, town workmen and peasantry.[33] Nevertheless, two distinct classes encompassed the majority of the population. At the top of the social scale, there was the very rich and influential class represented by almost five per cent[34] of the whole population, and whose individuals were strong enough to safeguard their inherited rights and re-inforce them day after day. The second encompassed the vast majority of the population: farmers, farm labourers and workmen, etc. whose social, economic and cultural conditions imposed on them to be placed on the other extreme. Their influence on the ongoing affairs of the country was, on the whole, very limited. There was as well a middle class, or as it it was sometimes called 'the class of bourgeoisie',[35] which was mostly formed of officials: doctors, engineers, lawyers and officers most of whom were sons of the poor class who were lucky enough to get some sort of education. The majority of this class were, nevertheless, tortured between their belongingness to the poor class and their wild aspirations to join the rich one. Whatever was their number, they were too weak to be able to destroy the exploitation and monopoly exercised by the upper class or to purify the administration from corruption.[36] Amidst such a division, class struggle emerged and aggravated in the pre-revolution era.

3. Futility of the Democratic Façades

Despite the institutional establishments brought forth

in accordance with the 1923 Constitution including the Parliament,
political parties, judiciary, press, ... etc., the spirit of
genuine democracy was lacking.

Forgery of the will of the poor masses was practised on
a large scale. Whether in the countryside or in the towns,
peasants and workmen were nominally free to choose their
represntatives and practise their political rights, but, in fact,
were far from doing so. The prevailing illiteracy among the vast
majority of them was a big impediment. Besides, there was pressure
pracised on the part of the influential classes, feudalists,
capitalists and the like to forge their will, or at least, direct
it the way that served the latter's interests, to quote an Egyptian
scholar:

> " Feudalists robbed the peasants of their political rights
> taking the advantage of their affiliation to them. Hence,
> freedom was practised only by feudalists. Likewise, monopolists
> and capitalists robbed the political rights of industrial
> workers in the presence of the trade unions that were merely
> toys in the hands of such capitalists." (37)

Parliament members cared, if any, very little for the interests
of the people whom they claimed to represent. 'Their presence',
says Issawi,' makes itself felt at election times. Otherwise,
they tend to leave the peasants alone'.(38)

Amidst the showiness of the democratic façades, the country
lost a good chance of having a sound popular organization to
encompass and lead the popular stuggle. The political parties
could do so, had they tended to give the poor masses a fair
chance of membership side by side with the feudalists and
capitalists. The tendency to ignore the masses led the political

parties more and more into alliance with the King, the foreign powers and the feudalists. Thus was formed a state that Nasser described as:

"a limited company for theft and robbery in which the people had no share".(39)

Amidst the showiness and futility of the democratic façades in the pre-1952 Egypt, the country fell into a state of political instability felt most in the period that followed the end of World War II. One clear indicator of such instability was the number of new cabinets formed, some of which lasted only for a few weeks, others even for days.(40)   Another indicator is the acts of violence particularly the assasination of political leaders among whom Prime Ministers, Ministers and party chiefs. Such a move reached zenith in the mid 1940's and continued until the outbreak of the Revolution. Dekmejian's study on the political development of Egypt asserts that:

"The period from 1945 to 1952 can best be described as one of protracted violence where, due to progressive decrease in traditional-legal legitimacy, there was increasing reliance on force as a means of control. The chain of political assasinations by Ikhwan and the Green Shirts were an unmistakable sign of deepening crisis. The only institution that had not been directly involved in the conflict before 1948 was the military establishment." (41)

4. The Aggravation of Social Injustice

The wide distinctions between the rich and the poor classes which have already been mentioned earlier in this chapter(42), continued and was even aggravated until the mid-twentieth century.

Landownership as one indicator of income distribution may
fit with an agricultural country like Egypt. Of the owners
of the agricultural land in Egypt, only 0,4% owned 34,2%
of the cultivable area while the remaining 99,6% owned
65.8% [43] Furthermore, while 72% of the total population
at mid-century owned 13.1% of the land, sixty individuals
only owned an average of 4545,2 feddans each. [44] It was
counted that the average land holdings for the above mentioned
0,4% was 171,3 feddans each, while 96% of the owners possessed only
the third of the total cultivable area with an average of
0,8 feddans each. [45] Table 2.3 indicates the distribution
of landownership in 1950.

<u>Table 2.3</u>

Distribution of landownership in Egypt in 1950 [46]

Bracket	Landowners 000	Area owned	Average individual ownership
Less than 5	2600,2	2104,1	0,8
5 - 10	80,0	531,0	6,6
10-20	45,1	626,7	13,6
20-30	31,1	313,1	22,9
30-50	9,4	351,6	37,6
50 and over	11,9	2036,2	171,3
Total	2760,8	5962,7	2,2

Taking shares as another indicator shows that 4,I% of the

share holders owned 48,6% of the total share value, and

that 2,2% of the share holders, whose number did not exceed

twenty six individuals,had an average share possession of

LE 976,384 each.[47]

The gap between rich and poor became wider year after

year by the low rate of development in the National Income

as well as the National Production compared to the rapidly

rising rate of population growth. From I933 to I950, the average

annual growth rate in National Production did not exceed

2,5% [48] and the average annual growth rate in the National

Income was only I,5%, while the average annual growth rate

in population was I,9%. [49] This worsened the economic conditions

of the poor masses much more than it did to the rich classes.

The rate of increase in the area under cultivation throughout

the first half of the twentieth century averged 0,5% annually, [50]

which, amidst the high population growth rate that far exceeded

that rate,dealt a heavy blow to the per-capita share of land

as has already been mentioned[51] and affected the standard of

living of the masses greatly. Besides, there was the deteriorating

productivity of the Egyptian soil which was felt in the I940's.

Out of six million feddans under cultivation, there was about

20% of poor land,the productivity of which was affected by a

number of factors, alinity, alkalinity ... etc.[52]

From the above climate flared up the I952 Revolution
with an enthusiastic desire to make up for long underdevelop-
ment and accomplish modernity in Egypt both politically and
economically. The analysis of change in modernity proposals
and institutions throughout the twenty five years of
revolutionary regime need be made in accordance with the
three distinctive stages already mentioned in chapter one. [53]

The first of the three is often defined as the 'three years
transition period', [54] while some, espcially economists, see it
rather a four-year period until I956. [55] During this period,
attention was almost wholly directed the gaining of recognition
for the new rule both on the home and the foreign fronts.
Having no set of detailed programmes of action, the leaders
could only present six major principles or goals on the eve
of the Revolution:

- The eradication of imperialism and its agents.

-The extinction of feudalism.

- The eradication of monopolies, as well as the control of
  capitalistic influence over the system of government.

- the establishment of a strong army.

- The accomplishment of social justice.

- The establishment of a sound democratic life. [56]

The second covers the period from I956 to I96I. It started
with the promulgation of the I956 constitution in place of
the old one which the new leaders had stopped since December I952

The provision of the 1956 Constitution remained almost unchanged throughout the period eventhough the country entered an experiment of unity with Syria under the 'united Arab Republic' (1958-1961). During the unity, a new constitution was promulgated in 1958 but was almost a copy of the 1956 Constitution.

The third covers the period from 1961 to the present day, and is characterized by the issue of the 'National Charter' in 1962 and which has eversionce remained the major source of inspiration for all subsequent documents including the 1964 Constitution, the 30th March Declaration (1968), the Permanent Constitution (1971) and the October Working Paper (1974).

Modernity Proposals Since 1952

a) 1952-1956

I. Political Realm

The revolutionary proposals raised on the eve of the Revolution, general and vague as they were, carried within them the determination to adopt a different line from that of the pre-revolution era. The order of the goals to be sought shows that the freedom of the country was given priority over the freedom of the individual. Without the attainment of the first, the second would only remain

an unrealized dream.

The conception of the new leaders as regards
'sound democracy' was, in the first period, far from
compliance with the 'modern' democratic system as indicated
by Shils. However, the criticism of the revolutionary
conception of 'plitical democracy' has to take into
consideration the many challenges that were encountered
during the period.

Stopping the 1923 Constitution meanwhile a substitute
was not at hand **meant** the resort to emergency measures
in the form of commands from the 'Revolution Command
Council' in collaboration with the Cabinet of Ministers.
Hence, the country remained without constitution until 1956.
Beisdes, the showiness of the political parties in the pre-revol-
ution period served to direct the conception of political
parties to a line that defies the norms of 'political
democracy'. The seeds of the 'one-party system' could be
traced to the early period of the Revolution.

Participation in public affairs was suggested to be
through the 'Liberation Rally' (1953)the purpose of which was:

"to prepare the people to participate on a national scale
in the new political parties that we hoped to create
befoe the third anniversary of the Revolution'. (57)

The above declaration by the head of the Revolution Command

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* Shils' views on 'Political development in the new States'
will be elaborated in detail in chapter 5 of the study.

Council shows that the idea of different political parties
was not altogether discarded until that time. The programme
of the 'Liberation Rally' was to cover eleven tasks:

I. Complete and unconditional withdrawal of British troops
from the Nile Valley.

2. Self-determination of the Sudan.

3. The aspirations of the people will be expressed in
a new constitution.

4. The 'welfare state' through a social system in which all
citizens will be entitled to protection against unemployment,
illness and old age.

5. An economic system designed to encourage a fair distribution
of wealth, full exploitation of natural and human resources,
and the maximum investment of new capital.

6. A political system in which all citizens shall be equal
before the law and in which freedom of speech, assembly, press,
and religion shall be guranteed within the limits of the law.

7. An educational system designed to develop a sense of
social responsibility by impressing youth with its duties
and rights.

8. Friendly relations with all Arab states.

9. A regional pact designed to increase the influence of the
Arab League.

IO. Friendly relations with all friendly powers.

II. Firm adherence to the principles of the United Nations.[58]

The above principles,on which the first political organization
initiated by the revolution was to function,accord with
the ideals of political modernity, particularly the sixth
which gave special regard to the equality of all before the
law, and the gurantee given for free press, speech and assembly.
However, one major difference should be taken into account
when comparing the 'Liberation Ralley' with subsequent
revolutionary organizations as the 'National Union (1957-1961)
or the 'Arab Socialist Union' (1962-1978), is that the 'Liberation
Ralley' was not meant to be a political party but rather, as
Nasser meant it to be, "a body that would organize the
people's forces and overhaul the social setup. The Liberation
Ralley is the school where the people will be taught how to
elect their representatives properly." (59)

Policy formulation was almost totally laid in the hands
of the new leaders jointly with Cabinet of Ministers, and both
called for the assistance of newly established councils such
as 'The Permanent Council for National Production' (1952) which
was an independent body attached to the Cabinet Office and
presided over by the Prime Minister, or the 'Council For Public
Services (1953)'.

No substitute was suggested in place of the
cancelled 1923 Constitution except a brief one made by the
Revolution Command Council in 1953 but which placed almost all
authority in their hands. Policy adoption remained largely in
the hands of the new leaders and Cabinet members. Hence, it is
hard to trace modern political democracy proposals in the first
years of the revolution.

2. Economic Realm

Whether the Revolution leaders have got, since the outbreak of their movement in 1952 an 'economic ideology' other than the redistribution of land ownership, is a controversial issue. Mabro, an economist who lived in Egypt for a period, suggests that the revolution leaders 'had from the beginning other objectives' of which he gives mention to economic diversification and the consolidation of State's role in economic affairs.[60]

In contrast with Mabro's view, another economist, O'Brien, favours the view that the new leaders were without an economic ideology at the outset of their revolutionary regime.[61]

The writer of the present study is more inclined to accept O'Brien's view which seems to be supported by the economic analysis made by some Egyptian economists, together with the words of the revolution leaders themselves. Amin, an eminent Egyptian scholar, raises a view similar to that of O'Brien affirming 'the relatively modest and traditional character of the economic goals of that period.'[62] Reflection on the six major goals announced on the eve of the Revolution indicates how they hardly go beyond the general statements of opposing feudalism, preventing monopoly and capitalism from dominating the State, and the recognition of the need for social justice.[63] The words of Nasser himself in 1963 support our view:

> "We had the courage, at the beginning of the revolution, to declare that we had no theory, although we did have clearly defined principles. We declared that we would proceed, by trial and error, to construct a theory, we proceeded thus for 10 years." [64]

In the laws issued in the first four years of the revolution it is possible to find clues of the normative trends in the economic realm. Many of these trends, it is admitted, had their origin, in some form or other, in the pre-revolution era. However, three salient trends can be pointed out:

(I) That the distribution of landownership until the mid-twentieth century was unfair and hence, should give place to a fairer form of distribution. Such a trend could easily be exemplified by the Law of Land Reform.

(2) That 'agrarian economy' is no more fitting by itself for a country with a high rate of population growth like Egypt and in which land reclamation is severely limited by access to water.

(3) That effective economic planning should be attempted to avoid the pre-revolution economic shakes.

The concern with the accomplishment of a fairer distribution of landownership in an agricultural country like Egypt has existed in the decades that preceded the I952 Revolution. The norm was there, but the influence of the feudal capital lords was strong enough to keep the status go. Two concrete proposals for land reform were turned down. A law was promulgated in I946 according to which tracts amounting to three thousand feddans were to be distributed among landless peasants in the Gharbia Province between I946-I949. However, the very low

financial status the Egyptian peasants had reached was the greatest impediment. The government tendency to sell its land to landless peasants proved failure as, says Baer, 'the small peasants could not take advantage of the offer, mainly because of the very high immediate payment required'. [65]

The first Law of Land Reform issued by the Revolution came out only forty days after its outbreak, fixing a two hundred feddans on personal ownership with another 100 feddans to children 50 feddans per child. The rest would be distributed among landless peasants. As far as the first Law is concerned, the big land owners had the right of full compensation of the distributed land as well as supplementary charges, and the debt carried 3% interest.

But, land re-distribution had in the minds of the revolution leaders more than the financial bearing. It was taken by them as the means to achieve 'social justice' in the Egyptian society. In this sense, Professor Saeed rejects the delimitation of the significance of land reform to the mere redistribution of land. To him, it is :

"more general and more comprehensive. It is a great social liberation movement from the shackles of feudalism. It is a means for the realization of equal social and political opportunities'." [66]

In addition, the new leaders meant by the law to affect the direction of the investment movement in Egypt that had concentrated heavily on agricultural land in the last decades before the revolution. By the new law, it was hoped that the tide for investments in industry would find a favourable climate.

Hence, the 1952 Law of Land Reform and the subsequent ones were after six goals:

1. Liberation of the agricultural society from the domination of a small class feudalists who stood as well, as a symbol of political and economic exploitation.

2. Lessening the distinctions between various classes and hence, the realization of social peace.

3. Uplifting agriculture and raising the level of production.

4. Finding a more suitable formula for the relation between landlords and tenants.

5. Improving the conditions of agricultural workers by securing a minimum wage.

6. Directing investment and employment to new sectors other than in the possession of agricultural land. [67]

Another major concern in the first four years of the Revolution was the accomplishment of a quick uplift of the existing industries or more specifically, 'giving private investors every possible incentive to place their savings with manufacturing firms'. [68] This trend has required of the revolutionary leaders to issue, at the outset of their regime, some laws which may be taken as reverse to the movement of 'egyptianization' that had been started by Talat Harb in the 1920's. Law No 156 of 1953 gave the right of possessing 51 per cent of the shares of joint stock companies to foreigners while it had been only 49 per cent in Law No 147 of 1947. Furthermore, under the new law, it was made possible that the share issue be open to public subscription regardless of nationality if the required proportion was not

utilized by native citizens within a month.[69] Later on, laws
No 26 and 475 gave the foreign capital more chances and better
facilities than before.

The protection of Egyptian industry was made clear through
a number of legislations. In August I952, the I per cent uniform
ad valorem duty of I932 was raised to 8 per cent. As for machinery,
fuel and important raw materials for industry they were rated less
or even exempted from this levy. The additional ad valorem duty
was extended in I952 and I954 to cover a wider set of items than
those included in the I949 decree until, as Mabro and Radwan state:
'the rates increased to almost prohibitive levels on certain
luxury elements'.[70]

A clear tendency for more effective economic planning had
its origin in the earliest phase of the revolutionary regime.
According to decree No 2I3 of I952, planning was to be undertaken
by an independent body that looks after the realization of the
following goals:
(a) To study the development of agriculture, electricity, commerce,
transport and industry, and to examine the means of internal and
external finance available to these projects.
(b) To prepare an integrated program of national economic development
plan to be carried over three years; pending the completion of
the plan, the Council may present well conceived projects for
immediate execution.
(c) To reorganize domestic markets, promote exports, and attract
both foreign and local capital.[71]

The need, however, arose to create some sort of co-ordination
and balance between the institutions of 'Services' and those
of 'Production'. Such a trend was the drive behind the promulgation
of Law No 493 of 1953 for the establishment of another council
to undertake the realization of the following goals:

a) To study the policies and put the plans for the education,
construction, and social affairs coordinating between them
in a way that leads to social development.

b) To help in assessing and promoting the public services offered
by the State as regards the level of their design, their
organization and orientation in a way that ensures the
people's active responses and participation in social activity.

c) To follow-up the execution of various schemes as well as
undertaking specific studies and researches.

d) To study the work of voluntary organizations within the
Council's scope of interest with the aim of coordinating their
efforts and ensuring the utmost possible effectiveness. (72)

A third cycle in the trend was taken in March 1955 by the issue
                    of 1955
of Law No I4I for the establishment of the 'National Planning
Committee' to drive the cause of economic planning a step further.

Whether the norms behind the economic planning trend were
successfully institutionalized, or proved abortive; (73) the
                    were issued
quickness by which new laws to replace or orient the existing
ones, and the successive changes in the economic realm in the
first years of the revolution formed a difficulty for economists
to trace a clear line in the economic development until 1956.

b) 1956-1961

I. Political Realm

A constitution was drafted by the new leaders in 1956, and was accepted by popular referendum in June 1956. It asserted the trends involved in the six major goals for the revolutionary stride which were announced on the eve of the revolution. Besides, it introduced some new trends directed on the whole, to take the establishment of an Egyptian welfare state within the context of Islamic and nationalist ideals. The 1956 Constitution, to some thinkers, is a "synthesis of reformist ideas in the direction of a welfare state, with Islamic and nationalist concepts."[74]

With the settlement of the cause of complete national independence through the treaty convened with Great Britain in 1954, internal affairs were concentrated upon and were given due attention as might easily be deduced from the Constitution text. Its preamble stated the political aims or proposals in the form of 'contract' between the people themselves. In this, it stands as different from the 1923 Constitution which was given to the Egyptian people as a 'grant' by royal will. The first introducing words of the 1956 Constitution run as follows:

"We, the people of Egypt
inspired by the lesson of the past, and armed with the strong
determination of the present to lay down the broad landmarks
of a future free from fear, from want and free from subjugation;
able to master all our capabilities for a massive positive effort
toward building a welfare society wherein will be assured ...(75)

Then the above introduction was followed by the six major
goals for the revolutionay stride.

The 1956 Constitution declared in its articles that
Egypt is a sovereign, independent democratic Arab Republic
whose people are part of the Arab nation. The Republican
system was strongly affirmed as the basis of the country's
political structure. Continuation of the Republican regime
was taken, in the Constitution text, as political necessity.
It accords with the democratic logic and sovereignty of the
people that were violated under the Monarchy.[76]

However, with the corruption of the old political parties
in the pre-revolutionary era in mind, the formula of divergent
political parties was rejected. The Constitution preached
instead, the one-political organization for the whole nation
within which they might express and practise their political
views and activities. According to article no. 192:

> "The citizens form a 'National Union' to work for the
> realization of the goals for the fulfilment of which
> the Revolution has·broken out and to urge the sound
> structure of the nation politically, socially and
> economically." (77)

Seen against the model of political modern system after the
Western type, this formula is less in accordance with modernity
than in the pre-revolution era. Whatever might be stated·
in justification, it proved to be more harmful to political
democracy than beneficial. Under this one mould dominated
by the State, passivity and showiness in political action
were more than ever, prevalent on the part of the masses.[78]

The 'Presidential' system of government was adopted with the President of the Republic undertaking the greatest share in the responsibility of rule. President was made the head of the Cabinet as well.

The Constitution recognized the three authorities: the legislative, the executive and the judiciary, and a line of differentiation between the three was drawn. Co-operation between the legislative and the executive was arranged, and the authority of the Parliament members was ascertained as regards the right to question Ministers and prevent trust from them.[79] On the other hand, judiciary was recognized as independent, as has been the case with the 1923 Constitution, and the judges were stated as immune against any harms due to the tasks they undertake.[80]

Individual freedom was given a heavy weight in the 1956 Constitution. In part 2 (articles 30-63), the public rights and obligations of individuals were dealt with and can be classified under the following major trends:

I. That all Egyptians are equal in their rights and duties without any discrimination on the basis of race, language, religion or belief. (article 30)

2. Freedom of worship, expression, scientific research, the

press and peacable assembly is guranteed within the limits

allowed by law. (articles 43-46)

3. For the first time in the modern history of Egypt, women

were given the same franchise rights as men.

4. Education as a right to all Egyptians (article 49).

5. The right of employment is a commitment of the state towards

Egyptian individuals (article 52).

6. The right to unionization was secured. (article 55).

Seen against the ideal typical modernity (that will be

elaborated in ch. 5), it is clear that the I956 Constitution

represented a change towards sound 'political democracy'.

The affirmation of the principle of equality, which Shils
(81)

gives due attention in political modernity, is evident.

Freedom   for individuals to express themselves

by all means was guranteed. Recognition of universities and the press

a,free institutions for public opinion accords with the ideals
(82)

of typical modernity.   More important still, is the grant

of franchise to women, which must be taken as indicator of

the zeal for active participation in politics by all

individuals with no regard to sex. One more consolidating

step to the trend toward widening the franchise base is clear

in the Law No 73 for I956 which brought down the age of an

Egyptian elector into eighteen years after it had been

25 and 2I for Senates and Notables respectively in the I923

Constitution. (83)

The I956 Constitution introduced more democratic
trends than the ones that prevailed even in the fist
years of the revolution, and according to which many
key administrstive posts were a privilege for free
officers of the first and second line. The principle
of prefering men of trust (ahl al-thika) to men of
experience (ahl al-khibra) was shaken, but not ended,
by the I956 Constitution. On the one hand, elections
were performed on an expanded franchise basis.
Provisional councils that were initiated in the first
years of the revolution under the supervision of the
Revolution Command Council, as the Presidential Council,
and the Executive Coucils, were to give place to a
relatively more constitutional system to operate.

2. Ecomomic Realm

A climate more favourable to change in economic proposals
was found in Egypt by I956. The new leaders, by that time,
had accomplished a complete national independence that many
former governments had failed to do. Besides, the dispute over
leadership was settled and the legitimacy of the new regime
was ascertained. Anti- revolutionary elements were removed
or driven underground.

From the text of the I956 Constitution, it is possible to
point out three major trends in the economic realm:

I. That the State should practise more control in economic affairs,
a trend that has remained eversince. Government share in development
rose accordingly from about 28 million pounds in I952, to 34 in
I953, 53 in I954 then to 66 in I956 but with vigorous rise
since then amounting to 2400 millions in the I970's. (84)

2. That the diversification of economy through industrialization
-whatever the difficulties encountered in the first four years
of the revolution- should be vigorously pushed meanwhile
horizontal and vertical agricultural expansion should not cease.

3. Planning is necessary, and it should be 'comprehensive'
side by side with the previous sector-wise planning.

The 1956 Constitution gave a clear indicator of what role
the private economic activity should play in the national economy.
In the first place, private activity and private ownership
were recognized (article 3). What is more, private activity
was given gurantees to remain, 'free from state interference'
(article 8). However, according to the same article, some
rules were put expressing a tendency toward 'controlled
capitalistic economy'. In order for the private activity to
enjoy that freedom, the Constitution stated that it should not
'prejudice public interests or endanger the people's security,
or infringe upon their freedom or dignity'(article 8). In this
way, the Constitution called for what might be called a
reconciliation between private and public economic activity
'in the way that ensures social aims and public welfare'(article 10).

The presence of the state in regulating the economic
affairs, which was in the first of the revolutionary periods
hidden behind the arrangements that were designed to attract

both foreign and national capitalists to invest in industry,
showed some change in the second period. State interference
became clearer, and legitimately justified in the country's
constitution. The trend toward state guidance in economy was
even clearer in the field of industry. The trend was justified
by the Minister of Industry in I957 on the grounds that:

> "If capitalists were left free to invest their capital in
> the industries they liked, or were able to det/ermine
> the place, volume and object of their projects in the
> manner they desired without control or supervision or
> guidance from the Government, whose task is to see that
> they avoid ways leading to risks and to protect them from
> the consequences of bad investment, great harm would
> befall the public welfare. It has been observed that this
> absolute liberty most often leads to the existence of
> industrial projects not needed in any way for the national
> economy". (85)

The call that the state should have more role to play
in Egyptian economy springs, in the I956 Constitution, from
the responsibility of the state toward the living conditions
of all its subjects. According to article I7:

> "The State endeavours to secure a decent living standard for
> every citizen, with the aim of providing food, housing,
> health, cultural and social services for all". (86)

It was accepted that the natural resources should be subject
to firm control on the part of the State. The Constitution
text left no shadow of doubt that:

> "Natural resources, whether subterranean or in territorial
> waters, are the property of the State which it administers
> taking into account the exigencies of national wealth and
> national economy." (article 26)

Economic diversification through industrialization gained more acceptance in the second period of revolutionary development in comparison with the first. A clear tendency to elevate industry within a national industrial programme was embarked upon in I956/57 with five objectives to be attained:

I. To accelerate the rate of growth in the national economy through the industrialization schemes to be carried out particularly the heavy industries. The above plan was thought of as a 'preliminary step for quick industrialization in the future'. [87]

2. To increase the national income through an increase in the investment in industry. The anticipated net increase in income as a result of the execution of the plan was 80 million pounds. The share of industry in the national income is to rise from II% to I9% by the end of the five years.

3. The increase of the chances of employment absorption. It was estimated that the plan would allow a total increase of 500.000 employers.

4. Narrowing the gulf in income and wealth. The increase of individual income especially for the working and the middle class was assumed to help in creating the socialist society that aims at minimum class distinctions. [88]

The special attention given to industry could also be deduced from legislations. Law No 2I of I958 was concerned with the organization and encouragement of industry. It was issued initially

to direct the industrial activity in the country according to
the rules that might fill the gaps in the previous industrialization
attempts, and to allow the utmost possible benefit for the national
economy from the limited development resources. The establishment,
alteration or change of purposes of the industrial firms had to
be licensed by the Ministry of Industry.[89]   The Ministry of
Industry was allowed by law, to give all kinds of technical,
financial and training aid for the encouragement of industry.
All information about the industrial firms was to be presented
to the Ministry of Industry.

As for planning, the success of the trend in the first
revolutionary phase -judged by the number of projects that could
be executed- raised more the value of planning in the eyes of
the leaders. Law No 78 of 1957 was issued intoducing for the
first time in the Egyptian economy the 'long-range' comprehensive
planning through the 'Supreme Council for National Planning'
and the 'National Planning Committee'.[90]   The first, was to be
concerned with defining the economic and social, goals of the State
as well as approving the development plans in various stages.
The second was concerned with the preparation of the general plan
for economic and social development based on the studies it performs
and the projects presented to it by various ministries especially
with regard to the following:

I. Size and kind of the financial, material and human resources
available.

2. Ways of utilizing these resources in production, investment, private and public consumption.

3. Systems of finance in both the private and public sectors.

4. Special systems related with the provision of foreign currency.

5. Programmes and projects of development in all economic and social sectors.

6. Programmes of technical and vocational training.

7. Organizing the co-ordination between the economic and executive bodies, whether public or private.[91]

With this wide range of tasks that were attached to the 'Supreme Council for National Planning' and the 'National Planning Committee', there was but little need for the two previous councils for planning previously established in the first revolutionay phase (1952-1956) namely, the 'Permanent Council for National Production' (P.C.N.P.) and the 'Permanent Council of Services' (P.C.S.) which were abolished with the issue of the above law (No 78 of 1957).

c. 1961 until present

I. Political Realm

The major landmark in the period is the promulgation
of the 'National Charter' in 1962 after the unanimous
approval on the part of the 'National Congress of Popular
Powers'. It draws a clearer differentiating line from the
pre-revolution 'political democracy' than does the 1956
Constitution. By 1962, the Revolution leaders had become more
mature with ten years of experience in rule . So clear and
specific is the line drawn by the 'Charter' that it presents
the base on which all subsequent documents especially the
'permanent Constitution' (1971) and the 'October Working
Paper' (1974) built.

It is true that political democracy was regarded in the
documents of both the pre- and post-revolution eras as the
utmost the country could aspire to reach. But the difference
stems from two matters which have their wide-scale repercussion
in the democratic application, namely the participation of
the masses in the political affairs of the state and the way
they are represented.

While the Egyptian masses were evidently neglected in
the pre-1952 democracy as a reflection of the domination of
the feudalists and capitalists allied with the King, the place
of the masses in the 'National Charter' is much higher. 'The
value of the true revolution lies', as the Charter states,
'in the degree of its popularity, in the extent to which

it is an expression of the vast masses, in the extent to
which it mobilises their forces to   build the future,
and also in the extent to which it enables these masses to
impose their will on life'.(92)

The philosophical basis on which the democratic perception
in the 'Charter' was founded, links 'revolution' and
'progressiveness' with 'active participation' and 'sound
representation' of the whole people in the rule. From this
angle, the perception of democracy is made a cause of life
for the new regime to accomplish rather than a matter of
'granted' rights to the long deprived masses. The 'Charter'
states that:

"A revolution is naturally a popular and progressive action.
It is the action of the whole people mustering their strength
in a dtermined attempt to remove all obstacles and barriers
standing in the way of life they conceive as desirable. It is
also a a jump across the economic and social underdevelopment,
with the intention of making up for what was lost and of realising
the great aspirations which form part of what the people want
for the future generations.
   The revolutionary action, therefore, would not be possible
unless it possessed these two attributes:
         I. popularity
         2. progressiveness
A revolution is not the work of one individual, otherwise it
would be merely a subjective and desperate action against
a whole society. Nor is a revolution the work of one group,
otherwise it would be a mere clash between this group and
the majority of the population."(93)

In later documents, the ideals of political modernity in the minds of the leaders is shown revolving round the two cores previously mentioned: 'active participation' and 'sound representation' especially in so far as the masses are concerned. Democracy came at last to mean the assertion of the people's sovereignty, the placing of all powers to serve their ends. Such a trend is made clear in the 'Permanent Constitution' which states that sovereignty is solely for the people who are the source of all power. While the people practise it, they practise and safeguard the national unity. (94)

Two major principles govern the concept of political democracy in the 'Charter' as well as in subsequent documents:
I. That political democracy cannot be seperated from social democracy.
2. That political democracy cannot exist under the domination of any one class. (95)

The disregard of 'social democracy' in the 1923 Constitution, as has already been mentioned, had far reaching effects on the pre-revolution democratic experiment. Economic as well as political power largely sank in the hands of an alliance between the capitalists, the feudalists and the King while the masses had no role to do except to watch the struggle over power. Such a lesson was learnt by the leaders of the Revolution as is clearly expressed in the 'Charter'.
A citizen could not be imagined as free to vote unless he enjoys three gurantees:

(a) He should be free from exploitation in all forms.

(b) He should have an equal opportunity for a good share in the national wealth.

(c) He should be free of all anxieties that undermine the security of his future. (96)

Such gurantees were thought of with the aim of protecting the poor masses from future possibilities of forging their will as was the case before 1952. From this angle two guidelines were stated by the 'Charter' and were assured in subsequent documents particularly the 'Permanent Constitution' and the 'October Working Paper':

I. That the masses of peasants and workmen should get at least half of the seats in the political and popular organizations at all levels including the 'National Assembly', on the grounds that they represent the majority of the people.

A peasant was operationally defined as the individual who, including his immediate family, does not own more than ten feddans of land. He must be living in rural area and his only source of income should be from the production of his agricultural land. A worker is one who is engaged in either industry, agriculture or services with his only income from his salary. He cannot belong to a professional organization and is not a graduate of a university, a higher insitute or a military academy. (97)

2. That the way in which sound representation of the popular

masses might be accomplished, is for the political

organization to be 'based on free and direct election.' [98]

The I964 Constitution

The principles that were initiated in the National

Charter, were affirmed in the I964 Constitution. A clearer

differentiation of authorities was fostered by the new

Constitution. Policy drafts whether by the Executive or

other bodies, have to gain the consent of two-thirds majority

of the National Assembly. Balance in power between the

President of Republic and representatives of the people

(National Assembly members) was maintained. In case President

opposes one law passed by the National Assembly, it is

automatically promulgated if the Assembly passes it another

time by a two-thirds majority. Confidence could also be

drawn from the Government by the National Assembly. In case

the President dissolves the National Assembly, he must call

for new elections at a maximum of two months.

In 'policy implementation', the Cabinet of Ministers,

headed by Prime Minister is entrusted with undertaking

policies at the national level. Concentration of many

economic and political activities within State control

remained unchanged.

With the I964 Constitution, it can be said that

representatives of the people gained greater responsibilities

which later documents secured. The chance of active participation was, in the meantime, made open for all Egyptians with no regard to sex, race, religion, social status, economic conditions .., etc. However, it must be taken as a different cause whether the Egyptian masses benefited by the new chances open for their active participation.

The A.S.U. as the one political organization

The A.S.U. Statute (1962) proposed that there be a "social vanguard which leads the people, expresses their will, directs national action and undertakes effective control of the progress of such action.."[99] The formula, which was unanimously accepted by the people, was the establishment of the 'Arab Socialist Union' (A.S.U.) as the one comprehensive political structure that encompasses all categories of the popular powers. The goals attached to it were:

I. The realization of sound democracy by the people and for the people so that the revolution might be 'by' the people in its style, and 'for' the people in its aims and purposes.

2. The realization of the socialist revolution which is the revolution of the working people.

3. Driving the probabilities of progress in a revolutionary way for the benefit of the masses.

4. Protecting the securities stated in the National Charter.[100]

The proposed organization of the A.S.U. was designed to
cover the whole country geographically as well as categorically.
From the twenty-five governorates (muhafazat), down to districts
or major towns (marakez) further down still to cover the major
villages (qura), in each of the last category were formed
'basic units' (lijan asasiyia). Twenty members for each basic
unit were elected by all citizens registered in the electoral
lists for public election. From among the elected twenty, the
secretary and assistant secretary were to be forwarded up to
the 'markaz' level. Similarly, town or district secretaries
were entitled to join the next level (the governorate level).
The proposed hierarchy is shown in the following chart.

Chart 2.I

The Arab Socialist union Organization Structure (I970) (IOI)

National Level	**Chairman**
	Executive Committee 10 members
	ASU Central Committee 150 members
	National ASU Congress (1) All members of the Governorate Congresses (2) 50 members of the special election supervision committee

| Governorate Level | 25 Governorate Congresses Delegates from each District | — → | Governorate Committee of 20 | — → | Executive Officers (1) Party Secretary (2) Assistant Secretaries |

| District Level | 210 District Congresses Delegates from each Basic Unit | — → | District Committee of 20 | — → | Executive Officers (1) Party Secretary (2) Two Assistant Secretaries |

| Village Level | 7,584 Basic Units All active members of the ASU | — → | Basic Unit Committees 10 members per committee | — → | Party Secretary |

Formal Election — — →

The proposed goals and structure of the A.S.U. were
not sound when put into practice. The gravest of the defects
were related with its failure to mobilize the masses and
showiness which prevailed among its members, as was reported
by Mayfield (I97I).[102] President Sadat recognized these
defects and severely condemned the rise of 'Power Centres'
(Marakez al-Quwa) who turned the political organization into
a futile tool under which respect for law and for individual
freedom were relaxed.[103] Rectification of the I952 revolution
was started in I97I. The Permanent Constitution (I97I)
strongly emphasized the rights and freedom of individuals
declaring the illigitimacy of any arrest, violation of
privacy or any sort of restriction of personal freedom unless
by judicial order.[104]

The one-party system was subject to examination on a
large scale since I974 on the part of the government, the
National Assembly members, and a great many intellectuals.
The outcome was a condemnation of the A.S.U. as the one
political organization. A new trend in favour of the Western
model of parliamentary system gained many adherents. Since I976,
political parties have been allowed, but it is too early to
pass judgement on the new experiment.

2. Economic Realm

Two major trends have been emphasized in the National Charter (1962), the 30th March Declaration (1968), the Permanent Constitution (1971) and the October Working Paper (1974), namely the necessity of scientific culture for Egyptian society, and 'social equality' among its individuals. With these two major trends, the thoughts about modern economy in Egypt since the early 1960's are concerned.

On the one hand, backwardness was linked in the National Charter with the absence of scientific spirit.[105] On the other hand, 'Arab Socialism' was suggested as a formula, not copied from the Marxist or Western teachings, but originating from the Arab Islamic heritage.[106]

'Arab Socialism' was to aim at the realization of both political and social freedom for individuals and their protection from exploitation and anxieties. This was suggested to foster the inherent rights (al-huquq al-tabeyah) which are put in five:

1. The right to life (al-hayah), and the preservation of health.

2. The right to freedom (al-hurriyah), human freedom, civic freedom, social freedom, and moral freedom.

3. The right to education and knowledge (al-ilm), which is of higher value than piety.

4. The right to dignity (al-karameh), i.e. to have the right to enjoy an honoured position in society.

5. The right to own property (al-tamalluk) with labour as means of acquiring property and place in society.[107]

- The doctrines of 'Arab Socialism' were put in a series

of legislations all designed to ensure the above 'inherent rights'
and prevent all forms of expolitation to be practised against
the poor classes:

a. Law No III and II2 of I96I for the distribution of the profits
of companies allocating 25% for the workers and officials, and
the 75% that remains for share holders.

b. Law No II3 of I96I putting a maximum limit of LE 5.000 annually
for the head of a board of directors.

c. Law No II4 of I96I that the workers should be represented in
boards of directors by two out of the seven. One of the two is
to be elected as representative of workers and the other as
representative of the officials.

d. Law No II5 of I96I orienting steep taxation on income in the
highest categories to reach 90% of the net total income in case
it exceeded LE I0.000.

e. Law No II7 of I96I for the nationalization of I49 firms
including all the banks and insurance companies.

f. Law No II9 of I96I that limited the individual possession in
I59 companies with a maximum of LE I0.000. The excess should be
taken as the State's possession.

g. Law No II8 of I96I that the 'Public Sector' should share in
9I companies with a share that is not less than 50% of the capital.

h. Law No I20 of I96I for the organization of cotton export firms.

i. Law No I27 of I96I to bring the maximum of landownership to
I00 feddans. Law I29 exempted the peasants who benefited by the

Law of Land Reform of half the instalments and interests due
on them.

j. Law No 133 of 1961 limiting the work hours by 42 hours
weekly as a maximum.

  The above laws issued mainly in 1960 and 1961 represent
what economists often regard as the 'socialist revolution'. (108)
The National Charter came out in 1962 to lay the socialist
trends on solid ground of legitimacy by affirming five rules
on which modern economy in Egypt should be based:

(1) That the major skeleton of the production operation including
railways, roads, dams, sea, land and air transportation,... etc.
together with the public services should be within the framework
of public ownership.

(2) The majority of industries whether heavy or medium together
with mining should be part of public ownership. Light industries,
however, must always be beyond monopoly.

(3) The people practise full control over trade through the
'Public Sector'. A place was, nevertheless, kept for private
capital though within a certain limit as the Charter states:

 "Though it is incumbent upon private capital to participate in
 the export trade, the Public Sector must have the main share
 in that field to preclude all possible fraudulency".(109)

(4) In finance, all banks should be within the framework of
public ownership. Capital's role is a national one that must not
be left to speculation and adventure. Insurance companies should

as well be public ownership.

(5) A clear distinction should be made between two kinds of private
ownership: the exploiting and the non-exploiting.(IIO)

The principles of 'Arab Socialism' were also included in one way
or other, in later revolutionary documents such as the '30 March
Declaration' (I968), the 'Permanent Constitution' (I97I) and the
'October Working Paper' (I974) despite an increasing tendency
towards liberalising economy witnessed since the early I970's
as will later be indicated.

The trend toward comprehensive planning was continued and
even consolidated by the socialist line drawn in the Charter
which regards that:

> "efficient socialist planning is the gurantee for the sound
> exploitation of actually existing resources, or those which are
> latent or potential. At the same time, it is a gurantee for
> the continued distribution of fundamental services. It is
> also a gurantee for raising the standard of services already
> now offered. It is gurantee for extending those services
> to the areas which had fallen victim to negligence and
> inefficiency ...."(III)

The first five -year plan for the years I960-I965 as a part of
a broad IO-year plan(the second part of which was severely
handicapped by the I967 War) aimed high at the achievement of
three main goals:

I. to double the national income over ten years,

2. to achieve larger equality of opportunity, as well as a fairer
distribution of income and property, and

3. to expand employment opportunities. (II2)

The tendency toward a more liberal economic system in
Egypt since the early 1970's was dictated by some unfavourable
socio-economic conditions particularly since the I967 defeat.
President Sadat who succeeded Nasser after the latter's death
in September I970, highly favours what came to be termed
'Economic Ouverture' (al-infitah al-iktisadi) which means
the liberalisation whatever the contradictions with the former
revolutionary experience might rise. Expressing Sadat's view
on this concern, Ahmad, in a recent OECD study on the 'Absorptive
Capacity of the Egyptian Economy' (I976) states that such an
attempt at liberalisation 'must come in terms with the existing
realities: any resulting contradictions being accepted as
creative and, more or less, permanent elements of a new ,
liberalised institutional framework'. (II3) As far as the new trend
is concerned, Egypt should be open to the whole nations of the
world and should not confine herself to one bloc. By all means,
foreign and Arab investors should be encouraged to flow into
Egypt, meanwhile all facilities and assurances of protection
against nationalization are given. Among the six major tasks
set by the President of the Republic to the I973 Cabinet of Ministers
were:

> "to carry out the "open-door" policy and to provide trust and
> facilities for all; to spare the people the brunt of the
> world's high cost of living and to provide an acceptable
> standard of living for all people; and to maintain the
> respectability of law, the inviolability of public funds
> and the integrity of public services." (II4)

The trend toward a more serious outlook at science and its
necessity in building 'modern' Egypt, was preached in the
National Charter on account of the country's underdevelopment
and its lagging behind in science and its application. It
identified a wide gulf between the country and the world
scientific progress, and called for a harder trial to catch up
with the revolution of science or, at least, narrow the gulf
that was admitted to be widening. Thus, the resort to science
was expressed in the National Charter as an inevitable solution:

"Our ability to master the various branches of science is the
only way left for us to compensate for underdevelopment.
If the national struggle reaches our advanced sciece, it
would have a greater opportunity for progress; it would
make the former underdevelopment seen an advantage, for, then
by comparison the new achievement would appear spectacular.
If the nations on whom underdevelopment was imposed, could
now make a start supported by advanced science, they would be
at a starting point, superior to that from which other
advanced nations began." (II5)

With this view at the role of science, the National Charter
comes to the conclusion that 'The major economic and social
problems confronting our people, at present, must be resolved
on a scientific basis'.(II6) Thus, the new outlook at science
was delineated by a utiliterian view taking science as a means
of solving pressing economic and other problems, rather than
'science for science's sake'. However, it was envisaged that
only at a later stage of the country's development that the
latter trend might be applicable to Egypt. The National
Charter argues, in this respect, that:

"science for its own sake is a responsibility which our national potentiality cannot shoulder. Therefore, science for society should be the motto of the cultural revolution at the present stage. The achievement of the objectives of the national struggle will enable us at a further stage of our development, to make a positive contribution to the world in the domain of science for its own sake......
We cannot waste a moment before entering the atomic age. .
We lagged behind in the age of steam and the age of electricity.
This underdevelopment, although arbitrarily imposed by imperialism, has and still is costing us a great deal. We are now required, at the dawn of the atomic age, to join those who have embarked on this age." (II7)

A close look at the proposals included in the various documents convince any observer that Egypt has a deep desire to build a 'modern' State, and that the objective estimation of requirements is not lacking. Egypt's greatest dilemma is in turning rosy dreams into fact. If I952 is taken as a turning point in its 'rising expectations' for modernity, the I960's and the I970's are illustrative of its 'growing frustration'. 'Man' in Egypt is still the weakest rung in the chain leading to the realization of modernity. Hence, the October Working Paper (I974) was right to call that Egyptian man has to be adapted to modern age of science and technology if 'modern State' is to be a fact.(II8) While the Five-year Plan (I978-I982) is honest in admitting Egypt's failure to establish a sound economic reform that a modern State requires, it was careful to diagnose the cause of malady and the way to recover. The striking conclusion to which it came is that: "the starting point must be Egyptian man".(II9)

Notes - Chapter Two

1. WILBER, D. N. op.cit. p. 139.

also SMITH, H. H. et al. op. cit. p. 192.

2. RATEB, A. The July 23 revolution. Cairo: Dar al-Nahda al-Arabia, 1969. p. 55.   (Arabic text)

3. ISSAWI, C. Egypt: an economic and social analysis. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London: Oxford University Press, 1947. p. 33.

also RATEB, A. ibid.

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5. ELGWOOD, P.G. The transit of Egypt. London: E. Arnold and Co., 1938. Appendix 3.

also LACOUTURE, J. and S. Egypt in transition. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1956. p. 89.

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7. SHARABI, H. B. Governments and politics in the Middle East in the twentieth century. N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962. p. 194.

8. LOTFI, A. Economic development, an analytical study of the economic history of Europe and Egypt. Cairo: Dar al-Quran, 1975. p. 212.
                                        (Arabic text)

9. ROSHDI. M. op.cit. vol. I. p. 176.

10. CENTRAL AGENCY FOR PUBLIC MOBILISATION AND STATISTICS. Population and development. Cairo: CAPMS, June 1973. Table 3.1.6 p. 174.

11. ibid.

12. AHMAD, Y. J. op.cit. p. 45.

13. ROSHDI, M. op.cit. p. 176.

14. WILBER, D. N. op.cit. p. 284.

15. LOTFI, A. op.cit. p. 244.

16. SHENOUDA, E. F. H. History of industrial education until the July 23, revolution. A published M.A. thesis, Faculty of Education, Ain Shams University. Cairo: Ministry of Culture, 1967. pp. 231-242.
                                        (Arabic text)

17. MABRO, R. and RADWAN, S. The industrialization of Egypt 1939-1973: policy and performance. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. p. 23.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. ROSHDI, M. op.cit. p. 180 and 228.

2I. ABDEL-FADEL, M. Development, income distribution and social change in rural Egypt 1952-1972: a study of the political economy of agrarian transition. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1975. Table I.2. p. 5.

22. C.A.P.M.S., Population and development. op.cit. p. I72.

23. MABRO, R. and RADWAN, S. op.cit. p. 24.

24. A system that was found in Egypt under Colonial rule and until 1937. According to such system, foreign subjects were allowed certain privileges in legal and personal matters outside the commitment to local laws of Egypt. This was a sort of diplomatic and economic immunity.

25. EL-BARRAWI, R., The military coup in Egypt. Cairo: The Renaissance Bookshop, December 1952. p. 46.

26. see Preamble to the I923 Egyptian Constitution, op.cit.

27. Article 72 of the I923 Constitution.

28. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 77.

29. YEHIA, G., The revolution and political organization. Cairo: Dar al-Ma'aref, 1966. Chapter 2, pp. I65-I89. (Arabic text).

30. EL-HAKIM, T., Maze of justice. Translated by A. S. Eban. London: Harvill Press, I947.

3I. HUSSEIN, T. The future of culture in Egypt. Cairo: Al-Ma'aref Bookshop and Press, I938.   (Arabic text).

32. see JANKOWSKI, J. P. Egypt young rebels 1933-1952. California: Hoover Institute Publications, 1975. pp. 60-71. also see: HUSSEIN, M. Class conflict in Egypt 1945-1970. Translated by M. and S. Chairman et al. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973.

33. ISSAWI, C. op.cit. p. I48.

34. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 265.

35. EL-FEKI, H. Cultural history of education in the United Arab Republic. Cairo: Dar al-Nahda al-Arabia, I965. p. I92. (Arabic text).

36. INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL PLANNING, Research project on employment and unemployment among the educated. Cairo: Institute of National Planning, 1963. p. 24.

37. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 265.

38. ISSAWI, C. op.cit. pp. I49-I50.

39. Quoted by MAYFIELD, J. B. Rural politics in Nasser's Egypt, a quest for legitemacy. Austin: University of Texas Press, I97I. p. I03.

40. YEHIA, G. op.cit. p. 25I

also see SALEH, Z. and EID, E. S. H. Glimpses of the history of
the Ministry of Education as shown by the work of its ministers.
Cairo: Museum of Education, 1959.   (Arabic text)
The book gives record of twenty nine different ministers of
education for the period between March 1923 and July 1952 stating
the period during which each minister was in power.

41. DEKMEJIAN, R. H. Egypt under Nassir: a study in political dynamics.
London: At the University Press, 1972. p. 19.

42. Vide Supra pp. 55 - 57.

43. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 266.

44. C.A.P.M.S. Handbook of the United Arab Republic 1952-1967
Cairo: CAPMS, June 1968. p. 50.

45. LABIB, R. et al., History and system of education in the Arab
Republic of Egypt. 3rd edition Cairo: The Anglo Bookshop, 1972.
pp. 142-143.   (Arabic text).

46. ibid. p. 142.

47. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 266.

48. Al-Tale'ah(Cairo monthly magazine), Vol. 4, No. 9, September
1968. p. 16.   (Arabic text).

49.HUSSEIN, M. and HABIB, K. Social change and education
Cairo: al-Waay al-Arabi Bookshop, 1972. pp. 65-66 (Arabic text).

50. INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL PLANNING, Research project ...
op.cit. p. 22.

51. From 0.48 feddans in 1907, the per capita share of cultivated
land steadily dropped to 0.41 in 1917. 0.39 in 1937 and to 0.30
in 1947. see vide supra pp. 56-57 and 69-71.

52. INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL PLANNING, Research project ...
op.cit. p. 23.

53. Vide supra, p. 13.

54. ZARTMAN, I. W. op.cit. p. 106.

55. O'BRIEN, P. op.cit.

56. The National Charter, op.cit. pp. 6-7.

*   An eminent contemprary American sociologist whose views about
modernity will further be elaborated in chapter five.

57. NAGUIB, M. E., Egypt's destiny London: Victor Gallanez, 1955p. 181.

58. ibid. pp. 184-185.

59. Quoted by WHEELOCK, K. Nasser's new Egypt: a critical analysis.
London: Stevens and Sons Ltd., 1960. p. 23.

60. MABRO, R. op.cit. p. 107.

61. O'BRIEN, P. op.cit. p. 68.

62. AMIN, G. ' The Egyptian economy and the revolution', in
P. J. Vatikiotis (ed.), Egypt since the revolution, S.O.A.S. Studies
in Modern Asia and Africa, No. 7.
London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1968. p. 40.

63. DEKMEJIAN, R. H. op.cit. pp. I22-I23.
also see SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 449 in which is states that:
> "When the 23rd July I952 revolution broke out in the face of
> social injustice it had not already got a planned programme
> or a clear view of what would be the social, economic or
> political system notwithstanding the existence of strong
> determination among the revolutionary vanguards to develop
> the society in accordance with the six remarkable principles."

64. Quoted by SMITH, H. H. et al. op.cit. p. 280.

65. BAER, G. A history of landownership in modern Egypt I800-I950
London: Oxford University Press, I962. p. 86.

66. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 299.

67. ibid. p. 304.

68. O'BRIEN, P. op.cit. p. 70.

69. ibid. p. 7I.

70. MABRO, R. and RADWAN, S. op.cit. p. 57.

7I. Law No. 2I3 of I952.

72. Law No. 493 of I953.

73. see O'BRIEN, P. op.cit. p. 85 in which he expresses his doubt
about their success.

74. see JONES, C. F. "The new Egyptian Constitution", Middle East
Journal, Vol. I0, No. 3, I956. pp. 300-306.

75. The I956 Egyptian Constitution.

76. ibid.

77. ibid. article I92.

78. ibid.

79. In chapter 3 of this study, it will be shown in some detail
how the one 'political organization' in Egypt under the name of
'Liberation Ralley' (I953-I956), the 'National Union' (I956-I96I)
and the 'Arab Socialist Union' (I962 and until I975 when it got
its present fluid position) all failed one after the other to
mobilize Egyptian masses to participate actively in political action.

80. The I956 Constitution. op.cit.

8I. SHILS, E. Political development in the new states, op.cit. p.8.
Shils indicates in clear words that 'Modernity entails democracy, and
democracy in the new states must above all be equaliterian'.

82. ibid. pp. 54-55 also pp. 45-46.

83. Law No. 73 of 1956.

84. O'BRIEN, P. op.cit.

85. MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY, Industry after the revolution and the Five-Year Plan. Cairo: Ministry of Industry, 1957. Appendix 4.

86. The 1956 Constitution, op.cit. article I7.

87. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 395.

88. ibid. pp. 395-397.

89. Law No. 2I of 1958, article I.

90. Law No. 78 of 1957.

9I. Presidential decree No. 78 of I957, article 7.

92. The National Charter. op.cit. p. 3I.

93. ibid.

94. The Permanent Constitution, I97I. op.cit. article 3.

95. The National Charter. op.cit. pp. 3I-32.

96. ibid. p. 38.

97. ibid. p. 40 in which it is definitely stated that:

> " ... farmers and workmen will get half the seats in political and popular organisations at all levels, including the House of Representatives, since they form the majority of the people. Moreover, they are also the majority who have been longest deprived of their inalienable right to shape and direct their future."

For the defintion of 'farmer' and 'worker' see Al-Ahram (daily Egyptian paper), May 3I, 1968. p. 4.

98. The National Charter, ibid. p. 39.

99. ALDERFER, H. F. et al, Local Government in the United Arab Republic. Cairo: Institute of Public Administration, I964. Appendix 3.

I00. ibid.

I0I. MAYFIELD, J. B. op.cit. Appendix I.

I02. ibid. pp. I3I-I33.

Mayfield was impressed by the account given by one member of the A.S.U. evaluation team on the public meeting he attended for the discussion of the mission of 'lajnat al-'ishrin' (committee of twenty)

> " These sessions clearly confirmed the villagers' inability to organize themselves, to express their problems coherently, and their tendency to rely on the state to find solutions to the problems they themselves cannot solve. These sessions also demonstrated the ineffectiveness of lajant al'ishrin which had no conception of the aims and aspirations of the Arab Socialist Union...."

I03. The October Working Paper, op.cit. p. 38.

I04. The Permanent Constitution, I97I, articles 4I-57.

105. The National Charter, op.cit. pp. 74-75.

106. ibid. Chapter 3, pp I7-22 and chapter 6 pp. 43-5I.

107. Al-SIBA'I, M. The socialism of Islam. Quoted by J. B. Mayfield, op.cit., pp. II2-II3.

108. SAID, G. E. M. op.cit. p. 448.

109. The National Charter. op.cit. p. 47.

II0. ibid. pp. 47-48.

III. ibid. p. 45.

II2. HANSEN, B. and MARZOUK, G. op.cit. p. 295.

II3. AHMAD, Y. J. op.cit., p. 58.

II4. ibid. conveyed in a letter to Mr Hegazy on his appointment as Prime Minister, I974.

II5. The National Charter. op.cit. p. 75.

II6. ibid.

II7. ibid.

II8. The October Working Paper. op.cit. pp. 67-69.

II9. ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, MINISTRY OF PLANNING, General Strategy of the Five-Year Plan 1978-1982. Vol. I Cairo: Ministry of Planning, August I977. p. I6.

Chapter Three

No-Change: (I) Unmodified Attitudes of the Adult Masses

The response of Egyptian adult masses to modernity proposals included in such revolution documents as the National Charter (I962), the Permanent Constitution (I97I) and the October Working Paper (I974) gives clue to the staggering stride of modernity since I952. Analysis of the unmodified attitudes of the masses as constraint to modernity proposals, is the major task of the present chapter. However, one should not underestimate the bright aspects of behaviour and attitude among Egyptian masses, which scholars like Galal (I966),[I] Ewais (I970),[2] and Refae (I97I)[3] have cared to analyse. Nor is it fair to deny that some success in attitude modification among limited sectors of the population has been reached in the last quarter of a century. But objective thinking indicates that such modification has been inadequate. Adult masses have remained inapt in their internalised attitudes to undertake the realization of modernity proposals.

As early as I957, Nasser, leader of the revolution, had to admit before the National Assembly, that contrary to expectations, the intended transformation advocated by the revolution was not an easy task, being conditioned by success to transform Egyptian 'man', a task he saw as very difficult:

" ... the most important, the most difficult, the most
crucial of our problems is to create in this part of
the world a dynamic and watchful nation and that human
beings are the raw material from which a nation is made....
To build factories is easy, to build hospitals and schools
is possible, but to build a nation of men is hard and
difficult task."[4]

Four years later, he had to repeat in a more explicit way

that the values and mores of the society have not undergone

the necessary change required for transformation. In an

address to the nation in October, 1961, he lamented that:

"The legacy inherited by the Revolution was dark and
cumbersome, both in the·machinery of government and its
conditions, and in the sphere of class stratification
and its rules ... We have to embark on a full-scale
operation aimed at a reformation of the values and mores
of society."[5]

Awareness of the problem, did not mean the ability to

deal successfully with it. Unmodified attitudes, like

passivity, was found to be prevalent not only among the

ignorant rural masses, but, to Haykal's surprise among the

educated as well. He cared to explain how the question was

not one of political loyalty to the revolution, but

participation in it and interaction with it.[6] Passivity

of the intellectuals has left the masses without the

vanguard to lead the way before them:

"The collaboration of the intellectuals with the revolution-
ary drive after July 23, 1952 is not the ultimate aim. The
natural and inevitable role for the intellectuals to play

was not "merely to collaborate with the Revolution"; it should have been "to interact with it, to adopt its cause, to take it in, to give it ... its national ideology, to distill from their conciences and their knowledge its revolutionary doctrine, i.e. its road to the radical basic change in the structure of Egyptian society."[7]

Failure to modify the attitudes of the masses in line with the preached proposals resulted in a serious handicap. Population explosion could not be checked as the masses have not responded adequately to family planning programmes. Apathy, irrationality, passivity and familism remained as prevalent as ever. At the high level of responsibility, it was admitted that Egyptian masses have attitudes which contrasted with the basic values of the socialist transformation. The director of the Arab Socialist Union Institute specified fatalism, absence of faith in science and its findings, apathy,   refusal to submit to the requirements of organized work; and the rejection of any planning or regulation of life.

In the following part of the chapter the unmodified attitudes of the adult masses as constraint to modernity are put in the socio-economic context.

(a) Attitudes toward participation in political action

Attempts to build sound democracy, as one of the six major goals announced on the outbreak of the revolution

required that the masses should, by all means, be attracted
to participate actively in political action. Such participation
could not be secured meanwhile the old political parties of
the pre-revolution era remained the centre of political
heaviness. Their failure to respond to the directions to
rectify their organisational structure led to the liquidation
of all parties in January 1953. In the meantime, there were
other steps to eliminate all obstacles before the realization
of political modernity. Corrupt monarchy was to leave its
position to Republican regime in June 1953. Accomplishment
of complete national independence of British rule, was
a third battle fought at the same time. Amidst these, it
was supposed that the masses should back the cause of
political modernity by active involvement. However, passivity
remained as before the revolution, and Nasser lamented in
1955 that:

"Many people ... stood to one side as mere spectators,
observing our revolution, as though they had nothing to
do with it. They only waited for the result of a struggle
between two opposing forces, neither of which concerned
them. Sometimes I resent this. Sometimes I demand of myself
and my comrades: why don't they come out of their hiding
places to speak up and to act?"[8]

Alliance of the whole popular powers within one political
organization was adopted as a policy aimed at political
integration. There was a series of such organizations
starting with the Liberation Ralley 'Hayat al-Tahrir' (1953),

followed by the National Union 'al-Ittihad al-Qumi' (I957),
then the Arab Socialist Union 'al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki
al-Arabi' (I962).

Enthusiasm of the leaders to mobilize the masses, and to
teach them "how to elect their representatives properly"[9]
through membership of the Liberation Ralley was,
quantitatively, a considerable success, what Professor Halpern
described as 'the mobilization of millions in a few weeks'.[I0]
But, the attitudes of the masses involved was the decisive
factor. Jeane and Simone Lacouture, who happened to be in
Egypt during that time, were led to the belief that the great
numbers who flocked to have their names registered on the lists
sought membership, not as a means to share actively in political
action, but 'merely in order to obtain support and protection'.[II]
What the country needed for the enrichement of the cause of
political democracy was not the showy task of registration. The
need was urgent to extend political action to the whole
population and penetrate the rural masses. Such showiness
yielded more harm than benefit for it gave false optimistic
indication of political involvement.

In the same way, the attitudes of the masses toward
active participation were behind the failure of the 'National
Union'. In its structure, it was led by nominated well chosen
cadre who was to interact with the elected committees on the
basic-unit-level. Rpresentatives by election filled 29.000
positions in its hierarchy. However, active involvement on

the part of the elected local leaders was not up to the standard. To Zartman, political action was characterized by showiness and futility.[I2] With the absence of modified attitudes towards political action, the whole matter was blurred. Giving elected peasants in the rural areas the responsibility of leading political action in the community was double-edged weapon. Reluctant to take action on their own, whether because of the prevalent illiteracy or lack of enthusiasm, the basic units turned into miniature of government offices always waiting for instructions. The dilemma, as one Cairo magazine found, was a matter of attitudes of the elected members of the basic units toward involvement in political action, for ".. all they wanted was to be regarded as government officials, and after they had been elected, they still looked to the government for instructions."[I3] Passivity of the masses was behind the failure of the second of the revolution's political organization as Mansfield,[I4] Baer,[I5] and Zartman,[I6] tend to believe. The writer agrees with Mansfield that 'The National Union never gained the confidence or interest of the mass of the people during the five years of its legal existence.'[I7]

Such lack of interest on the part of the masses, besides crippling the effectiveness of the National Union, gave an easy access to anti-revolutionary elements to penetrate its activities and subvert it from within. Nasser admitted this

as a grave mistake:

" ... we committed a grave mistake .... We formed the National
Union to act/a frame encircling the conflict between classes...
Reactionary elements which infilterated into the National
Union managed to paralyse its revolutionary effectiveness ....
consequently, the most important thing today is the poular
reorganization of the National Union to change it into a
revolutionary organ in the hands of the national people...
The National Union should be opened for/labourers; the farmers;
the intellectuals; the owners whose property is not based on
exploitation; to the officers and soldiers who represented
the vanguard on July 23."[18]

The mistakes of the 'National Union' seemed to be in mind
when the revolution established the 'Arab Socialist Union' in
1962. Insistance to reach the masses by all means, and in
whatever place was the slogan. The basic units were formed
in villages, workshops, companies, schools, Ministries,
professional syndicates, even in small residential suburbs.
Furthermore, farmers and labourers were allowed a minimum
half of the seats in all units and at all levels up to
the National Council.[19]

The new trends were nominally applied, but in practice
passive participation of the masses was, but slightly changed.
In the 30th March Declaration (I968), Nasser was inclined to
imagine that the continuation of passive attitudes was likely
to result of occupying all leading positions in the A.S.U.
by nomination which seemed to block the way upward from the
basic units.[20] Hence, the organization, of the whole setting

from base to top by election was thought of as a fitting

solution for the activation of political participation.

Even after this reorganization, masses lacked enthusiasm

toward political action. With time, Nasser's diagnosis proved

false, for the experiment was actually staggering from the

passive attitudes on the part of the masses themselves together

with the failure to recruit efficient and committed cadres to

keep democratic interaction alive.

With the persistence of passivity and showiness in

political action, the A.S.U has lost any influence on the

masses. The whole political sturcture in the country was

to be re-examined in the I970's. The one-party political

system was declared to be "sound in theory; in pra_ctice

it is bad."[2I] From the unsuccessful democratic experiment

emerged an attempt since I976 to allow divergent political

parties, but an assesment of the new experiment has not been

made so far. The vicious circle is expected to continue

unless the masses have better attitudes toward participation

in political action.

(b) Attitudes toward scientific thinking

'Rationality activism', which characterizes modern

man are still not prevalent among Egyptian masses at large.

Non-scientific attitudes and blind sticking to unfounded

beliefs are suffered from. With the exception of the industrial

sector, the tools used by the majority are still traditional

and primitive.[22] Non-scientific modes of thinking are
admittied to be prevalent at large and even among some
sectors of the educated elites. Severe attack on these
has been launched by an Egyptian scholar who was bold
enough to argue that:

"methods of thinking in our country are backward .
        to the extent that scientific thinking is lacking
even in universities which are supposed to initiate such
outlooks... As an out-come of the absence of the scientific
method, our mode of thinking is undisciplined, unplanned
and unsettled together with incapability to discriminate.
We still give importance to appearance rather than to
coherence, and our behaviour is dominated by sentimental
upheavals. With absence of scientific means, our thinking
is characterized by adherence to metaphysics, reliance on
luck, rope-dancing and indifference, and hence, fatalism."[23]

The above view deviates from sound scientific analysis.
It resorts to undesirable generalization with a great deal
of exaggeration. However, to take the argument as applicable
to the rural masses,   seems plausible especially in the
light of the prevalence of fatalistic attitudes among the
vast majority of them.

Taking 'fatalism' in the Rogerian sense as "the degree
to which an individual perceives a lack of ability to control
his future,"[24] calls for the recognition of three
subdimensions of fatalism:

(a) supernatural influence indicated by belief in theological
and magical explanation of human behaviour,

(b) situational fatalism indicated by the belief in

limited opportunities for improvement of conditions, and

(c) project negativism or apathy toward development

activity which is due to past failures.[25]

In his classification, Rogers was focusing on Columbian

peasants on whom he performed his study in the mid-1960's.

However, applied to the Egyptian rural masses, Rogers'

classification proves the prevalence of fatalism.

Belief in the 'supernatural' is still a dominant

characteristic of the Egyptian masses. Peasants believe

in the existence of the 'jinn' whom they imagine as

"a society of unpredictable, capricious and tyrannical

spirits who live under the earth, yet who in large measure

provoke and stimulate the forces of nature that would do

one harm."[26] Association is made   by them between

these supernatural creatures and the ununderstandable

misfortunes that befall them and which they fail to predict

as in the case of floods, storms, .. etc. Absence of

scientific explanation reinforces the non-scientific attitudes.

More than the jinn, there is the prevalent belief in

malevolent creatures known as the 'aqrān', spirits double

of each peasant. This ghostly twin as perceived by Egyptian

peasants "is born and dies with its earthly fellow and tends

to have the same characteristics. Jealousy is one of the

salient features of these barren spirits and their

supposedly incessant efforts to harm or entice away the children of these living doubles causes the fellahin endless anxiety and worry."[27]

Egyptian peasant has a clear tendency to resort to religion and holy books, sometimes moderately, but often with some exaggeration. His incessant fear of the future is linked or intermingled with supernatural powers. "His only hope", states Mayfield, "is to appease God by prayer or by seeking to bribe his spirits (jinn) that may well have caused this disaster in his life. Thus, continual prayer, combined with magic and the placating of evil or unfriendly spirits, is the major way of obtaining help."[28]

The extent to which superstitutious thinking is prevalent among Egyptian people was a subject of empirical study by Ibrahim and Mansour (I962).[29] Their sample included 2I02 individuals representing sectors that varied according to education, class, place of residence, and sex. The statistical analysis of the findings ascertained the prevalence of superstitious thinking along the three dimensions dealt with in the study: the class dimension, the rural-urban dimension and the sex dimension. The correlation coefficient of the prevalence of supersitions in the sectors included in the study as regards the three above-mentioned dimensions are indicated in the following table:

Table 3.I

Correlation coefficient between degrees of prevalence of supersitions in the sectors as regards the three dimensions[30]

Dimension	Sectors between which the degree of correlation of superstition prevalence was calculated		Correlation coefficient
Class	Mid. class town male " " " fem. Mid. class rural male " " " fem.	Low class town male " " " Fem. " class rural male " " " fem.	,84 ,95 ,88 ,9I
Rural-urban	Mid class rural male " " " fem. Low " " male " " " fem.	Mid class town male " " " fem. Low " " male " " " fem.	,86 ,93 ,89 ,95
Sex	Mid class town male " " rural " Low " town " " " rural "	Mid class town fem. " " rural " Low " town " " " rural "	,86 ,82 ,9I ,89

The figures of the above table show the compliance of

supersition prevalence in the three dimensions. The

conclusion reached is that despite the variation in the

eight sectors in terms of their individuals' belief in

supersitions, they agree, to a great extent, in the type

of superstitions that prevail in them.[31] The prevalent

supersitions were related with omens, keeping healthy,

status of women, giving birth, pregnancy and marriage.

Ewais (I970), made another study in which he attempted

to find out the change in the features of the Egyptian
society from I952 to I959. He regarded addressing holy
saints by complaint messages sent to their tombs a
phenomenon worth of study to see the extent of the
prevalence of non-scientific thinking. After examining I63
messages sent to the tomb of Imam el-Shafae (one eminent
Muslim saint who died II50 years ago), he classified them
in three categories as follows:

(a) Of the messages, 7I (48.5%) were addressed to Imam, of
which 5I messages were addressed to Imam in person.

(b) 46 messages (3I.5%) were addressed to the tomb of Imam.

(c) 29 messages (20%) were addressed to the religious bodies
in charge of Imam's mosque.[32] The conclusion to which
Ewais came was, that such types of irrational thought
paralyse the efforts made by authorities to sove the people's
problems and watch over their interests. More important still
is the   strong control practised by the dead over the
present generation of adults. They face their life with a
naïve intellectual mode, a non-scientific one.[33]

The resort to saints' tombs for healing instead to
going to physicians, among the least educated masses, is
another sign of irrationality. Ewais was struck to discover
that certain tombs have got reputation of healing specific
maladies.[34] This runs in line with a saying adhered to
by the masses: "Ask a man of experience rather than a
physian". Hence, the resort to a tomb of a holy man
or to a man of experience, no matter his degree of learning

may be a reflection of the attitudes of the least educated to scientific thinking. Mayfield's comment is worth quoting:

"In such a fantastic world, the magician and medicine man play a large part. They are in fact the only allies known to the fellah who can counteract the force of the unseen spirits, including the occult malignity or evil eye ('ain al-hasud) of his fellows."[35]

The way the uneducated masses conquer the unknown is highly irrational. Some thinkers, like Amin,[36] put it under the Egyptian's belief in luck. Various forms of astrology are found. Some daily papers even present a readable article under 'your luck today'. There is no great harm if such an article is read by the least educated and for fun. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. In a study made on the attitudes of such readers, Ewais (I970) found that 75% of the employees in one government office were regular readers of it. Some of them read it just for fun, others as a good omen, a third group to compare what is predicted with what actually befalls. Some even believe that what they read usually comes true. The classification made covered a wide range of ages between I7 and 55 years of age, 63% of whom were under thirty. Males represented 78%, Muslims represented 82%, unmarried represented 50%. As for their educational standards, 90% were holders of intermediate certificates, and I0% were university graduates.[37]

Fatalism among the Egyptian masses in rural areas blurrs the cause-effect relationships. They believe that life, death and growth are matters which an individual has no influence upon. This leads to apathy as regards the problems encountered. While suffering greatly from a deteriorating standard of living as reflected on his food, clothing, accomodation, health, .. etc., he looks with apathy at the untiring attempts to convince him of the value of family planning. In Namek's analysis:

"He knows that nature is irrisistible. It is God's desire that he will have many offspring, whose number increases with time. By no means should he stand against such a mighty desire."[38]

His firm belief is that when a baby is born, food, clothing and all other necessities are sent from God. The matter then does not demand the slightest bother on his part. Accordingly, all efforts that the government make to check population have been futile. Issawi asserts this by quoting what a doctor in charge of one village social centre told him that: "the number of peasants who consulted him on means of having more children was, if anything, larger than that of those who wished to limit their number."[39]

One explanation to the population growth dilemma in Egypt associates it with exaggerated involvement in religion. Since the mid-20th century, many religious pronouncements by ulama (learned men of religion) have affirmed that birth control

is in no contradiction with the tenets of Islam. These
pronouncements, however, did not in the least solve the problem
for, it is a matter of internalised attitudes. Hence, as
Professor Baer argues, religious pronouncements are of only
limited influence for, "belief has decisive social significance."[40]

(c) Attitudes toward work, precision and time

Attitudes of Egyptian individuals toward work in general,
and particularly 'manual' work are still unfavourable to the
realization of modernity. Reluctance to work is shown by
an eminent Egyptian thinker and previous Minister of Social
Affairs.[4I] He analyses the present economic crisis in Egypt
in the light of these anti-modern attitudes. The general path
of an Egyptian youth is to learn at school with the main
view of getting an official post in one of the government
officer'where there is no work to be done'.[42] Work, to many
of the Egyptian youth, as Hussein argues, has become a disgrace
which the uneducated only have to endure.[43] It is possible
to reject Hussein's argument on account of being exaggeration
given in the absence of scientific researches on the point.
However, his long experience with the youth as a Minister
of Social Affairs and chief of the 'Socialist Party' before
the revolution of I952 induces to take his analysis seriously.

As for 'manual work', parents are reluctant to send their

children to technical schools and vocational centres, on
which the future of industrialization depends. Shortage
in skilled labour is aggravating day after day, as
will be elaborated later.[44] So difficult is the dilemma
that an Egypt-ian writer raises the cry:

"If we are embarking on a great industrial and economic
movement, from where can we get the labour power to fill
the vacancies in various projects? How can we attract our
students to study at technical schools and institutions?"[45]

What is more revealing of the persistence of these unfavourable
attitudes, is the Ministr of Education's complaint in August
1976 that the low passing rate of the G.S.C. exam is due
to the great numbers of students from technical schools who
sit for the exam more times in the hope of catching with
a chance to join the university instead of carrying on with
their technical and vocational studies.[46]

The report of the Ministerial Committee for Labour Power
(I966) suggested a plan for the provision of manpower in
Egypt more fitting for the quick industrial expansion.
Assuming that Egypt's needs for skilled workers and technicians
is far greater than its needs for clerks and government
officials until I985, the report recommended that 80% of
the Preparatory Certificate holders should be directed to
technical education, and that only the remaining 20% should be
encouraged to join the academic secondary education.[47]

Such recommendations could not actually be put into practice due to irresistible pressure in the direction of academic education at the expense of vocational and technical education. Labour power estimates for 1980 show an estimated shortage in skilled labour amounting to 759.000 and a surplus in clerical posts reaching 160.000.[48] Taking the present and anticipated shortage in skilled labour from the perspective of imbalance between general and technical secondary education shows that the problem, in one of its aspects, is one of norms. One cause for the failure to carry out the Ministerial Report's recommendations is, to Professor Labib , due to reluctance of preparatory school graduates to tread the path of vocational or technical education.[49] Such attitudes explain why the progress attained since the revolution in expanding technical education has been 'evolutionary' rather than 'revolutionary' despite what reports recommend.

The attitudes of the new entrants to the field of industry who flock from rural areas to industrial towns are found to impede the expansion of industry. Quoting what Nasser had bitterly commented that 'Our factories are filled with peasants', Palmer and Stern specified the case of Egypt as regards the need to modify the attitudes of such new entrants into the disciplined precision, punctuality and factory

orientation.[50] It is much doubted that Egypt could

accomplish such a task in the two decades that had elapsed

since it embarked on wide-scale industrialization.

A low degree of precision has been observed among

workers in general, or what Ewais put as the preference

of quantity at the cost of quality.[5I] Causes to such

a state are varied.

On one hand, this runs in accordance with the prevalent

traditions that favour outer appearance of matters

-as illustrated by quantity- much more than they do with

the coherence of matters -as illustrated by quality. The

behaviour of many is still governed by such sayings as:

- The bigger the pile, the less the mockery of the enemies.

- To a lover, an onion is a sheep.

-Better receive me warmly than provide me with lunch.[52]

An interpretation   to the undesirable attitude towards

precision is given by/the same sociologist   who argues that

Egypt started the process of transformation in the early

I950's,which is much later than other countries, and from a point

much below that from which many other countries started.[53]

It seems that the severe struggle with time in order to

catch up with others,and the national feeling,fired by

the revolution leaders, that Egypt can compensate underdevelopment in

short time , have driven such a defect further steps.[54] Amidst

the zeal to reassure identity, supremacy has to be shown,

if not in quality, be it through quantity.

On the other hand, attitudes of the masses still reflect the agricultural type of life that has been with Egypt since time immemorial. Execution of wide-scale industrialization schemes hit with the attitudes toward time and punctuality. The strict regard of time and punctuality that modern industrialization schemes require are only met by leniency. Time is still measured not by minutes and seconds, as is the case with industrially advanced countries, but rather in terms of the four segments of the day between the five prayers of a good Muslim. An individual's time is still arranged as 'tomorrow', 'in the afternoon', 'after sunset', 'in the evening', or 'before noon'.

Complementary to the above defect is that the Egyptian masses live in the past and present more than they live in the future. Hence, the difference between the Egyptian masses and those of the more advanced countries of the West, lies in that, for the Egyptians, the present turns into past at the very moment the individual is conscious of it. So, the future becomes present at every second of life. The case on the other side is different. While people of advanced countries think of the present or the future, they make precise account of both. In accordance with their more favourable modes of rational thinking, they try to predict the future so that when it comes, they are not taken by

surprise, for they are always ready for it.[55]

(d) Familism

Strength of the attitudes toward family and clan among the Egyptian masses, has been reported in various studies.[56] With time, familism has lost but very little of its strength. Two studies, in the I930's and the I950's are taken by Baer to show the persistence of familistic attitudes.[57] The former study was made by an anthropologist on one Egyptian village and one salient conclusion was:

"the family is the social unit; over it the only meaningful unit is the community of believers, all differences of origin, nation and race disappear in this unit."[58]

The second study, carried out in Alexandria indicated that familism still persisted. It found that the greatest degree of individual participation whether in the formal groups or the unorganized ones, was mainly based on religion and kinship.[59] These two studies supported by Baer, run in line with a third performed in the I960's. Melaika,[60] performed an empirical study in I963 and I958 in which he found from the comparison of results, that the change away from the tight grip of familism in Egypt is 'low in rate'.[6I]

In Melaika's findings, groups in Egyptian villages are
formed mostly, on family basis. Although he found no
contradiction between loyalty to family and loyalty to
local community and the society at large, he distinguished
between loyalty to family and the strict support to it,
what he called excessive involvement in family relations
(al-asabeya al-ailiya) which forms constraint before
successful team work.[62]

The still existent familistic attitudes among the
Egyptian masses is illustrated by the prevalent sayings
quoted in every day speech, and which generally favour
the special consideration given to clans and family members.
Of these sayings:

- My brother and myself stand against my cousin, both my
  cousin and myself stand against the stranger.
- Relatives are more worthy of favour than others.[63]

With the persistence of familistic attitudes, proposals
often hit , when executed, with ascription. The governor
of one of Egypt's provinces lamented in 1967 that:

" ... the·social (and political) relationships in the
village have not changed in proportion with the
revolutionary activities taken by the Committee of
Liquidation of Feudalism." [64]

(e) Apathy

If the awareness of the problems of the society around
is a preliminary step that preceeds active involvement

in solving them, apathy that still prevails among Egyptian

rural masses explains the inability to carry out social

promotion schemes successfully. Over 13% of the respondents

to Melaika's study, mentioned above, admitted (whether

in the first stage of the study in 1958, or the second in 1963)

that they did not know the most difficult problem that

faced their village. Though it might be argued that such

a percentage is not high, Melaika took it a good indicator

that more effort should be made to increase , among the masses,

an awareness of their problems and motivate them to respond

actively to solve them.[65] The following table classifies

the responses that Melaika got for the question he addressed

to individuals of the group he studied:

Which, in your opinion, is the most important problem in

your village ?

<div align="center">Table 3 .2</div>

Response classification to Melaika's question about the most

<div align="center">important problem in Egyptian village[66]</div>

Response	Percentage of responses	
	1958	1963
I do not know	13.88	13.09
Economic problems	26.18	13.09
Agricultural Problems	21.8	28.14
Inadequate infrastructure	19.42	27.75
Inadequate services	15.85	16.64
Inadequate institutions for team work	2.76	1.19

Another phase of apathy is shown in the reluctance of
many to participate in public service when a problem is
at hand, or when they are asked to share in solving it.
The 'Fahlawi' character (the rope-dancer) is still prevalent
among the masses both with its positive and negative aspects.
Of the negative ones that impede the realization of modernity,
is the indifference to public service. In the above study
by Melaika, it was reported that whenever the villagers were
invited to participate in collective work for the benefit
of the whole village, the response was often apology
due to shortness of time, or exhaustion after day's work.
Melaika could only accept these execuses as indicators of
apathy to participation in public service.[67] He built
his argument on the length of leisure time which often
formed a problem to many of them as how to spend it.[68]
He ascertained their apathetic attitudes through asking
about their activities after work as is shown in the
following table:

Table 3.3

Egyptian villagers' activities in leisure time [69]

Type of reponse	Number of respondents	
	1958	1963
Doing nothing at my leisure time	66	87
Sitting with my family	44	42
Sitting with friends and neighbours & other prople	44	49
Doing some work to raise my family's standard	--	3
Public service and collective work	I	4

The above responses which Melaika got (I55 for I958 and I85 for I963) aroused his fears from two angles in which the individuals prove to be far below the standard required by the ambitious aspirations of the Egyptian society. On the one hand, there was the growing trend to spend the whole of the leisure time doing nothing, or just taking rest. On the other, he condemned the very weak desire among them to discuss matters of public interest.

Stranger still, according to the same study, that such 'apathy' among villagers coincided with their severe complaints from the village's modest share in various aspects of reform which make of it not so good as a place to live in. Over 40% of the responses that Melaika got for I958 and I963 were expressive of such resentment in one way or other as is shown in the following table:

<u>Table 3.4</u>

Content with the village as a place to live in [70]

Type of response	Percentage	
	1958	1963
The village is a good place to live in	56,55	56,9I
The village needs many reforms before it turns into a good place for living	32,28	33,33
The village is unfit for living in	I0,66	8,44

Once more, the paradox is interpreted in the light of the prevalent 'Fahlawi' character that induces an individual 'to dispose of any work or responsibility by giving it to someone else and claiming the affair is outside his scope of jurisdication'. [7I]

Moreover, as the figures of the above table indicate, the strong desire to have the village changed into a better place coincides with refrain   from active participation which often demands sacrifice with time, effort or money. If he has no choice but to participate, he resorts then to some witty means by which his participation is only counted in form while he does not actively participate. With these unmodified attitudes it is easy to find an interpretation of the showiness that characterizes the execution of various schemes, particularly in the social field, and futility becomes unavoidable as in Mayfield's analysis:

"In a community where the fahlawi personality predominates, it is easy to stimulate and attract people to the idea of starting a new school, a clinic or a youth clubhouse, but it is very difficult to make them follow through, to complete it, or, if by chance it is completed, to maintain it in good condition."[72]

(f) Attitudes toward Government

Two types of unmodified attitudes in the relation between the Egyptian masses and Government can be distinguished: the first of distrust and hostility, the second of excessive reliance. both types make it difficult to realize proposals for a modern political and economic system in Egypt.

A state of mutual understanding between the Egyptian masses and the government has ever been lacking. Long periods of foreign rule since 525 B.C and long sufferance

at the hands of these rulers have left deep abyss . between

'ruler' and 'the ruled' in Egypt to the present time.

Hostility, sometimes overt, but most of the times hidden

toward government representatives who were very cruel in

colleting taxes, especially under the Turkish rule

(I5I7- I9I4) could not be possibly altered in less than

thirty years of nationalist rule since I952. The apathetic

attitudes toward government were accounted by Nasser to

sediments of the Mamluk rule* on Egyptian masses:

"The Mamluk amirs had fought each other, and their
horsemen had met in fierce battles on the streets,
while the people would stampede to their houses,
locking themselves in, and thus avoiding a struggle
which was not their concern."[73]

The prevailing hierarchical family setting in Egypt

has also its influence on the attitudes of the masses

towards the government. Obedience to the father and to

adults is strictly observed. The system of child rearing

has its own impact on attitudes in later life. While

cultivating a docile and yielding disposition, trickery

and other evils grow with the child into adulthood

affecting his attitudes towards 'authority' in its general

and broad sense. Ammar,[74] cared to trace the undesirable

attitudes of Egyptian adults towards authority to earlier

experiences during the process of child rearing:

---

* The Ayybid dynasty which started in Fgypt in II63 was
supplanted by the Memluks whc ruled as independant sultans
from I250 to I5I7. With the Turkish invasion in I5I7, they
continued to rule under the nominal authority of Turkish
Sultans until Mohammed Ali (I805-I848) got rid of them.

"very little chance is given to the child to justify his misdemeanour, and hardly any effort is made to persuade him to avoid falling into the same error. Moreover, in administering punishment, there is no consistency or regularity; for the same offence the child might be beaten harshly, or his offence allowed to pass unnoticed ..... It does not require any emphasis here to point out that the effects of these techniques of fear as forcing children to resort to lies and deception are reflected later in the prevailing atmosphere of adult life which is charged with suspicion, secrecy and apprehension".[75]

Indicators show that, until present, the Egyptian adult masses, particularly those in the rural areas, have no ready response to what the government suggests for their benefit. Lack of appreciation of government sponsored economic institutions such as banks of agricultural credit, was justifiable before 1952, because it involved becoming implicated with government procedures, which farmers liked to avoid.[76] But, such attitudes, as Baer found, are still persistent in the 1970's.[77] Guides and specialists sent by the government to disseminate new useful methods among peasants as regards the quality and amount of their crops, are often hampered by distrust, and sometimes hostility on the part of the peasants themselves.[78] This has recently been described by one Egyptian scholar that Egyptian peasant still fears the government representatives and uses all his cunning with them, and never gives them his trust.[79]

Associated with the above attitudes, is the tendency
to throw all reponsibilty and blame on the government
and its machinery in an unsympathetic way. The burden
has grown heavier every day, until the Minister of
Planning announced in August I977 that responsibilities
thrown on the government have become too heavy for her
to carry. These have extended to encompass the following:

- Securing unconditioned employment and gaining for all
Egyptians.

- Responsibility for social welfare including housing,
health, education and other services.

- Responsibility for administering, conducting and
maintaining almost the whole of the country's infrastructure
and most of the productive units.

- Responsibility of providing the masses with commodities
whether basic or welfare.

- Responsibility for the availability of commodities and
at reasonable prices which low incomes can afford.[80]
When the responsibility of the common man is traced amidst
such responsibilities it/is severely inadequate, being confined
in most cases to criticism and complaint of the inefficiency
of the government machinery.

The above attitudes were also studied by Melaika in his
above mentioned study. When his respondents were asked
what could be done to solve the problems which they reported
in their village, and who was to undertake such solutions,

a high percentage (34.38% in I958 and 64.06% in I963)

agreed that solving the problems was the responsibility
            (8I)
of the government. The rise in percentage from 34.38%
                    years
to 64.06% in five is not without relevance to the inability

to carry out various modernity proposals, especially in

the light of the decline in the percentage of those who

believed that problems could be solved through self-help

efforts from 30.43% in I958 to I4.06% in I963.[82] To the

writer of the present study, this signifies the aggravation

rather than modification of anti-modern attitudes. Various

response percentages are shown in the following table.

Table 3.5

Percentage of various responses to the question: Who, in

your opinion solves the village   problems?[83]

Type of response	Percentage	
	1958	1963
The government	34.38	64.06
The people (self-help efforts)	30.43	I4.06
Joint (government and people)	2I.74	9.38
Leaders and renowned people	I3.05	I2.50

In the light of the above figures, it is easily seen how

the burden is apathetically thrown on the government.

Initiativeness and self-help efforts have a diminishing role

which is better indicated from the responses given to the

question: Suppose the government did nothing to solve this

problem, is there anything to be done?

Once more, the responses affirmed the existence of the

above anti-modern attitudes. 68.08% of the 1958 responses

and 88.44% of 1963 stated that only the government could

solve the problem. Those who believed in the value of

self-help efforts declined in percentage from 19.15%

in 1958 to only 4.76% in 1963 which is a significant

decline indicative of aggravating prevalence of the above

attitudes as is indicated in the following table.

Table 3.6

Percentage of various responses to the question: Suppose
the government did nothing to solve this problem, is there
anything to be done? [84]

Type of response	Percentage	
	1958	1963
Only the government can solve the problem	68.08	88.44
Self-help efforts undertaken by people	19.15	4.76
The village leaders	12.77	6.12

(g) Attitudes toward change

Egyptian masses, especially in rural areas, are mostly

'tradition bound' on account of the passive attitudes with

which they react to the new. They generally follow the

prescribed ways of their ancestors, sometimes out of
ignorance and lack of information about the available
alternatives, but most of the time out of what Mayfield
found as "conflicting feelings of resistance to change."[85]
No convincing justifications are given, on the part of
the masses except that they follow the steps of the
'good ancestors' (al-salaf al-saleh).

Some sociologists argue that the Egyptian peasant
is 'socially stagnant'.[86] on the grounds of his reluctance
to benefit by any chance offered for him to better his life
if it requires some change in his habits. In a recent
study, Abdel Rehim (I975)[87]ascertains the above view
by certain observations. Egyptian peasant still builds
his home in the same old way of his forefathers, cultivates
his crops in the way that the ancient Egyptians had used,
maintains the same old habits of visiting tombs of his dead
relations on feast days asking mercy for them, and uses the
Coptic Calendar that had been in use for over one thousand
years. He generally follows the same type of life that had
been known since the ancient Pharaonic days in his clothing,
his food, the upbringing of his children, and in his relations
with his neighbours.[88]

Such insistence on tradition and resistance to the calls
for change severly limit his scope of aspiration within a
narrow circle. It has proved difficult to arouse his

enthusiasm for the new, as he still holds high such old

sayings as: "He who leaves his past gets lost".[89]

Persistence of the old anti-modern attitudes aggravates

the country's inability to attain modernity. Habashi,[90]

a former Minister of Commerce and Industry, interprets

the country's economic backwardness on account of the

attitudes of the masses until present to use the tools,

and follow the techniques that have descended to them

from their forefathers with no zeal for their alteration,

while the modern alternatives have now covered the universe

far and wide.[9I]   These constraints to modernity proposals

are what President Sadat meant in his speech before the

members of the conference: 'Egypt in the Year 2000'

(Cairo, January I977):

"Although our Egyptian farmer is one of the ablest in
the whole world, I'm not happy to have him. We still
have to irrigate the feddan* with approximately 700
cubic feet of water despite the availability of modern
technological methods of irrigation."[92]

The President's remark supports what an American professor

wrote in I967 that, "Probably no more conservative man than

the Egyptian peasant is alive today."[93]

* * * *

With the examples given of the internalised attitudes

prevailing among the Egyptian adult masses, and which are

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* a feddan= I,038 acres or about 4,20I square metres

in disharmony with the proposals for modernity set by
the leaders since I952, a problem is at hand the outcome
of which is that Egypt has failed to reach modernity
whether politically or economically despite all the good
and faithful intentions of its leaders. If we accept
the previously quoted view raised by Inkles and Smith,
that 'a nation is not modern until its people are modern',[94]
we have a clue to the solution to be proposed, that the
attitudes of the masses have to be favourably modified
to serve the cause of modernity which requires a certain
type of man not yet found in Egypt.

Notes - Chapter Three

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5. ABDEL-NASSER, G. 'An address to the nation. October 5, 1961' . AlAhram (daily Egyptian paper), October 6, 1961.

6. HAYKAL, M. H. Editorial Al-Ahram, June 9, 1961.

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9. NAGUIB, M. op.cit. p. 181.

10. HALPERN, M. The politics of social change in the Middle East and North Africa. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963. p. 310.

11. LACOUTURE, J. and S. op.cit. p. 272.

12. ZARTMAN, I. W. op.cit. p. 114.

13. Ruz al-Yusuf (Egyptian weekly magazine), October 19, 1959.

14. MANSFIELD, P. Nasser's Egypt. London: Penguin Books and Paul Mall, 1965. p. 198.

15. BAER, G. 'Basic factors affecting social structure, tensions and change in modern Egyptian society', in M. Milson (ed.) Society and political structure in the Arab world. New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1973. p. 19.

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17. MANSFIELD, P. op.cit. p. 198.

18. ABDEL-NASSER, G. Speech on October I6, I96I. <u>Al-Ahram</u>, October I7, I96I.

I9. The National Charter. op.cit. p. 40.

20. INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, <u>The 30th of March Declaration</u>.
Cairo: I968.

2I. HAYKAL, M. H. article in <u>Al-Ahram</u>, February II, I966.

22. SOLTAN, M. E. S. op.cit. pp. 44-50. Soltan laments that:

" .. while modern and advanced societies have surpassed the age of
steam, electricity, atom, electronics and automation to the age of
space, we still ride asses in the countryside and use them in
fertilizing our limited cultivable land. Still the processions of
our sufi sheikhs stop the traffic in the streets of Cairo in the
I970's. Magic (al-zar) and all superstitions associated with it
are still observed ...." (p. 45)

23. El-ZAYYAT, L. "The outcome of intellectual struggle, nucleus of
the new culture", <u>Al-Tale'ah</u>, Vol. 2, No. 6, June I966. p. II5.
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24. ROGERS, E. M. op.cit. p. 55.

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26. MAYFIELD, J. B. op.cit. pp. 64-65.
For a detailed account of prevalent supersitions among Egyptian masses
see: IBRAHIM, N. I. and MANSOUR, R. F. op.cit. Chapter 5 pp. I09-I30.

27. MAYFIELD, J. B. ibid. p. 65.

28. ibid. p. 64.

29. IBRAHIM, N. I. and MANSOUR, R. F. op.cit.

30. ibid. Table 4, p. I32.

3I. ibid.

32. EWAIS, S. op.cit. pp. I38-I39.
<u>see also</u> REFAEE, A. A. op.cit. pp. 205-209. Refaee ascertains the
prevalence of these trends until the present time in all Egyptian
governorates. From his analysis, he comes to a conclusion that the
control practised by the dead over the alive is evidence enough of
the prevalence of irrational thinking among the latter.

33. EWAIS, S. ibid. pp. I24-I25.

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35. MAYFIELD, J. B. op.cit. p. 65.

36. AMIN, A. <u>Dictionary of Egyptian manners, customs and expressions</u>
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                                                      (Arabic text).

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38. NAMEK, S. E. <u>Overpopulation and economic development in the United
Arab Republic</u>. Cairo: Dar al- Ma'aref, I966. p. 38. (Arabic text).

39. ISSAWI, C. <u>Egypt in revolution, an economic analysis</u>.
London: Oxford University Press, I963. p. 302.

40. BAER, G. 'Basic factors ...', op.cit. p. II.

4I. HUSSEIN, A . "Project of the year, a new way to help Egypt out
of its economic crisis by work, production and self-reliance",
<u>Al-Ahram</u>, Year I03, issue No. 32956, March 4, I977.

42. ibid.
43. ibid.

44. Chapter 4 of the study, Table 4.4 and Figure 4.I.

45. EL-NIMR, A. "When Technical Training Institutes become a disgrace
for their students", <u>Watani</u> (weekly Egyptian paper), Year I2, No. 926,
August 22, I976.

46. Quoted by Al-NIMR, A., ibid.

47. UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOUR POWER,
<u>Report on educational policy</u>. Cairo: I967. p. I6.
The report drew the attention that preparatory school cerificate
holders have a strong tendency to join the general secondary school.
Meanwhile those wishing to join secondary technical schools did not
exceed 24% 'although the technical and vocational education is the
basis of our national economy.' (p. II)

48. YOUSSEF, Y. K. and EID, W. M. op.cit. p. 32.

49. LABIB, R. et al. op.cit. p. 29I.

50. PALMER, M. and STERN, L. op.cit. p. 5.

5I. EWAIS, S. op.cit. p. 230.

52. ibid.

53. The National Charter, op.cit. pp. 56-57 and 74-75.
The Charter ascertains that Egypt has to accelerate its stride by
all means to make up for previous backwardness, and to join other
countries that have entered into the age of atom and space in the
shortest possible time.
<u>also</u> The October Working Paper, op.cit. p. 56.
The Paper is, as well haunted by the urgent need of Egypt 'to push
ahead the wheel of work at full capacity with all available production
motive powers and elements in various spheres.'

55. EWAIS, S. op.cit. pp. 226-227.
<u>also</u> AYROUT, H. H. <u>The Egyptian peasant</u>. Translated by J. A. Williams.
Boston: Beacon Press, I963. pp. I40-I4I.
Father Ayrout argues that the soul of the Egyptian peasant is best
understood in terms of his preoccupation with the 'here' and 'now'.
He builds his argument on the fact that the Egyptian fellah:

"does not think outside the immediate present; he is fettered
to his moment. No time and place except the present have
much effect on his mind ... It is a fact that they do not
think or act except as the occasion demands, according to
the pressures of the moment. Their reactions are determined
by immediate sensation. Thus they are both credulous and
mistrustful, individualistic and gregarious, miserly and
thriftless, long suffering and fiery tempered."

56. See BAER, G. 'Basic factors ..', op.cit. pp. 8-IO.

WILBER, D. N. op.cit. pp. 82-83.

MAYFIELD, J. B. op.cit. p. 86.

EWAIS, S. op.cit. pp. I52-I54.

57. BAER, G. ibid. p. 9.

58. ibid. p. IO.

This point has been elaborated by many writers as well. See H. H. Smith
et al, op.cit. pp. 380-38I, also D. N. Wilber, op.cit. p. 97. The
analysis given by the latter induced him to state that:

"The intensity of the allegiance given to the family and the
lineage is achieved at the expense of the society in general.
The attitudes and views which concentrate on the advancement of
one's own group lead to favouritism, nepotism and corruption-
patterns of behavior that plague the administrative services
of the government, yet are not really to be condemned. The
hiatus between loyalty to the nation or government has proved
to be source of considerable difficulty in the building of
modern Egypt as in a number of other countries."

59. BAER, G. ibid.

60. MELAIKA, L. K. op.cit.

6I. ibid. p. 35.

62. ibid.

63. EWAIS, S. op.cit. p. I53.

64. Al-Akhbar (daily Egyptian newspaper), January I3, 1976. p. 8.

65. MELAIKA, L. K. op.cit. p. 45.

66. ibid.

67. ibid. p. 30.

68. ibid.

69. ibid. p. 3I.

It has to be noted that Melaika's respond nts were encouraged to
give mention to three activities, but I05 and II7 gave no second
answer in I958 and I963 respectively. As for the mention of a third
activity, 207 and 234 in I958 and I963 failed to do so.

70. ibid. pp. 39-40.

7I. MAYFIELD, J. B. op.cit. p. 72.

72. ibid.

73. ABDEL-NASSER, G. op.cit.

74. AMMAR, H. <u>Growing up in an Egyptian village, Silwa, Province of Aswan</u>. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954.

75. ibid. pp. 138-139.

76. see BAER, G. 'Basic factors ...' op.cit., p. 18.

77. ibid.

78. WILBER, D. N. op.cit. p. 90.
Wilber argues that the 'Solidarity among the rural society against the ruling authorities still prevails, in spite of the efforts carried on since 1952 to build a bridge of mutual confidence across the very deep abyss that seperates the rural areas and the government."

79. ABDEL-REHIM, A. M. pp. 107-108.

80. Gneral Strategy of the Five-Year Plan 1978-1982, Vol. I op.cit. p. 23.

81. MELAIKA, L. K. op.cit. pp. 59-62.

82. ibid.

83. ibid.

84. ibid. p. 61.

85. MAYFIELD, J. B. op.cit. pp. 8-9.

86. ABDEL-REHIM, A. M. op.cit. p. 106.

87. ibid.

88. ibid. pp. 106-107.

89. In Arabic 'illy malhoush kadim malhoush gedid' meaning that it is only in the light of the past that one's position is provided.

90. HABASHI, S. 'How we can get out of our crisis'. <u>Akhbar al-Yuom</u>, (weekly Egyptian paper), Year 33, No. 1698, May21, 1977. (Arabic text).

91. ibid.

92. EL- SADAT, President M. A. Speech delivered before the Conference of 'Egypt in the Year 2000' (Cairo: January 1977).
<u>Al-Ahram</u>, January 27, 1977.

93. Quoted from Professor Polk's article: "The Middle East: analysing social change", <u>Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists</u>, 23, Nos. 12-19, January 1967, by J. Chase (ed.) The Conflict in the Middle East.p. 19.

94. INKLES, A. and SMITH, D. H. op.cit. p. 9.

Chapter Four

Skill Inadequacy as Constraint to the Realization of Modernity Proposals

Other than the constraint imposed on the realization of modernity proposals in Egypt by the unmodified attitudes of a great many among adult masses, skill inadequacy in both the quantitative and qualitative sense, puts further limits on the success of modernization schemes. In quantity, there is imbalance between supply and demand on labour force which has given rise to bottlenecks in some sectors such as 'skilled labour' in which shortage is felt most, and adundance in the 'unskilled' sector with overt and disguised unemployment ratio that amounts to I2.63%of the total labour power in I976.[I] In quality, lack of skill among the individuals involved in various modernization schemes has its bearing on the dropping rate of development at the national level from an average annual rate of 6.7% during the period from I959 to I965 to 3.5% for the period from I967 to I973.[2] It is true that many factors may be involved in such a case including beside skill inadequacy, various others such as the availability of capital, the existence of markets, the tranport and communication facilities, .. etc., what Hoselitz (I966) recognizes as a 'whole set of institutions and installations which must be interrelated and co-ordinated in order to make this objective (reaching an effective production-oriented level) possible.[3] However, quantitative and qualitative skill inadequacy are focused upon in analysing the inconsistency with modernity proposals.

Quantitative Inadequacy

The 'unskilled' are taken to signify those who need no special training before engagement in jobs, while the 'semi-skilled'

are assigned jobs that do not require a high degree of skill, and must work under specific supervision. [4] Some studies tend to join both categories (unskilled and semi-skilled) in one,[5] while others like to treat both seperately.[6] The 1960 figures by the Institute of National Planning found that the unskilled among the total labour force in Egypt were 2.575.570, or 38.194 %, while the semi-skilled were 2.557.630, or 37.928 %. Joined together, they form 76.122 %. Skilled labour, on the other hand, were only 751.268, or 11.141 % of the total labour force. As for technicians and foremen, they were 141.470, or 2.098 %.[7] Such structure is uneven in that the category of the least skilled encompasses the vast majority, while categories of skilled labour, technicians and high professionals form, by their numbers, a very marginal position in the structure, as is indicated by table 3.I

Table 4.I

Egyptian labour force by occupational categories in 1960[8]

Occupational Category	Number	Percentage	
1. Managers	56939	0.844	2.198
2. High Professional	91297	1.354	
3. Technicians and Foremen	141470	2.098	
4. Assistants	569234	8.441	
5. Skilled Labours	751268	11.141	
6. Semi-skilled Labours	2557630	37.928	76.122
7. Unskilled Labours	2575570	38.194	
Total	6743408	100.00	

Imbalance, however, has continued until present time, and
is even projected to continue throughout the I980's. Unskilled
and semi-skilled categories together will represent 58.86% in
I980, and 54,0% in I985 of the total labour force while the skilled
category will represent 27,585% in I980, and 25.0% in I985.[9]

The whole projections are indicated in the following table:

Table 4.2
Targeted percentages for the occupational structure categories[I0]

Occupational Categories	1970	1975	1980	1985
I. Managers	I.I5	I.35	I.60	I.90
2. High Professionals	2.30	2.75	3.2I	3.80
3. Technicians	4,97	6.30	7.52	8.90
4. Assistants	8.00	7.70	7.60	7.22
5. Skilled Labours	I6.2I	I8.70	2I.2I	24.I8
6. Semi-skilled Labours	3I.65	29.62	27.585	25.00
7. Unskilled Labours	35.90	33.58	3I.275	29.00
Total	I00.00	I00.00	I00.00	I00.00

Even with the anticipated improvement,displayed by above
figures especially as regards the rates of unskilled and skilled
categories, the imbalance is expected to remain. Improvement in
skilled labour in Egypt takes double the time of other countries
like the German Democratic Republic, for example. Skilled labour
in G.D.R., industry has risen from 45.0% in I964, to 47.4% in I966, then to
52.5% in I970, a 7.5% in six years as shown in the following table:

Table4 .3
Development of structure of labour force in industry in G.D.R.[II]

	1964	1966	1970
Skilled labours	45.0	47.4	52.5
Semi-skilled labours	43.0	4I.0	37.9
Unskilled(ordinary) labours	I2.0	II.6	9.6

Imbalance of skill in Egypt delays the accomplishment of
modern economy due to what Harbison recognizes as abundance of
unskilled labour.(I2) Supply of unskilled labour exceeds demand by
991.000

in 1970, 1.019.000 in 1975, and 1.620.000 in 1980, according
to a study by the Institute of National Planning. In skilled
workers, the shortage is seen to be aggravating from 139.000
in 1970, to 267.000 in 1975, then to 759.000 in 1980. Even in
the figure of the semi-skilled, shortage is seen rising from
433.000 in 1970, to 500.000 in 1975, then to 656.000 in 1980.[12]
The whole picture drawn by the above study is one of contrast
between surplus in the unskilled, the clerks and the managers,
met, on the other hand by shortage in the skilled, the semi-skilled
and the technicians. The figures, however, put it more
strikingly as one of abundance among the 'unskilled' and
acute shortage among the 'skilled', as is shown in the following
table:

Table 4.4

Anticipated Supply and Demand in Labour Force Required for
Development Plans in 1970, 1975 and 1980 [13]
(in thousands)

Categories	1970			1975			1980		
	Demand	Supply	∓	Demand	Supply	∓	Demand	Supply	∓
Managers& Specialists	216	225	+9	256	277	+21	338	346	+8
Techncians	513	300	-213	610	347	-263	780	407	-373
Clerks	720	505	-215	856	846	-10	1170	1330	+160
Skilled Labours	1152	1013	-139	1370	1103	-267	1872	1113	- 759
Semi-skilled Labours	2160	1727	-433	2568	2068	-500	3510	2854	-656
Unskilled Labours	4239	5230	+991	5040	6059	+1019	5330	6950	+1620

Figure 4.I

Skill dilemma in Egypt based on above estimates until 1980

(a) The case of skilled labour

Supply=
Demand=
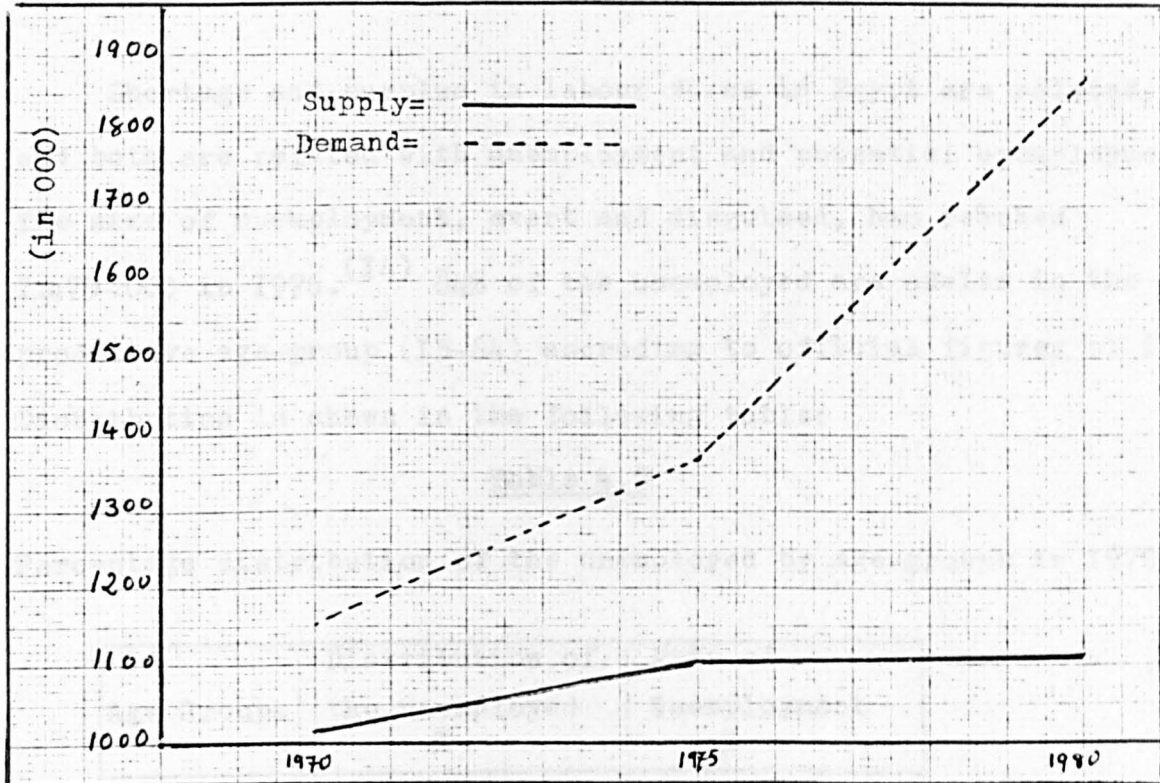
(b) The case of un-skilled labour
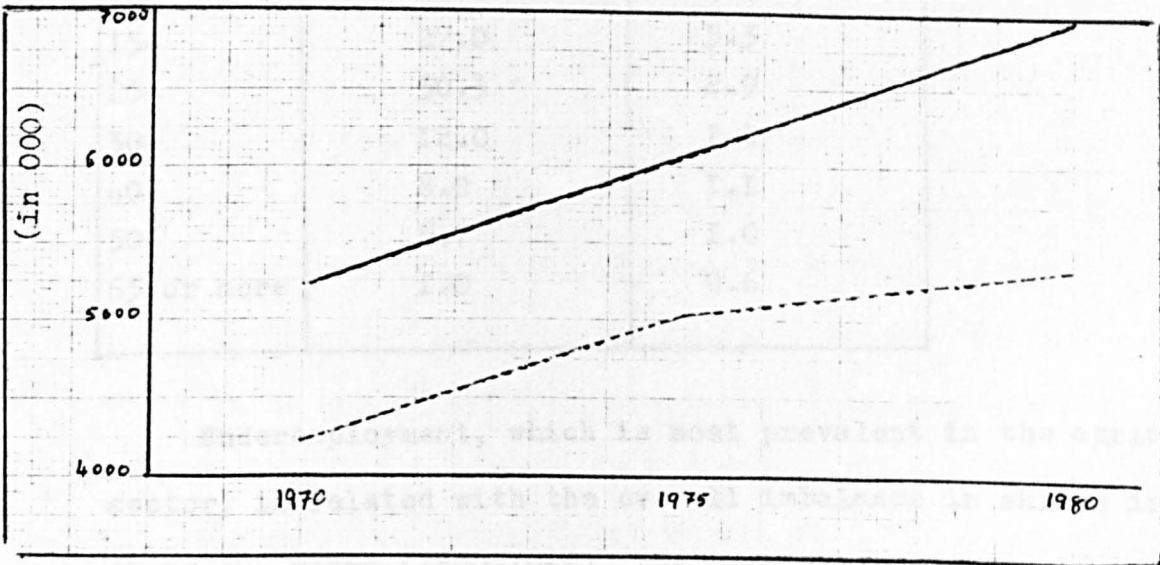
(c) The case of semi-skilled labour
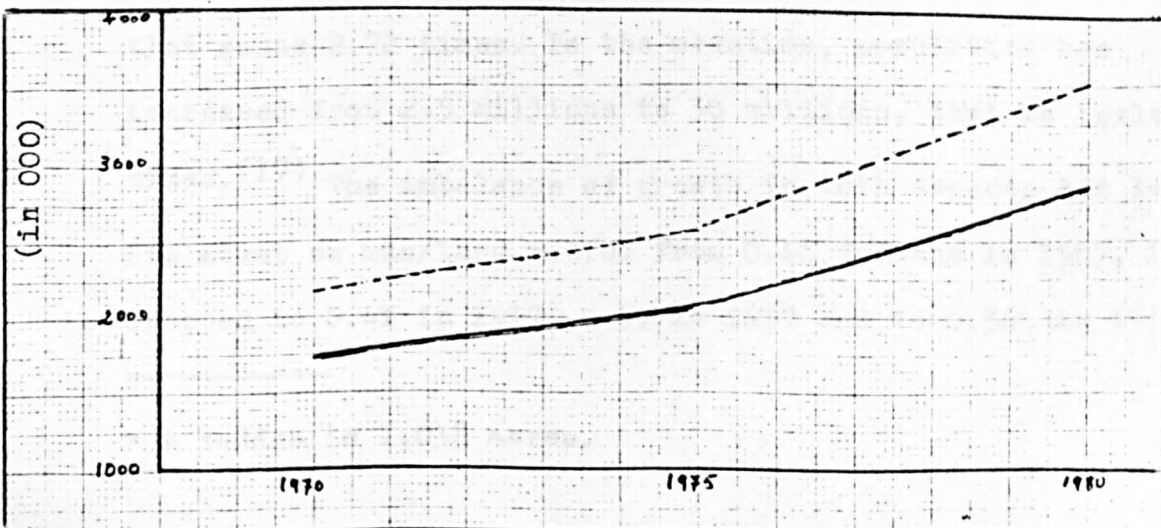
Shortage and surplus in labour force in Egypt are related, and both are related with unemployment and potential unemployment. The size of unemployment, overt and disguised, has reached I.479.000 in 1976.[I4] 84% of the unemployed are adults in the productive age-group (I5-64) accroding to official figures of I970.[I5] Distribution in shown in the following table:

Table 4.5 ·

Percentage distribution of the unemployed by age-groups in I970.[I6]

Age Groups	Distribution of the unemployed %	Rate of Unemployment %
IO-	I5.0	4.I
I5-	27.0	5.3
20-	30.3	2.9
30-	I2.0	I.2
40-	8.0	I.I
50-	6.7	I.0
65 or more	I.0	0.6

Underemployment, which is most prevalent in the agricultural sector, is related with the overall imbalance in skills in Egypt. Along I66 years (I800-I966), the cultivable area could be increased from 2.2 million feddans* to 6 million feddans, that means 2.72 times. In the meantime, population has increased from 2.5 millions to 30 millions, that is twelve times.[I7] The imbalance of growth in both aspects has left its stamp on man/land ratio. From 0.48 feddans in I907, it dropped to 0.4I in I9I7, 0.39 in I937 and to 0.364 in I952.

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* a feddan is I.038 acres.

With continuous depression during the revolutionary era,
the ratio came down to 0.207 acres., which is hardly one
tenth the ratio in a country like the United States.[18]
The actual holdings of workforce in agriculture are low
even after the laws of land reform in 1952 and 1961.[19]
72% of farmers in 1956 were found to have holdings less
than one feddan. With large families in rural areas in mind,.
full employment is far from being accomplished.[20]
Underemployment stems from the small holdings' inability
to provide employment for all, or all the year round.
It is estimated that "$\frac{1}{2}$ of the present rural workers can
be considered surplus in the sense that their removal would
not reduce total output, given the present techniques."[21]
Besides, the average number of work days per worker per year
has dropped from 230 in 1907 to only 144 in 1966.[22] This
means that an average underemployment of seven months
a year is current among adults in rural areas. The problem
tends to be one of skill in the first place, and the avail-
ability of chances of work in the second place. If some of
the underemployed thousands of adults get some training,
this will lessen the striking mal-distribution of skilled and
unskilled labour.

When the age strucure of the Egyptian population is
considered, the 'dilemma of skill' turns to a severe
challenge that has to be encountered if Egyptian economy
is to become a modern one. Age structure is more in favour

of children at the expense of producing age-groups. In 1970,
the category 15-64 years was only 54% of the total population.[23]
This is low, and evidently so even in comparison with the
percentage of the whole developing countries which was 63%
in 1965.[24] On the other side, the rate of children in
Egyptian community (under 15 years old), is found by the
Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics (1973)
to amount to 42.7% against 23.3% only in each of France and
Sweden, and about 29% in the U.S.A. As for the rate of adults
in the same year, it was found to be 53.8% for age-group
15-64, against 62.6% in the U.S.A., 64.6% in France, 65.7%
in Italy, and 66.3% in Sweden.[25] The latest Egyptian census
(November 1976) ascertains that the trend still persists
which means that the 'skill dilemma' among adult population
has to be solved urgently. To have 31.6% of the total
population in 1976 in the category under 12 years throws
a heavy burden on the economically active sectors, especially with
a very low ratio of female participation of only 9.2%
among females six years and over.[26]

Qualitative Inadequacy

The reltion between the level of individuals' education
and their performance, or productivity is difficult to
ascertain unless a countless number of interrelated factors
are taken into consideration.[27] However, Schultz (1962)
argues that a certain kind of quantity of education must

be regarded as a necessary input to achieving rising

development rates. He suggests that the acievement of higher

rates of literacy, specific vocational training, and training

for intermediate and higher administrative and managerial

positions, fall within this category.[28] His line of

argument draws near to another by Harbison and Myers

that all developed countries have in common, certain

educational characteristics. These were found to include

accomplishment of nearly universal literacy, compulsory

school attendance at least to the end of primary education,

high ratio of educational enrollments in relation to

respective age-groups. On the other side, they reported some

one billion of the world's adult illiterates as residing in

less developed countries.[29]

The significance of the level of education as predictive

of individual skill, and hence of productivity is reported

in many studies. Galal (1964) proposes the productivity of

the illiterate worker to is less in quantity and quality than

the literate one.[30] Hasanein (1970) [31] also observed

that the increase in the productivity of workers due to

education, amounts to an average of 30% a year. Productivity

of literate workers was 43% higher than that of the illiterate

ones.[32]

When the case of Egypt is seen in the light of the above

studies, the 'low rate of worker's productivity' reported by

the 'Follow-up and Evaluation Report on the First Five-year

(33)

Plan (I960/6I-I964-65)points to the low level of education

and training among Egyptian adult labour force to which

Harbison[34] attributed, together with other factors,

Egypt's economic underdevelopment:

"Egypt's most plentiful, if not almost limitless resource
is uneducated, untrained and unskilled manpower. There are
vast surpluses of underemployed agricultural labor which,
with few exceptions, are located fairly close to the centres
where industrial establishments are concentrated. Moreover,
in the already overcrowded urban areas there is an almost
inexhaustible pool of unemployed and partially employed
labor...... [35]

According to the I976 census, the percentage of illitercy

among the total population over ten years, is 7I.0% for females

and 43.2% for males, with an average total of 56.5% for both

sexes.[36] Furthermore, if the educational standard required

by   complex.   modern society is regarded to demand

more than mere ability to read and write one's name, the

picture becomes darker. To the above, is added an extra

25.I% (I6.2% for females, and 33.2% for males) who are

enumerated as 'able to read and write'. The total percentage

of illiterates and semi-illiterates in I976 is 8I.6% of

the total population IO+.

Such a condition is reflected on the country's labour

force, the structure of which is characterized by a very

low educational level. Of the total work force in all

productive units of the Public Sector, and which encompasses

29.457 workers in the 'Agricultural Sector', 572.60C in the

'Industrial Sector', and 266.2I6 in the 'Services' Sector'

in I972, those without any qualification represented 69%.

Those with qualifications less than intermediate represented

4.5%. Holders of qualifications above intermediate together

with those with intermediate qualifications represented

35 % , I9% of whom were holders of intermediate qualifcations

with varied specializations.[37] The whole distribution

is indicated from the following table:

Table 4 .6

Distribution of work force in major divisions of the Public Sector
according to educational level in I972[38]

Educ. Level	Without Qualif.	Qualif. below Interm.	Interm. Qualif.	Qualif. above Interm.	University	Above University	Total
Companies of Agricul Sector	I3857	90I	I0220	223I	2224	24	29457
Companies of Indust. Sector	407770	27920	I03792	80I5	2377I	I332	572600
Companies of Service Sector	I78I96	I0060	52626	3922	20473	939	2662I6
Total	599823	3888I	I66638	I4I68	46468	2295	868273
Percentage	69,0%	4.5%	I9.0%	I6.0%	5.4%	0.3%	I00%

When the 'Industrial Sector' is brought under more focus,

as the one with higher relevance to modernization schemes,

the educational level of the work force of the industrial

companies affiliated to the 'Public Sector' is generally

lower than the overall picture drawn above. This is

indicated in the following table:

Table 4.7

Educational level in Industrial companies affiliated to

the Public Sector Compared to the overall picture of

Work force in Public Sector[39]

	Overall Percentage of Public Sector	Percentage of Indust-ies compan
Without Qualification	69.0%	7I.3%
Below Intermediate	4.5%	4.9%
Intermediate	I9.0%	I8.I%
Above Intermediate	I.6%	I.4%
University Degree	5.4%	4.I%
Above University Degree	0.3%	0.2%
Total	I00.00	I00.00

The findings of the above study which covered 73.5% of

the total Egyptian labour force in I972 explain what the

Five-year Plan (I978-I982) recognizes as 'sluggishness

in rates of development in the early I970's'[40] This

accrods also with what Mongi put before the Conference on

Apprenticeship System (Cairo,March I976):

"The structure of the technical labour force in units of
production in the Arab Republic of Egypt is extremely
modest in terms of educational level, and it is one cause
for the deteriorating performance rate and low rate of
productivity in many companies.(4I)

A look at the categories of intermediate and below intermediate level, which encompass 92.5% of the work force included in the above study ascertains Mongi's conclusion. If qualifications are left aside, it is possible to find a more detailed classification in terms of various specializations. Mongi classified the intermediate and below intermediate categories into ten sub-divisions as follows:

Table 4.8

Distribution of the Public Sector work force intermediate and below intermediate qualifications in 1972 [42]

	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Illiterate	154835	5760	160595	19.9%
Reads and writes	393138	15504	408642	50.8%
Other qualifications	1013	1806	2819	0.4%
Religious qualific.	815	8	823	0.1%
Not indicated	29548	1038	30586	3.8%
Industrial	53851	786	54637	6.8%
Commercial	31649	13831	45480	5.6%
Agricultural	7128	15	4143	0.9%
General	45824	9912	55738	6.9%
Primary	34891	3390	38881	4.8%
Total	752692	52650	805342	100.00

From the figures of the table, the above agrument is ascertained that the burden of executing the modernization schemes in industry, agriculture and services fall on a work force that is low in its educational and training level. The Follow-Up and Evaluation Report of the First Five-year Plan (1960/61-1964/65) complained of the low increase rate of worker's productivity even below the

increase in per capita wages as is shown in the following table:

Table 4.9

Labour Productivity Compared to Wage Per
Worker During Plan Period (43)

First Plan Period (1959/60-1964/65)*

Sector		1959/60 Base Year	1960/61	1961/62	1962/63	1963/64	1964/65	Increase in the Fifth Year Over Base Year	Percentage Increase in the Fifth Year Over Base Year
Agriculture	A	179.2	161.9	156.9	172.3	184.3	219.4	40.2	22.4
	B	30.2	27.5	32.5	34.8	37.9	44.3	14.1	46.7
Industry	A	1805.7	1841.9	1764.7	1895.5	1904.8	1968.0	162.3	8.9
	B	147.6	125.3	132.7	172.3	174.9	181.3	33.7	22.8
Construction	A	1546.2	1679.4	1880.8	1816.1	1953.0	2172.2	626.0	40.5
	B	201.7	251.9	251.7	241.4	251.4	261.1	59.4	29.4
Electricity	A	551.9	605.4	536.8	525.5	617.3	524.9	- 27.0	- 4.9
	B	161.6	164.5	159.3	150.1	155.1	155.6	- 6.0	- 3.7
Total Commo-	A	484.9	458.6	497.2	557.8	589.5	649.1	85.0	21.1
dities Sector	B	55.9	50.2	60.5	71.4	75.6	82.7	19.0	42.2
Transport and	A	619.9	579.7	670.2	732.3	809.5	826.4	205.5	33.3
Comunication	B	179.8	171.3	195.2	195.8	215.6	226.5	46.7	25.9
Trade and	A	260.0	295.6	282.7	265.9	304.5	317.8	57.8	22.2
Finance	B	110.4	116.0	120.6	126.6	134.1	139.4	29.0	26.2
Housing	A	4750.0	4543.8	4411.1	4480.7	4448.6	3757.1	- 992.9	- 20.9
	B	62.5	112.5	105.6	88.4	86.5	85.7	23.2	37.1
Public	A	440.5	465.0	446.5	446.0	447.5	491.7	51.2	11.6
Utilities	B	214.3	197.5	217.7	216.0	216.9	231.0	16.7	7.8
Services	A	280.2	273.6	275.4	319.1	317.6	464.6	184.4	65.8
	B	167.1	164.4	165.3	189.0	193.5	201.3	34.2	20.5
Total Services	A	350.0	354.1	359.3	390.9	404.8	491.4	134.5	46.7
Sector	B	149.9	150.0	153.4	169.2	176.6	184.5	39.5	22.9
Grand Total	A	440.8	420.9	454.1	505.5	530.3	598.0	101.2	29.5
	B	86.6	82.5	89.8	102.4	95.7	115.7	25.8	20.9

In almost all sectors, productivity is seen to be below
wages. It is not possible to determine precisely the share
of the low level of education and skill among the work force
in the unsatisfying level of productivity that official
reports have complained of.(44) Yet, in the light of
the above mentioned studies,(45) one may accuse the low
level of education and training of being a major cause

* A : value of production per worker
  B : wages per worker

of the unsatisfying level of productivity eventhough Mabro

and Radwan[46] see the index of labour productivity growth

as an outcome of a wide set of interrelated factors, of

which labour learning and skill form one. They studied rates [47]

of growth of labour productivity in Egypt and computed them

in the following table:

Table 4.I0

Indices and average annual rates of growth of labour productivity

in Egyptian industry (I939-I970)[48]

	Indices		Average annual rates of growth		
Years	Output per man	Output per man/hour	Periods	Output per man	Output per man/hour
I939 I942 I945	I00.0 II0.0 II4.6	I00.0 II0.0 I23.6	I939-45	2.3	3.6
I945 I954 I962	I00.0 I56.2 205.0	I00.0 I53.3 222.5	I945-62	4.3	4.8
I963/4 I966/7 I969/70	I00.0 85.2 79.0	I00.0 72.I 7I.0	I963/4-69/70	-3.9	-5.5
I939 I952	I00.0 I5I.5	I00.0 I63.4	I939-52	3.2	3.8
I952 I962	I00.0 I55.0	I00.0 I68.3	I952-62	4.5	5.3
I959 I964/5	I00.0 99.I	I00.0 II2.7	I959/60-64/5	0	2.3

The average rates of labour productivity growth in industry

as shown from above figures are fairly high. Between I945

and I962 the average of annual output per man was 4.3, and

that for output per man/hour was 4.8. Such increases were
associated with considerable rises in what Mabro and Radwan
recognized as capital intensity which rose from index I00 in
I945 to 232 in I960 and I99 in I962.[49] Yet, skill was behind
that rise as well, which verifies our point of view as regards
skill. Imrovement in skill-composition of the labour force
due to the injection of some 200.000 skilled workers who had
been employed by the Allied military establishement, and who
came to join Egyptian industry after WarII was one decisive
factor. "More skilled labour working with more and better
capital equipment," say Mabro and Radwan, "as well as shifts
in the composition of industry towards activities where output
per man is typically high, must have accounted for most of
these increases."[50]

If the injection of skilled labour after World War II
has served to drive productivity of Egyptian industry
forward until I962, it is in the rush of thousand of unskilled
labour to the field of industry since the 'Socialist Laws'
(I96I), according to which most industries were nationalized,
that the picure of productivity has reversed into a much
darker one.The level of output per man, and per man/hour
after I962 is seen 'in sharp contrast with earlier periods.'[5I]
Between I963/64 and I966/67 output per man/hour fell by
28 per cent, and output per man fell by I5 per cent as
is shown in the table above. Throughout the following years,
decline continued, though at a comparatively slower rate.

The decline in output per man, and output per man/hour after 1962, partly because of skill inadequacy among labour force, and partly for other socio-economic reasons, is expressive of the staggering stride for modernity in Egypt. The sudden turn in productivity ratio after 1962 'accounts for the zero average rate of growth of output per man during the Plan, as earlier gains were wiped out towards the end of the five-year period.'[52]

The above defects have continued to hinder the realization of economic proposals for a modern State. Lessons of the 1970's indicate that the rate of development in Egypt has dropped from 6.7% (1956-1965) to less than 5% annually after that.[53] This was mostly associated with military expenditure, and the delay of replacement and renewal whether in the essential utilities or production and service units.[54] However, productivity of 'man' that has severely declined since the early 1960's seems to be a decisive factor that has to be carefully attended to if the required revolutionary change in development rate,which the Five-year Plan (1978-1982) proposes, comes true. To raise the annual development rate from less than 5 per cent to an average annual rate of [55] 9-10 per cent is a highly ambitious proposal to be attained within few years unless the skill of the adult population is brought, quantitatively and qualitatively, in harmony with the aspired goals.

Notes - Chapter Four

I. ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, MINISTRY OF PLANNING. The Five-Year Plan 1978-1982, Vol. 2 'Egyptian Man'.
Cairo: Ministry of Planning, 1977. p. 58.   (Arabic text).

2. The Five-Year Plan 1978-1982, Vol. I. op.cit. p. 48 and 52.

3. HOSELITZ, B. "The influence of cultural factors on technological change in developing economies", in J. Stieber (ed.) Employment and problems of automation in advanced technology. London: Macmillan, 1966. p. 53.

4. ROFAEL, S. et al., 'A working paper on prospected employment growth by occupational categories in the U.A.R. 1970-1985', a study presented to 'Seminar on Manpower Planning' (Cairo: 20-24 February, 1968) organised jointly by the O.E.C.D. and Institute of National Planning, Cairo.
Cairo: Institute of National Planning, n.d. p. 5.

5. ibid. p. 6.

6. EL-SHINNAWY, M. A. et al, 'A working paper on a study of the occupational structure for the sector of health services with an analysis of the projected manpower requirements for the branches of rural health services and preventive medicine in 1985', a study presented to 'Seminar on Manpower.....' ibid. p. 5.

7. ROFAEL, S. et al., op.cit. p. 6.

8. ibid.

9. ibid. p. 9.

IO. ibid.

II. MONGI, M. A. F. 'Inevitability of attending to sytem of apprenticeship by Public Sector companies, and the necessity of expanding such a system', a study presented to the 'Conference on Training for Apprenticeship' (Cairo, March 1976). Table 6. p. II.

I2. YOUSSEF, Y. K. and EID, W. M. op.cit. Table 6. p. 32.

I3. ibid.

I4. The Five-Year Plan 1978-1982, Vol. 2, op.cit. p. 58.

I5. C.A.P.M.S. Population and development, op.cit. p. 199.

I6. ibid. Table 3.2.7 p. 199.

I7. ELWAN, A. E. S. Analysis of the conditions of human resources in the new Egyptian communities, in Development of human resources in the new communities. Cairo: Al-Ahram al-Iktisadi, March 1974. p. 46   (Arabic text)

I8. WILBER, D. N. op.cit. p. 297 and 304.

I9. ibid.

20. ISSAWI, C. <u>Egypt at mid-century: an economic survey</u>. Quoted by
W. L. Young, op.cit. p. 79.

2I. YOUNG, W. L. ibid.

22. NAGI, M. H. <u>Labor force and employment in Egypt: a demographic
and socio-economic analysis</u>. New York: Praeger Publishers, I97I.
pp. 7I-72.

23. EL- GHANNAM, M. A. <u>Development, human resources and adult education</u>,
Paper presented to the International Expert Panel on Adult Education
and Development with Special Reference to the Arab States (Sirs-El-Layyan,
29 November-9December 1975). Table 6, p. I6.

24. ibid. p. 5.

25. C.A.P.M.S. <u>Population and development</u>, op.cit. p. I76.

26. C.A.P.M.S. <u>The preliminary results of the general population and
housing census 22/23 November I976 in Egypt</u>. Cairo: C.A.P.M.S.,n.d
Table 7, p. 30.

It has to be noted that the percentage of economically active
population (individuals six years and over)/^{in 1960}was found in the above
census to be 55.I% for males and 4.8% for females with an average
of 30.I% for both sexes in 1960. As for 1976, the percentage was found
to be 52.9% for males and 9.2 for females with an average 3I.5% for
both sexes.

27. MABRO, R. and RADWAN, S. op.cit. p. I45.
Mabro and Radwan do not favour the simple cause-effect deductions. They
argue that:

> "An increase in the land yields or in labour productivity does not
> necessarily imply that the natural fertility of the soil or the
> human qualities of the labour force have improved".

It is possible, in their view, that a countless number of factors
are involved including water, fertilizers, capital inputs to a unit
of land, labour, change in methods of organization or techniques
of production ... etc. When applying their argument to the productivity
of a human being the same line is adopted:

> "Labour is capable of learning, and increases in productivity in so
> far as they reflect the accumulation of experience, may be attributed
> to labour itself. But the index of productivity growth by itself
> does not provide information on the causes of changes - whether
> learning by doing, technical changes, or increases in the volume
> of other factors of production. It simply reveals the magnitude
> of changes or movements over time."

28. SCHULTZ, T. W. "Reflections on investment in man", <u>Journal of
Political Economy</u>, Vol. LXX, No. 5, Part 2, October 1962. pp. I-8.

29. HARBISON, F. and MYERS, C. A. op.cit. Chapter I, pp. I-I4.

30. GALAL, A. F. K. 'Urbanization in Egypt and its implications for education I900-I960'. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, I963. p. 2I4.

31. HASANEIN, A. S. 'Agricultural development in the Arab states: its structure and hindrances with concentration on the intellectual, cultural and social aspects of human resources', Paper presented to the 'Study Session on Illiteracy Eradication in the Service of Development and Production in the Arab States' (UNESCO, Beirut II August - Ist September I969). Sirs-El-Layyan, I970. p. 64.

32. UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC, MINISTRY OF PLANNING Follow-up and evaluation report on the First Five-Year Plan (I960/6I-I964/65). Part I, Follow-up and evaluation of development basic figures of the First Five-Year Plan. Cairo: Ministry of Planning, I966.

33. ibid. p. 59.

34. HARBISON, F. 'Egypt', in W. Galenson (ed.) Labor and economic development. New York: John Willey & Sons, Inc., I959. pp. I46-I85.

35. ibid. p. I54.

36. C.A.P.M.S., The prelimnary results..... op.cit. Table 8, p. 30.

37. MONGI, A. A. F. op.cit. Table 3, p. 6.

38. ibid.

39. ibid. abstracted from Tables 3 and 4 pages 6 and 8 respectively.

40. The Five-Year Plan 1978-I982, Vol. I, op.cit. p. 74.

4I. MONGI, M. A. F. op.cit. p. 9.

42. ibid. Table 5, p. IO.

43. C.A.P.M.S. Population and development, op.cit. Table 3.2.9 (A), p. 2OI.

44. Follow-up and evaluation.......... the First Five-Year Plan, Part I. op.cit. p. 57. The report puts it plainly that:

> "One of the economic variables that had no much success in the First Five-Year Plan is the low increase of workers' productivity below the increase rate of per capita wages. Whereas per capita wages in the national economy rose by 3I.3% in the fifth year, worker's productivity only rose by I8.3%, hence worker's wages went far ahead his productivity." *

(* underlined in the original).

45. HASANEIN, A. S. (I969), op.cit.

MONGI, M. A. F. (I976), op.cit.

HARBISON, F. (I959), op.cit.

GALAL, A. F. A. K. (I963), op.cit.

SCHULTZ, T. W. (I962) op.cit.

46. MABRO, R. and RADWAN, S. op.cit.

47. ibid. p. I45.

48. ibid. Table 8.6, p. I47.

49. ibid.

50. ibid.

51. ibid. pp. I47-I48.

52. ibid. p. I48.

53. The October Working Paper (I974), op.cit. p. 55.

54. ibid.
It is noted that defence expenditure estimates for I974 put it as
high as 35.8% of GNP meanwhile it is much lower in some other
countries for the same year. It was only 3.3% in the case of
Algeria, 7.0% in Iraq, I0.9% in Jordan, I.5% in Quwait, I5.4% in
Oman, I.5% in Tunisia, and 3.5% in Libya. (abstracted from
AHMAD, Y. J. op.cit. Table I8, p. 67).

55. The Five-Year Plan I978-I982, Vol. I. op.cit. p. 48.

PART THREE

FORMULATION OF POLICY PROPOSALS

With a problem already intellectuali ed, a researcher has
to turn his attention to the formulation of policy proposals.
Such formulation has to work for a situation in which the
previously intellectualized inconsistency is resolved. It
probes the situation in which a clear basis of the solution
is reached through the use of models. In other words, the
'proposed policy formulation' represents the theoretical
basis for the solution.Later, a researcher has to examine
the proposed solution, practically, i.e. in the light of
specific conditions.

Part three includes two chapters. Chapter five investigates
'modernity' and various approaches for identifying it in
contemporary thought. This review levels the ground for the
selection of a model of 'modernity' both in the political and
economic realms. It also facilitates the argument about the
ideal typical models of 'man' and 'society' in modernity.

Chapter six investigates the possible contribution of
adult education to the realization of modernity proposals.
In other words, the chapter attempts to investigate the extent
to which 'adult education' forms a possible solution to the
problem of staggering modernity. This is reached through an
analysis of the impact of adult education on pre-modern
attitudes and inadequate skills.

Chapter Five

Modernity: Identification and Models

What 'modernity' is

The nature of the term 'modernity', and its relatively
recent introduction into scientific investigation have their
bearing on its treatment as a subject of study. Some difficulties
are associated with the definition given to the term. Until present,
it has hardly got a convenient standerdized concept that might
be accepted without argument, but has got instead, a divergent
set of concepts expressing divergence in trends of identification.
Nettl and Robertson[I] specify three difficulties as regards the
definition of 'modernity'. In the first place, there is the major
problem of "confusion and vagueness".[2] The second is related
with both explicit and implicit suggestion that modernity
pertains to the characteristics of Western industrial democracies
whether social, political or economic. The third is related with
the rigid confinement of 'modernity' to certain moulds, what
they express as "the suggestion that modernity represents a
single, final state of affairs, namely 'the state of affairs'
to be found in a number of Western societies which everyone
should try to emulate, and which the most successful could reach."[3]

In ordinary speech, 'modern' is frequently equated with
'recent', or 'more recent' as distinct from the old or ancient.
In the 'Oxford Illustrated Dictionary', it is given the meaning
'Of the present and recent times'.[4] In this sense, a society
may/ be simply described as modern if it has exchanged its old
ways for more recent ones. Compliance with contemporary

cultural triats of the age is what Ewais stresses in his

definition.[5] He cares to point out to the relative

changeability of the concept of 'modernity' with change of

time. Our concept of what is modern in the second half of the

twentieth century is likely to differ from the one/may have

in the 2Ist century.[6]

In some other views, 'modernity' signifies a society's

success to accomplish material flourish in accordance with

certain measures or indicators. This, in turn, opens a wide

door for the intermingle observed in many writings between

a society's modernity and the successful execution of

'modernization' and, sometimes, 'development' schemes. To a

sociologist like Palmer:[7]

> "The terms "modernization" and "development" are generally
> synonymous, the exception being that "modernization refers
> to the process of moving toward the idealized set of
> relationships posited as 'modern" by various social theorists.
> "Development" refers to the process of achieving parity with
> the world's most economically developed states in the production
> of goods and services."

This seems in line with what Cyril Black accepts as a wide usage

of the term 'modernity' as description of "the characteristics

common to countries that are most advanced in technological,

political, economic, and social development."[8] 'modernity'

in such a usage, is organically related with technological

and other aspects of advance, simply with the execution of

modernization schemes.

However, such adefinition might be criticized on account of

locking the term within the materialistic aspects regardless

of the human factor. It is doubtful that one African country,

for example, might be regarded as 'modern' only with a wealth

of minerals that makes possible the execution of many

modernization schemes with international or foreign aid.

To the writer's way of thinking, 'man' has to be included

in any definition of modernity. Definitions given by psychologists

and social-psychologists tend to fill such a gap. 'Modernity'

is seen rather as a state in which the norms and attitudes of

the people in a certain society are 'modern' in the sense of

compliance with certain characteristics such as rationality,

calculation,... etc. 'Modernity' to Lerner[9] is:

> "primarily a state of mind - expectation of progress,
> propensity to growth, readiness to adapt oneself to
> change." [10]

From such a conception of modernity springs the high place

that Lerner gives to 'empathy' and the acceptance of

innovations on the part of individuals. Searching for

modernity characteristics within 'man' is the trend that

Rudolph and Rudolph (1967)[11] follow, and may be seen as

running, generally, with what Lerner accepts:

> "modernity" assumes that local ties and parochial perspectives
> give way to universal commitments and cosmopolitan attitudes;
> that the truths of utility, calculation and science take
> precedence over those of the emotions, the sacred, and the
> non-rational; that the individual rather than the group be
> the primary unit of society and politics; that the associations
> in which men live and work be based on choice not birth;
> that mastery rather than fatalism orient their attitude toward
> the material and human environment; that identity be chosen
> and achieved, not ascribed and affirmed; that work be separated
> from family, residence, and community in bureaucratic
> organizations; .... [12]

The angle through which modernity is looked at,
decides to an extent, the definition that individual thinkers
give to it,hence the danger of having two such thinkers
dealing with 'modernity' but with totally different views.
Some economists and sociologists, having the whole society
in the forefront of their thoughts, highly appreciate
such aspects as industrialization, mass education, bureau-
cratization, ... etc., which, in their totality, indicate
modernity. Others take a different line with stress laid
only on one or few aspects that are, to them, most
significant in a modern society, giving but slight attention
to others. The economic realm is stressed by some thinkers
being the one in which modernity is most likely to be
shown.[13] To others, modernity is rather a spiritual
phenomenon or a kind of mentality with little regard to
what an economic or political system takes.[14]

The above muddle of modernity definitions makes the review of
contemporary schools of thought and their broad trends
of identifying modernity   a necessary step. Five major
trends in the identification of modernity can be distinguished
each being adopted by one contemporary school of thought. However,
sharp barriers between each of the trends and the others are
not found.

Modernity identification through contrasts

Modernity may be identified through the notion of
contrast that stems from the comparison of 'modern' and
'traditional' societies: the former representing the ideal
model meanwhile the latter stands for the other extreme.
Contrasts are, hence, models of rational structures set as
instruments to facilitate the description and analysis of
the social status that characterizes each type. To Kahl:

> "Traditional society" and "modern society" are abstractions,
> mental constructs that create simplified models in order to
> help us understand the central factors that explain the
> complextities of historical reality. They are "ideal types"
> in which a limited number of characteristics in "pure"
> form are used to develop the theoretical model." [15]

The 'contrast' trend is favoured by many sociologists
since the outset of the present century and even before
in the discrimination they attempted to make between 'simple'
and 'complex' societies.

One earlier attempt to explore modernity is Henry Maine's
in which he distinguished a society based on inherited
social status from the other based on contractual relations. [16]
Another is the 'Community' and 'Society' or the 'Gemenschaft'
and 'Gesellchaft' types of societies made by Tonnies
distinguishing the society dominated by elementary clan
relations and the one dominated by secondary contractual. [17]

Robert Redfield, as well, contrasted the 'folk society' with the 'urban society'.[18] The list may be expanded to include Howard Becker's contrast of 'sacred society' with 'secular society', Durkeim's 'mechanical' and 'organic' types of society ... and so forth.

However, most notable of all attempts included is Weber's with the three categories he postulated: the rational-legal, the traditionalistic and the charismatic.[19] His classification has, to a greater or lesser extent, influenced later typologies as Parsons' and others. As for Parsons' typology, it is built on the well-known five 'Pattern Variables' he made of traditional and modern societies as will be elaborated later.[20]

According to the views included in the 'contrast' trend, underdeveloped societies of the present day have, in a sense, the characteristics of simple, traditional, or pre-civilised societies. Isolation, prevalence of elementary relations, family centricity and other non-formal controls, traditionality and slow change, are all likely to be prevalent in them in one degree or another. Passive characteristics are generally isolated as signifying backwardness, whereas modernity is associated with the other extreme. The modernization process is taken to signify the process that tends to eliminate such passive characteristics and acquire the ones of the modern model.

Useful as the above outlooks at modernity might be, in drawing distinctive lines between 'modern' on the one hand, and 'less modern', 'traditional' or 'backward' on the other, the actual conditions of societies are likely to defy such theoretical abstractions. There is, indeed, a great deal of interactions that allow a wide space between the 'black' and 'white' colours filled by an infinite number of graded shades. Hence, the severe limitation imposed on the practical use of the 'contrast' trend bringing it down to the provision of methodological instruments for the understanding of analysis process. Besides, the trend encourages arbitrary judgements for, when contrasting concepts, there is always the temptation to attribute the positive value to the one, and -necessarily- a negative value to the other.

Modernity identification through indicators

An indicator is taken in language as 'that which points out or indicates'.[21] In science, it reflects, directly or indirectly the amounts that cannot be subject to direct measurement or observation hence, exceeding the significance of the 'index figure' which is mainly concerned with the changes in time and place to which a directly measurable amount is subject whether in itself or in practice.[22]

Indicators of modernity may take the form of one 'core' that a thinker concentrates upon and to which he attaches the greatest relevance in modernity. Levy, for example, judges a society to be modernized according to its capability to use 'inanimate' sources of power as well the use of 'tools' to multiply the effect of effort. To him,

> A society will be considered more or less modernized to the extent that its members use inanimate sources of power and/or use tools to multiply the effects of their efforts.(23)

To others, modernity is indicated by a number of cores that, in their overall form show the degree to which a society is 'modern' or 'traditional'. In such a trend, the notion of contrast might as well be included, thus modern and traditional societies are contrasted through the use of a number of indicators. A good example of a sociologist who identified modernity that way is Kahl who gave seven characteristics the presence of which indicates modernity. I. The division of labour, namely the proportion of labour force engaged in agriculture. While traditional societies may have 70-80 per cent of their workers engaged in tilling the soil, the precentage in modern societies is less than IO per cent. Nonagricultural labour force may be divided into 'traditional sector' including artisans, priests and lawyers, while modern sectors might include industrial

workers, clerks in bureaucracies, and engineers.

2. The state of technology related with the sophesticated engineering based upon the latest scientific researches chracterizes a modern society whereas the traditional one uses customary techniques of production.

3. The degree of urbanization which Kahl builds on the rationale that 'Since modern agricultural technology permits a small proportion of the labor force to feed the remaining of the population, using a low ratio of men to land, most of the society becomes urban'.[24]

4. The economy. While the economy in a modern society is based on complex commercial markets unifying all parts of the nation, per capita production and consumption are high, we find the traditional society, on the contrary, based on localized markets where the production is mostly for a meagre level of subsistence.

5. The system of social stratification. Modern society is characterized by a range of statuses reflecting the range of positions in the division of labour. These are many with no sharp distinctions between one and the other. 'The distribution of prestige, of income, and of power', states Kahl, 'become more equaliterian and the rate of mobility between strata increases'.[25] The traditional society, on the contrary, is characterized by sharp division between landlords and peasants.

6. Education and communications. Modern society is literate
with widespread secondary education that narrows the gulf
between mass and elite. The whole system moves toward the
technical and pragmatic. Mass media in a typical modern society
cater to the bulk of the population shaping new images
that replace customary symbols. As for the traditional
society, it is on the whole illiterate, with only a few
elite having a high level scholarship.

7. Values. Modern values are, as Kahl states, 'rational and
secular, permit choice and experiment, glorify efficiency
and change, and stress individual responsibility'.[26]
Traditional values, on the contrary, are compulsory in
their force, sacred and stable calling for fatalistic acceptance
of the world as it is and exaggerated respect to those
in authority.[27]

Parsons, as well, was concerned with contrasting
variable tendencies of ideal modern and traditional systems.
His dichotomies were presented through his 'Pattern Variables':
universalism-particularism, achievement-ascription, affectivity-
neutrality - affectivity, specifity-diffuseness; and
collectivity-orientation -self-orientation. As will be
elaborated in detail in this chapter, social systems and
subsystems to Parsons, would thus be amenable to modernity
if their goals significantly reflect five tendencies
involved in the dichotomies:

a. General standards and criteria than particular cases.

b. Judgement of action on the basis of what individuals do rather than what they are.

c. The function favours long-term objectives rather than immediate ones.

d. The operation of laws which are rationally defined, differentiated and changeable rather than diffuse and traditionally handed canons.

e. Collective interest rather than self-interest.[28]

Concerned mainly with the economic aspect of modernity, Hoselitz highly favours three only of Parsons' five variables:

I. Universalism and particularism, that the individual in traditional societies is treated according to subjective norms. Performance judgement is, hence, made not on the basis of efficiacy and experience, but for personal and family considerations. In modern societies, performance judgements are decided according to general considerations. Posts, for example, are occupied mostly on the basis of efficiacy and/or experience. Individuals are ruled by well-defined criteria to which all are committed.

2. Ascription and achievement, that backward economies are dominated by clan relations. The distribution of goods and services is made not according to the effort exerted by individuals, but on the basis of family relations. On the other extreme, the effort and achievement become the criteria of such distribution:

3. Specifity and diffuseness, that division of labour is
not applied in traditional societies and is both cause
and effect of low peoductivity. In modern societies,
specialization and labour division dominate, and every
individual has a small, well defined task in the process
of production in accordance with his efficiacy and
technical skill.[29]

With this view of traditional and modern economy,
it is easy to see how Hoselitz' view bears resemblance to
Parsons'.

Smelser made a similar attempt in his analysis of the
mechanisms of change and adjustment to change, as well as
in the theorization of the process of modernization.[30]
He differs in view from Levy and some others in that he
preaches the futility of the views that concentrate on
the economic aspect disrgarding the social one.

He criticized the economic theories that bear heavily
on the interaction between economic variables such as saving,
investment, productivity and organization. Sociological
variables, to him, are of no less importance including
family systems, class stratification and political situation
with their impact on the economic variables. While an aspect
like saving, for example, is connected with .the levels of
investment it is in the meantime related with the'image'
of investment. The former is affected by the level of

income and the costs of living, the latter is affected by
the prevailing values and attitudes which might induce
individuals in a traditional society to spend on boasting
and showy consumption.

Class positions are, as well, likely to affedt saving
and investment. Smelser sees the social status in most rural
societies associated with land possession, and so the
ultimate hope of an individual in such societies centres
round the increase of his possession of land. This directs
the savings basically to the buying of agricultural land
that is assumed to give the family a higher social prestige.

As for the family system, Smelser points out that
rural and tribal societies with their social systems based
on the family system, locality and religion stand in the
way of initiation. [31]

Modernity identification through evolutionary stages

'Modernity' in this trend represents the highest stage
in a series of evolutionary stages that societies are
assumed to pass through. Throughout these stages, modernity
has developed in a series of historical processes that took
place first in Europe and created not only new social
structures and organizations, but also what Eisenstadt
calls a 'non-traditional great tradition', or a new type
of civilization. [32]

Stages are marked by dynamic events which might be of political nature, as those witnessed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while some stages are marked by more general and cumulative positions like the scientific revolution or the development of rationalization which are assumed to have direct and strong connection with trends in economic development. But, casual events, however great, cannot, by themselves, be taken to manifest seperate stages of evolution unless they are marked by certain features. Of these are the transformation they accomplish of the nature and contents of the centres of society, of rules and patterns of participation and access to them, and of the relation between cultural and political centres on the one hand and the periphery on the other. The transformation in the content of these orders takes, according to Eisenstadt, three phases: secularization, reconsideration of the givenness of these contents and emphasis on the active and autonomous participation of broader groups in the formation of cultural traditions.[33]

The writings of Rostow and Wallace clearly favour the evolutionary trend, though the first is specifically concerned with the economic aspect, while the latter adopts a more general approach of cultural stability.

The 'Stages of Economic Growth' is an analysis of

comprehensive and evolutionary stages which make possible

the identification of all societies whatever their degree

of growth as lying within one of five categories:

I. The traditional society.

2. The pre-conditions for the take-off.

3. The take-off into self-sustained growth.

4. The drive to maturity.

5. The stage of high-mass consumption. [34]

The fifth stage is the one most likely to represent modernity,

and is linked with the preceding one (the drive to maturity)

in that, when maturity approaches its end, three remarkable

changes are witnessed:

The first is in labour power as regards its structure, wage

level, outlooks and degree of skill. While before the

'Take-off' 75% of the labour power worked in agriculture

generally getting low wages hardly sufficient for

subsistence, the percentage comes as down as to 40% near

the end of the 'Take-off'. When maturity is accomplished,

this latter figure drops to 20% only. Besides, the level of

wages especially of technical labourers, rises, and workers

organize themselves in unions that look after the promotion

of their conditions and living standards.

The second change is in the nature of leadership which

moves from those who have founded their wealth through their

ownership of factories, to the efficient enterpreneurs who

undertake administration in various institutions.

The third change takes place in 'thoughts', aspirations
and outlooks of individuals as the society generally
suffers boredom and loses much of the zeal for the miracles
brought about by industry. (35)

The 'High-mass consumption' is the stage in which the
role of leadership is moved to the sectors engaged in
services and in production of cars, electric washing machines,
refrigerators, radio and television sets, simply the lasting
goods. The societies that rose to that stage (the United
States, Western Europe and Japan) witnessed two significant
turns:

a. The rise of the individuals' income to the extent that
a great many of them have the ability to spend on
consuming expenditure that surpasses what they actually
need for food, housing and clothing.

b. A change in the structure of the working power when the
percentage of the city residents to the population rose.
The percentage of workers in offices and technical jobs in
factories rose subsequently.(36)

Apart from these changes, societies that have reached
the 'High-mass consumption' devote an increasing amount
of their resources for welfare purposes and social
security. Not only do individuals enjoy the possession
of lasting consumer goods, but enjoy as well health,
medical, cultural and recreative services.

Wallace, on the other hand, focuses the attention on the stages of 'social change' building on the notion that cultural diffusion is a basic factor in change and development. The cycle of change takes five stages:

(a) The stage of stability which represents the preconditions for change, and is characterized by a state of integrity and balance between the prevalent cultural elements. In such a stage, the society allows all the cultural types to co-exist so long as they are capable of satisfying the requirements of the individuals and groups.

(b) The growth of individual requirements

The requirements of individuals grow while the prevalent cultural patterns prove incapable of satisfying the steady increase in the individuals' requirements, and hence, rises the need for some change in the current cultural patterns.

(c) The state of cultural distortion

When the prevalent cultural patterns fail to satisfy adequately the requirements of individuals, the society resorts to borrowing cultural types from other societies which are thought to be capable of achieving development. However, contradiction soon arises between the new cultural patterns and the old ones. This results in difficulties in absorption and assimilation of the new elements and hence, lead to the 'distortion' of the original cultural elements. This represents

a major challenge to the society.

(d) Revitalization

The society attempts to balance itself through the

revitalization of its old cultural elements meanwhile

it benefits by the new cultural elements that have proved

from its experience, to be effective and fitting to it.

Notwithstanding the many challenges encountered by the

society during that stage, it can face them successfully

by the elimination of the routine that stands against

organization as well as by accepting the cultural elements

and trats that are useful to it. The process of cultural

transformation is, hence, complete.

(e) The new stage of stability

When the society succeeds in achieving the balance once more

between its cultural elements, it returns to its normal

state and is, by then, dominated by a state of stability

different from the one it had witnessed before. By then, it

had covered a good distance in the way leading to development

or modernity. [37]

Identification of modernity as a multi-dimensional, integrative

whole

This trend does not confine itself to one or even some

sets of indicators through which modernity may be identified.

It does not rely on a partial interpretation of development

nor does it recommend the outlook based on evolutionary
stages/societies have to go through before they reach
modernity. It rather follows a conceptual organic line
based on the 'wholistic' view at society in terms of the
interaction and interdependence between various social
phenomena and systems.

Sorokin suggested that the integrative concept of the
social life phenomena be based on a set of items, some of
which point to the nature of the current social conditions,
others are related with the structural ingredients of social
phenomena while others still express the image in which
the social phenomena are interrelated. (38)

The writings after the integrative line of modernity
identification generally stress the various systems
through which the integrative whole is identified. Nine
such systems are frequently mentioned in one form or other
namely, the demographic, the family, the educational, the
ecological, the economic, the political, the
normative, class structure, and health condition.

Myrdal suggests that the social system is affected by
a set of economic and social forces. In case some change
occurs in one aspect, the reaction caused as a result of
that change does not take the form heading for a reverse
direction of the old change, but rather it leads to the emergence
of helping changes to the first, and hence, drives the
system in the same direction that the first change has taken,
and consolidates it.

Myrdal affirms the contact between the economic and social variables severely criticizing the traditional economic theory. He rejects the traditional trend that disregards the non-economic factors. To be practical, he suggests, necessitates that the economic analysis takes into consideration all the relevant factors. In other words, it must concentrate on the causality cumulative principle between various factors in the social system.[39]

One clear example after the integrative trend which expresses the point of view of the developing countries may be deduced from 'Essay of Socio-economic Typology in Latin American Countries'[40] where social and political variables are integrated. A set of five variables are introduced for the consideration of those who attempt to measure the degree of development. Such an effort bears some resemblance to what has already been enlisted under the "indicators' trend". The five variables are:

a. The economic variable which includes a set of indicators such as the average income of the individual, the consumption of electricity, cement, the issue of newspapers, the calories that an individual gets, and the percentage of the labour force engaged in the agricultural sector.

b. Social graduation which includes a set of indicators namely, distribution of population over urban and rural areas, and distribution of power over various productive sectors.

c. The cultural variable including indicators such as illiteracy

percentage, the percentage of students in various stages of

education compared to the age groups, the individual's share

in newspapers, radio sets and cinema seats. Other indicators

are concerned with health level as represented in the number

of physicians to every I00,000 of the population and the individual

share in hospital bedding in addition to birth and mortality

rates.

d. The demographic variable which includes two basic indicators:

the degree of homogenity among the population and the

percentage of the foreigners to the nationals.

The
e. Political variable which is represented in the degree of

parliamentary represnetation, the actuality of political ideas,

the degree of integrity of the pressure grpoups or other

groups influencing political life, and the degree of

the representation of the electorates in the system of

political parties. (4I)

The integrative bases for Moore, on which the degree

of modernity of a society may be identified are put in

a classificatory system different from the above. They

include: values, systems, organization and incentives:

I. Values It is necessary to have a framework of values

that allows an easy mobility for the individuals, as well as

an employment system based on technical efficiacy and

capability of performance. Such a demand is seen by Moore,

as sometimes contradictory to a number of prevalent values

in the society such as the inclination to prefer clans,

and hence the change of the framework of values becomes

a basic condition of modernity. (42)

2. Systems Development is closely connected with a system

of ownership, work and exchange as well as with political

and economic systems. Work has to be mobile whether geographi-

cally or socially and employment should run in accordance with

efficiacy with no regard to previous social status. A high degree

of political stability is a necessary prerequisite. A change

in the educational system as well as in the public and

private organizations that look after the promotion of education

and technology is also a condition for the accomplishment of

development. To Moore, some pioneer sectors of population should

tend to put programmes to identify the technical methods that

should be borrowed or oriented as well as the new inventions

that can be applied in unusual conditions.

3. Organization As industrial advance is related with

specialization and labour division, there should be a

systematized administrative organization that makes decisions.

4. Motivation The more desire for a better life, does not

-automatically- mean attaining it. Hence, change should be

introduced in the prevalent social systems and organizations. (43)

The psycho-sociological trend for modernity identification

In this trend, modernity is identifiable by a group of structural characteristics that distinguish the 'modern' society from a 'traditional' one. On the individual basis, modernity signifies a group of attitudes, values and styles of feeling and work that active and clever participation in a modern society demands of its individuals.

To psycho-sociologists, Man's modernity precedes and is even a condition for accomplishing the modernity of social systems. Hence, psychological characteristics of individuals and groups are concentrated upon as basic areas of investigation. Their rationale is that, to reach modernity, a State has to depend on an efficient system of bureaucracy, advanced science and technology, sound planning, ... etc., the realization of which requires that individuals possess certain traits, values and attitudes. This explains why a good deal of the efforts exerted by psycho-sociologists has been directed to the study of the behavioural characteristics of 'modern man', as may be deduced from the work of figures like Mc Clelland, Inkeles, Smith, Kahl which will be elaborated later.[44]

The growing data obtained from the empirical studies in the field seem to support many of the views raised by the above figures, and many others as regards the individual traits of 'modern man'. However, the trend, on the whole, is subject to criticism from, at least, four angles:

I. That the differentiation made between 'modern' and 'traditional'
or 'non-modern man' builds on arbitrary basis. This may be explained
by the lack, until present, of universally accpetable characteristics
of 'modern' man to rely upon. Accordingly, it is difficult to find
a typical man whom we may call 'modern'.

2. That most of the psycho-sociologists who have dealt with individual
modernity are from the West. It is not strange, hence, to find that
the characteristics of 'modern' man to them are unconsciously
delineated with the traits they suppose to characterize Western man.
As will later be shown, [45] linking modernity with Western outlooks
and Western styles of life, however unavoidable, leads to some
conclusions that do not accord with underdeveloped countries whose
actual setting differs from the setting out of which the 'Industrial
Revolution' and other great movements of the West have sprung.

3. Because the cultural items vary from one underdeveloped country
to another, it is hardly acceptable that one set of behavioural
characteristics may work for all of them. It has to be recognized
that behavioural characteristics and traits may interact in a way
that varies with the variation of cultures. The natural outcome
is varied characters and varied types of societies.

4. That the measurement of behavioural characteristics is not
reliable until it builds on accurate means of measurement. Great
as the efforts made in this respect, the available measures, as
Hassan believes, 'is still in need of great orientation and
development if a high degree of reliability and stability
is to be attained'. [46]

Other than characteristics and traits of 'modern' man, the
role played by individual and social values in the accomplishment of
modernity is another field of interest of such psycho-sociologists
as Lerner, Mc Clelland, Hagen and others.

In 'The Passing of Traditional Society', Lerner stresses the
importance of exposure to 'communication' in the process of
modernization. He was concerned with the degree of 'empathy' of
individuals as the crucial variable intervening between mass media
exposure and modernization effects. In this way, 'modernity' is
associated with 'empathy', the latter taken to signify the capacity
to see oneself in another fellow's view.[47]

In his field research performed on six Middle Eastern countries
(of which Egypt was one), Lerner interviewed approximately I,600
individuals. His interviews included nine items designed to test
the individual's ability to project himself into the position of
another, and express a judgement as regards what he would do or
feel if he were the other persons. Three of these items called upon
the respondent to give his opinions, not those of others. These six
form the nonrole-taking items in Lerner's empathy scale. The
respondent was asked:

I. what he missed by not getting a newspaper,

2. how people who attend movies differ from those who

do not,

3. in what other country he would like to live,

4. what he would like to know more about that country,

5. what problems people like himself face in life, and

6. what people like himself can do to solve these problems.[48]

Lerner then presents a cross-classification of the individuals interviewed in accordance with four considerations:

(a) empathy whether they scored high or low scores in empathy.

(b) media-participation: whether they participated much or little in the use of modern communication media (radio, newspaper, movies, ..)

(c) urbanization: whether they lived in a city or elsewhere.

(d) literacy: whether they were or were not literate.

The table below presents what Lerner could reach; a classification into modern, transitional and traditional on the basis of scores. The 'plus' signs in the table show a high degree of the characteristic indicated, a 'minus' sign indicates a low degree:[49]

Type	Literacy	Urbanization	media Participation	Empathy
Modern	+	+	+	+
Transitional A	-	+	+	+
B	-	-	+	+
C	-	-	-	+
Traditional	-	-	-	-

It is clear from Lerner's table above how empathy among the individuals is the first step towards the accomplishment of modernity. First, an individual becomes emphatic, then he becomes urban, and

comes to use modern communication media, and then becomes literate.
There is, as Lerner believes, a mutual interaction among these
changes cited above, and an increase in urbanization, contact with
information through modern communication media, literacy or empathy
probably tend to increase the others. However, empathy of indivduals
is held in a superior standing than urbanization and the use of
media in terms of its being the causal initiating factor in the
sequence. [(50)]

McClelland, who might be taken as a typical representative
of the psycho-sociological trend, concentrates on the role
played by values and psychological drives in the rate of economic
and social development that a country reaches. He introduced the
'Achievement Motivation' or what was termed 'need achievement' or
'n Achievement' that signifies 'a certain way of thinking that was
relatively rare but, which, when it occured in an individual, tended
to make him behave in a particularly energetic way'. [(51)]

McClelland's examination of Weber's general hypothesis [(52)] that
Protestantism led to an economic development and perhaps to an
increase in achievement motivation or certain values associated
with Protestantism in the West, drove him to ask if the independence
and the 'early mastery training' produce higher n Achievement
only in the West, or in other areas of different cultures as well.
If the high n Achievement was associated with Protestantism:

> "what about Japan, whose economic development seemed quite rapid,
> but could in no way be attributed to the Protestant Reformation?
> Was it higher n Achievement that led to economic development
> in Japan and if so what parental values produced it there?". [(53)]

With these enquiries in mind, McClelland was driven
to test his own hypothesis that there was a connection between
n Achievement and economic development on a large scale that
surpassed the limits of 'Christianity' and 'Westernism'.
Depending on the analysis of 25 folk tales and stories chosen
randomly from the texts used for teaching at the second, third
and fourth grade levels of primary schools in twenty-three
.countries and which were published in the I920's (also the same
in the I950's),   formed his base for the judgement of
national n Achievement level. The level of economic growth for
each nation was judged by the per-capita consumption of
electricity in Kilowat-hours.

The result of McClelland in so far as our present study
is concerned, has revealed that countries with higher scores
of n Achievement in the I920's showed more rapid economic growth
later on than those with lower scores of the n Achievement in
the same period. For the I950 period, which included a larger
number of countries, he got almost the same result. [54]

Most important of Clelland's findings is that a precondition
for the achievement of modernity in a country, particularly
in so far as economy is concerned, is the change in the people.
Economic growth can be promoted only when the values and motives
of individuals are successfully changed, what he likes to put as:

"The shortest way to achieve economic objectives might
turn out to be through changing people themselves". [55]

What is meant by 'changing people themselves' is that they
become more achievement oriented. The way this change is brought
about is:

> "by persuasion or education, by introducing changes in the
> social system and by early character training." Of these
> three approaches, the third "is by all odds the one most
> likely to succeed..." (56)

Hagen's line in modernity identification bears some
resemblance to McClelland's. Hagen was mainly concerned with
a question to which he attempted to give an answer through
his theory of 'Social Change' (1962). (57)

> "Why have the people of some societies entered upon
> technological progress more effectively than others?".

He felt that the answer could be in the realm of what he called:
'personality formation and the social conditions affecting it'. (58)
The difference he could find was associated with the social-
psychological process of childhood personality development,
where social values are learned.

Western Model as Expressive of Modernity

The contemorary thoughts about modernity reviewed above
serve to give a clearer vision of how 'modernity' is
identified by various thinkers. However, they raise a question
as regards the institutional and normative forms that modernity
takes, and whether they are necesaarily 'Western'. The
transformation of traditional, medieval lifestyles into 'modern'
ones in Western Europe, has, not without cause, been the main
source of inspiration before economists and sociologists
who dealt with modernity. The age of Exploration, the
Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution, the
Industrial Revolution in England, have all been great landmarks
from which stemmed various Western outlooks about modernity.
Hence, 'modern' has currently been used as a synonym of
'Western'. To an eminent sociologist like Shils, 'modern'
means:

> "being Western without the onus of dependence on the West.
> The model of modernity is a picture of the West detached
> in some way from its geographical origins and locus .... (59)

A similar trend may be pointed out in Eisenstadt's writings,
where 'modernization' is histroically looked at as the process
of change towards social, economic and political systems
of Western Europe and North America from the seventeenth
century to the twentieth century. (60) While the difference
between 'modernity' and 'modernization' is not overlooked,
the ideal type to him is clearly a Western one.

To a third, like Lerner,[61] the Western model is applicable

anywhere in the world, for "it is only historically Western;

sociologically it is global."[62]

But, equating 'modernity' with Western institutions

and lifestyles locks it within narrow confinement that may

overlook the aspirations and experiences of underdeveloped

countries in other parts of the world. Such a view is

advocated strongly by Frankel,[63] who argues that:

> "The problem is not to wipe out the slate clean in the
> underdeveloped countries, and to write our economic and
> technical equations on it, but to recognize that different
> peoples have a different language of special action and
> process, and, indeed have long exercised, peculiar aptitudes
> for solving the problems of their own time and place; aptitudes
> which must be further developed in the historic setting of
> their own past to meet the exigencies of the present and
> the future." (64)

The Western model is best suited to certain 'place' at a certain

'time'. Blind application of Western standard of values to

the citizens of the underdeveloped countries is seen

as 'totally inappropriate ' for researchers carrying out

cross-cultural studies.[65] To see modernity only from

the Western persepctive, is, to Bernstein,[66] associated

with colonial perspective, and can hardly be accepted as

innocent of ethnocentricism.[67]

As for the intellectuals of the underdeveloped countries,

they seem to be tortured between the Western type, which they

see working well, and between their own traditions which

cannot be easily discarded; in other words the conflict is

between 'borrowing' and 'originality'.(68)

Western civilization, to many of them, should not be regarded
as the ultimate end that the whole humanity should strive to
reach, but rather a transitory phase. Hence, the growing call
for models of modernity adjustable to the economic, political
and social conditions of the underdeveloped countries.[69]
An eminent Egyptian thinker classifies the reaction of Arab
intellectuals to ideals of modernity into three divisions:

(a) Those who reject the spirit of the age, and lock themselves
within the limits of tradition (al-turath). They take an
extremist position towards the recommendation of strict
application of religious rules in organizing life affairs,
regardless of what is suggested by others as 'modern'.

(b) Those who accept all waves of 'modern' thought coming
from the West without question. Whatever might be the contrast
between what is 'modern' and the 'tradition' that has been
with the Arabs for hundreds of years, the latter is always
to be sacrificed on the alter of change.

(c) Those who represent the greatest section of contemporary
intellectuals and whose adherents are increasing every day.
They adopt a line in between the two extremes trying to form
a compromise within which 'modern Arab culture' true to
Arab conditions may be established meanwhile the spirit of
the age is not rejected.[70]

To see whether the Western model is applicable to
the underdeveloped countries, two points have to be
taken into consideration;

Firstly; that associating 'modernity' with the Western model
can only be regarded as 'ethnocentric' in case a successful
alternative raised by the underdeveloped countries is
available. So far, this alternative has not been found.
What the intellectuals of the underdeveloped countries aspire
to realize, as will later be seen, accords in one way
or other, with the Western model. 'Political Democracy'
based on parliamentary representation, political parties,
free press, periodical executive power, .. etc. is the core
of the Western model from the political angle. In the economic
realm, the benefit of the fruits of science and the promotion
of technology in the form of wide-scale industrialization
are the main bases. Both of the two can hardly be examined
apart from the Western experience. Refusal to consider the
Western model, by some sectors, does not indicate a defect
in the model itself, but is rather dictated by bitter
feelings towards Western colonization. Ghandi's call to
reject the railway, the telegraph, the hospital and other
phases of Western culture, can only be seen as one of this
type.[72] The agrument against the Western model is not
because of the 'content' but because of the 'form' which
only leads, in the view of one Egyptian scholar, to seclusion
from the world around, not for the sake of reaching truth,
but out of bias to the old.[72] The argument of the above
sectors seems to be what Lerner meant in his study about
'The Passing of Traditional Society' (I958)[73] which he made
on six Middle Eastern countries, that "Middle Easterners more
than ever want the modern package but reject the label 'made in
U.S.A." [74]

Secondly; it is not sound to regard the Western model
as wholly the contribution of the Western world. The impact
of the Egyptian as well other cultures on the Greek
civilization cannot be denied.[75] Alexandria, at the time
of Alexander the Great (332-323 B.C.) became a great source
of cultural radiation that influenced the Greek culture as
well as the cultures of the peoples with whom Egypt contacted.
When Europe contacted the Greek civilization during the
Renaissance, it was, in fact, benefiting indirectly from
the outcomes in which various cultures had contributed.
Politically, the Western concept of democracy can be traced
to the ideals of great religions and ancient philosophies.[76]
The ideals found affirmation in the Greek practice through
political organizations of Athens. From them, Western
democracy got its origin. Although some claim that the idea
of democracy to the Greeks was not the same as the modern
one adopted by the West, the historical significance of the
Greek experiment and its impact cannot be ignored.[77]
Borrowing is, hence, not something to be ashamed of so
long as it is based on assimilation and careful selection.
While adopting the Western technological culture, it is
not desirable that the underdeveloped countries should
copy the whole Western structure, for this might prove
more harmful than beneficial, but rather as El-Biblawy
(I972) puts it: 'they have to select what they see fitting
and reject what is not.'[78] If 'Political Democracy' and
'Industrialization' are the main phases of Western modernity

in political and economic realms, it is reasonable that

they have rational aspirations towards the Western model

at this present stage of development, what Shils and others

have found.[79]

Shils and Modernity Proposals in the 'New States'

The writings of Edward Shils , particularly his

'Political Development in the New States' (I968),[80] and

'Scientific Development in the New States' (I966),[81]

are of special help to the argument about the case of Egypt

in the light of four considerations:

I. The basic concern of Shils' model, which is systemic, is

with the 'aspirations of the new states to modernity'[82]

which helps to identify the gap that actually exists between

the high aspirations for modernity in such states against the

lower valuations, or what they are capable of accomplishing

of these aspirations.

2. Shils adopts the integrative approach in identifying

modernity. While giving special significance to the political

aspect of modernity, other aspects are not disregarded.

The brevity with which the economic aspect is tackled, which

must be expected of a sociologist like Shils, does not prevent

the writer from supporting Shils' views with the contributions

made by other thinkers that run along the main line.

3. The Arab Republic of Egypt is mentioned as one of his

'new states'[83] which have the following common features:

(a) They have recently gained independence following a substantial period of foreign rule; therefore their indigenous machinery of government is of quite recent origin.

(b) Their social strucutres and cultures are, on the whole, highly traditional.

(c) Significant sections of their elites are concerned to modernize their social structure, their culture as well as political life and outlook.[84]

(d) Amidst what Dahl recognizes as "a flood of 'typologies' or proposed ways of classifying political systems"[85], Shils' typology is highly favoured by sociologists on the grounds that it, "facilitates the comparison not only of the emergent nations but of most political systems in the modern world."[86]

I. Political Aspect of Modernity

The association between 'modernity' and 'political democracy' is recognized both by advanced and underdeveloped countries alike. To Shils, "Modernity entails democracy, and democracy in the New States must above all be equaliterian."[87] He presents a typology of five-alternative course of political development which include:

a. Political democracy

b. Tutelary democracy

c. Modernizing oligarchies

d. Totaliterian oligarchies

e. Traditional oligarchies.[88]

From all five, Shils accepts 'political democracy' as the

ideal model that could be aspired for by the new states.

He raises a question the answer to which explains his

views:

"What is the predominant, visible model which commands
assent by its actual achievement and by the prestige of
the power and ascendancy of its earthly embodiments?
It is the model of a regime of civilian rule through
representative institutions in the matrix of public
liberties, those three components of a modern conception
of democracy." (89)

These components of 'political democracy' bear resemblance

to what is suggested in Western thought about democracy.

One definition that sums the Western outlook runs as follows:

"a modern state is generally a territorial nation, organised
as a legal association by its own action in creating a
constitution (such action being in some cases, as in Great
Britain, a process along a line of time rather than an act
at a point of time), and permanently acting as such an
association, under that constitution, for the purpose of
maintaining a scheme of legal rules defining and securing
the rights and duties of its members." (90)

The 'legal rules' as regards democratic institutions as

Parliament, parties, franchise rights, free press, ... etc.

are well defined and carefully adhered to, in most cases.

The high esteem that 'political democracy' has gained

among the leaders of the new states, or underdeveloped countries,

is no less remarkable than in the West. Such a condition is

attributed by Shils to, "Their hunger for modernity, the

liberal auspices of their independence movement, their

general tendency toward populism".(91) However, some

other considerations make these countries ready to introduce

substantial admixtures of oligarchy, but still the position

remains evidently in favour of 'political democracy' as

the ideal model to be aspired for. Shils clearly states
that :

"no regnant elite in the new states of Asia and Africa
believes that its ultimate aspirations would be
adequately and definitively realized in any of the
latter alternatives or that any defections or variants
are anything but second best." (92)

Components of Political Democracy

Shils recognizes four such componenets in a modern
political system, namely the legislative, the executive,
the political parties and the independent judiciary:

I. The focal point in 'Political Democracy' is, in Shils'
view, a legislative body periodically elected by universal
suffrage. It is empowered to initiate legislation through
its individual members or committees and through the
leadership of the executive branch which may be seperably
elected (as in the U.S.A.) or selected from members of
legislature (as in Great Britain). Legislatively, this
assembly is supreme and has the right to accept or reject
any proposals put to it by the. executive, and no bill can
become law without its consent.

2. The executive carries out its policies through a
hierarchically organized bureaucracy which is ultimately
answerable to its political head or minister under whose
guidance it operates, and who, in his turn is answerable
to the legislative.

3. Political parties are an integral part of the system.
Candidates for election as legislatures do so in association
with, and as the candidates of, one of the parties. It is thus
that political parties are, to Shils, a necessary component
of political democracy. The party which wins the largest
number of seats dominates the legislature alone, or it does
so in coalition with other parties or with dissident number
of other parties.

4. The existence of an independant judiciary, and the recognition
of all political actors that their conduct must be circumscribed
by the provisions of the constitutional, conventional and legal
limitations. (93)

Political power in a modern political system is held
for a comparatively short period of time, and the conditions
for maintaining it must be fairly precisely defined. Periodically,
the electorate is given the opportunity to choose anew between
the contending groups for political office.

In case the government is dismissed through the loss of
a vote of confidence in the legislature, or through the loss
of general elections, the truly democratic system curbs
any tyrannical or arbitrary power. (94)

What Shils meant to give a great stress is, that political
democracy is not a matter of institutions to be founded.
Rather it needs a certain number of conditions without which

the effective and continuous functioning of the institutions

of political democracy, and hence, political modernity, will

not be attained. It is for this that he recognizes five

preconditions for political democracy:

(a) <u>Stability, Coherence and Effectiveness of the Ruling Elite</u>

    i. The government must have confidence in its own practices

and in the support which it will receive.

    ii. The continued acknowledgement of the government's

authority throughout most of the society.

    iii. There must be political leaders who are attached to

the representative institutions.

    (b) <u>The Practice and Acceptance of Opposition</u>

    The effective and continuous existence of political democracy

requires a fairly coherent and responsible opposition to the

ruling party working within the rules of the parliamentary game.

This opposition should not simply interest itself in the

obstruction and depreciation of the majority.

(c) <u>Adequate Machinery of Authority</u>

    This requires, in Shils' view, competent civil service

with training and organization well enough to carry out the

measures taken by the legislative or executive leadership.

Shils sees that it must be sufficiently detached in its own

political orientations and sufficinetly loyal to any

institutional government, to make the effort to carry out the

policy decided by the political elite, and sufficiently independent

to be capable of offering assessment to the measures which the government is proposing.

(d) The Institutions of Public Opinion

An important factor in the preconditions to political democracy is related with the existence of a self-confident and self-sustaining set of institutions of public opinion including press, universities, civic interest associations, trade unions, local government bodies, ... etc., which, in Shils' view, have to be widely spread throughout the different classes and regions of the country. This entails an autonomous set of institutions for gathering, interpreting and diffusing information to the public as well as to the government. It entails as well, the freedom of expression together with associations whether to individuals or bodies for the study of the cause of events. This, in turn, requires three things:

a. a corpse of journalists, publicists, and university and college professors who are honest and forthright in their expression,

b. a group which upholds the symbols and programs of modernity other than the class of professional army officers. There is thus a need for modern civilian intelligentsia, a fairly numerous, moderately educated and reasonably politically concerned sections of the population. Those constitute in Shils' view:

"The reservoir from which the leaders of public opinion come, the audience for those leaders, and the resonance which will make itself audible (in a variety of peaceful ways) to legislators and administrators." (95)

c. a fairly dense and elaborate system of private and

volunatary associations which have their rôle in the

arena of public opinion meanwhile talk on behalf of their

members. Shils gives examples of such voluntary

associations as: trade unions and employers' associations,

professional associations, cooperative and private

corportations which produce and distribute commodities,

autonomous universities and research institutions. The

expected results of having adequate and active institutions

of public opinion on the political life is interpreted,

in Shils' words as follows:

> "By the performance of such functions, an 'infra-structure'
> of decision and authority is constituted which reduces
> the amount of decision exercised and of decisions made
> by the state. By membership in such bodies, the
> citizenry, at least that significant section which
> makes up the elites of the 'infra-structure', become
> trained in the exercise of authority and the making of
> decisions. Even more important, they become jealous of
> their rights to exercise authority and to make decisions,
> and they become attached to the symbols of their autonomy".(96)

The activities performed by the institutions of public

opinion drive the cause of political modernity forward

in that they put limit to the power practised by the state,

especially that directed to the checking of inimical

attitudes to the regime of civilian rule.

(e) The Civil Order

Of the five major preconditions to political democracy,

this one is highly significant to the intellectualization

of the problem at hand. In the first place, the solution

of the major crises encountered by the new states in their
struggle for modernity, is associated in one way or other
with the civil order. Political modernity proposals will
ever remain unfulfilled unless an actively participant civil
order undertakes its responsibility. Institutions of political
democracy must, in Shils' view, rest on a widely dispersed
civility which should embrace:

a. A sense of nationality which Shils explains by ' a firm
but not intense attachment to the total community and its
symbols'. [97]

b. A degree of interest in public affairs that is likely
to impel most of the adults to participate in the political
affairs as represented in the elections, the attentive
and watchful follow up of what   is going on in the
country as a whole, and a reasonable ability to judge the
quality of the candidates.

c. Acceptance and affirmation of the legitimacy of the
country's political order.

d. That the individuals should have a sense of their own
dignity, rights and obligations 'on which must rest their
interest in maintaining their own private sphere, free from
arbitrary intrusions of authority'. [98]

e. An adequate degree of agreement upon values, institutions
as well as practices to accept limits that the country's
interests may require on their own self-aggrandizing tendencies. [99]

The above qualities need not be either equally or
universally shared, yet fulfil a minimum requirement,
that of being 'common enough to serve as a leaven in the
society at large'.$^{(100)}$ Only when the preconditions are
fulfilled and the components of 'Political Democracy'
are found, that a modern polity is at hand which,
Aberanthy described as   'an independent nation-state,
composed of citizens who are equal before the law and
at least nominally able to participate in the selection
of the ruling elite; its government is relatively centralised,
accepts some responsibility for the welfare of the citizens,
and efficiently deploys its human and material resources
in the solution of pressing policy problems'.$^{(101)}$

The Economic Aspect of Modernity

'Modern' versus 'Traditional' economy

Modern and mobilized economy is characterized by certain features that put it in contrast with the traditional types. Such features of modernity are asscociated with aspects like the economic units, the use of technological innovations, capital, equipment, manpower,... etc. The characteristics of both types of economy are indicated in the following table:

Table 5.I

Characteristics of Modern and Traditional Economic Systems[102]

Modern	Traditional
Unifunctional or limited-function units, clearly differentiated and autonomous from other societal units(banks,corporations,unions)	Multifunctional units poorly differentiated and possessing minimal autonomy from other societal units(families, clans, tribes)
Primarily industrial	Primarily agrarian, nomadic
High per-capita income and consumption	Low per-capita income and consumption
High surplus capital and production	Low surplus capital and production
Well-developed economic infrastructures (dams, roads, monetary systems)	Minimal infrastructure development

The above contrasts of the characteristics of modern

and traditional economic systems serve as indicators

but are too general to give the minimum discrimination

required for the identification of modern economy.

A more specific attempt for the identification of the

characteristics of a modern economy covers a wider range

including technological application, labour division and

specialization, manpower skill, capital, production, innovation

and initiation, high level of material well being, the shift

to manufacturing industries, the spread of wage labour principle;

and the minimized natural hazards. The characteristics included

in the above attempt run as follows:

"I. "increasing application of technology, and of inanimate
energy, to enlarge and diversify the production of goods
and services per capita;

2. a growing specialization of labour and subdivision of
productive processes within and among firms, industries,
occupations, and territories, and an increasing interdependence
and mobility of individuals and groups within a network of
widening impersonal markets;

3. a concomitant improvement in human skills and economic
efficiency, especially at the higher technical and managerial
levels;

4. an accumulation of capital goods in more productive forms
and in growing amounts per worker, financed by a complex of
financial institutions that characteristically divorce the
savings from the investment process in order to pool liquid
resources for the growing stream of investment;

5. production, transport, marketing and finance organised
on an increasingly large-scale, with concomitant tendencies
to the concentration of decisions over economic life;

6. as the dynamic force behind the above processes, a society
increasingly oriented to the pursuit of innovation and growth,
infused (especially within the elite) by a spirit of innovation
and growth, and increasingly rational in its choice of
techniques and allocations of resources to achieve its
economic goals;

7. as a result of these processes -and despite a characteristic increase in population- a rise in the level of material well-being, usually a widening of the range of personal choice, and sooner or later, a rduction in the range of economic and social in equalities;

8. as incomes rise, a shift in the balance of employment and production from the extractive industries to manufacuring and the services, within a concomitant urbanization of the labour force;

9. the spread of wage labour as the chief form of gainful employment, and commonly the seperation of ownership and management; and,

10. the replacement of natural hazards (e.g. weather) as the main source of insecurity by technological change, the uncertainties of the market, and the bargaining disadvantage of the individual in relation to his employer and the state." (103)

Ideal Typical Modern Economy to the leaders of the New States

Though the leaders of the new states are generally

committed to the cause of economic development, which is clear

in their concern with the search for more physical resources,

the increased efficiency of processing resources, the

accumulation of capital through various means, yet their

motives for the accomplishment of a modern economy are found

to be multiple. (104) Many are driven by the hope to raise the

standard of living of their people. The image of modern economy

to them is that of industrialized, rationalized and economically

advanced. Others are after self aggrandisement whether politically

or materially regarding economic development as a useful

instrument for the accomplishment of the aims in mind. But,

whatever the variation between the leaders of new states in

this concern, the view of the masses to modern ecomomy is

strikingly less . According to Shils'. analysis:

"There is, however, little evidence that there is an intense and persistent demand for economic progress from the mass of peasantry. The industrial working class is too neglibible in most of the new states for its members' views to constitute a major factor, although their trade union leaders- who have tended to be middle-class intellectuals- are very strongly for economic development, as long as it causes no additional hardships to their constituents. (105)

A modern economy as conceived by the leaders of the new states is associated, as in Shils' writings, with three basic phases which we do not fail to find in the writings of contemporary thinkers dealing with modernization and modernity from the point of view of the underdeveloped countries. The three are:

a. The diversified economy through industrialization.

b. The economy that is arranged in accordance with plans.

c. The rationally directed economy, i.e. scientifically oriented.

On these three, concentration is made as the most salient aspects that characterize the modern economic system from the point of view of the leaders of the underdeveloped countries.

a. Industrialization

In almost all the writings about modernity, industrialization is given a distinguished position. Levy, for example, measures the degree of a country's modernity according to

'the extent that its members use inanimate sources of power and/or use tools to multiply the effects of their efforts.'(106) Palmer and Stern, as well, regard industrialization as the basic feature of modernity in the aspirations of the leaders of underdeveloped countries. To them, indusrrialization remains:

> "the most visible distinction between the developing and developed areas today. For the modernizing leader, industrialization has become both the means and the symbol of modernity."(107)

Robert Ward follows the same line. He lists ten characteristics the presence of which makes economy modernized, most salient of the ten are:

1. intense application of scientific technology and inanimate sources of energy,

2. high specialization of labour and interdependence of impersonal markets,

3. large-scale financing and concentration of economic decision making, and

4. rising levels of material well-being.(108)

The first and most important of Ward's list pertains to industrialization to which Sils, as well attaches similar importance.

Shils, expressing the aspirations of the leaders of the new states for modernity justifies the unique position attached to industrialization in modernity:

"The proponents of modernity assert that no country can claim
to be modern without being economically advanced or progressive.
This is the very center of dynamism. To be advanced economically
means to have an economy based on modern technology, to be
industrialized, and to have a high standard of living."(I09)

It is thus accepted by the leaders of the underdeveloped

countries that industrialization is one major phases of

modernity as well as being a prerequisite for economic expansion

and social welfare. A scholar from one such underdeveloped

countries (Egypt) asserts that industrialization today

'symbolizes the aspirations of the developing countries, which

are most often predominantly agricultural'. (IIO)

But taking industiralization as the emobodiment of modern

economy, cannot be accepted without reservations. On the one

hand it might lead to an underestimation of the value of the

human element whether as regards skill or internalised attitudes.

It is this consideration that urges Foster to use the term

'socio-technological' instead of 'technological'. His view is

that:

"Associated with every technical and material change, there
is a corresponding change in the attitudes, the beliefs and
the behaviour of the people who are affected by the material
change. These non-material changes are more subtle. Often
they are overlooked and their significance is underestimated.
Yet the eventual effect of material or social improvement
is determined by the extent to which the other aspects of
culture affected by it can alter their forms with a minimum
of disruption."(III)

On the other hand, other aspects of economy have not
to be disregarded or underestimated. Mier fears that the
exaggerated importance attached to industry is likely to be
at the expense of agriculture. He gives :   basic justifications
for the rejection of the exaggerated place of industry in
economic development.

First, the concentration of a large percentage of production
in the primary sector cannot be accepted, in itself, as the
cause of the poverty of most developing countries, for, the
low productivity in agriculture may be the cause.

Second, that progress in industrialization depends, to a great
extent, on agricultural development. He warns the developing
countries that 'without the necessary support of improvements
in primary production, the policies of industrialization will
be severely handicapped.' (II2)

Third, that economic development/Meier's view, as well as Black's
in 'Dynamics of Modernization' (II3) is much more than the simple
acquisition of industries, but requires of no less importance ,

        the attainment of a number of modernization ideals such
a rise in productivity, social and economic equalization, modern
knowledge, improved institutions and attitudes together with
a rationally co-ordinated systems of policy measures capable
of remaining undesirable conditions in the social system. (II4)

        Papnek holds a view similar to Mier's in that he affirms
the place of agricultural expansion in economic development
side by side with industrialization. Agricultural and rural

production can be raised rapidly with little capital as is the

case, for example, with doubling crop production or raising

crop in previously uncultivated areas. Besides, as in the

third of Mier's justifications above, Papnek postulates that

agriculture is necessary for the flourish of industry and

lessening the probable side-effect of industrialization.[115]

Johnston and Mellor give evidence to the view that increased

agricultural output and productivity contribute to the overall

economic growth. The rationalization of their view builds on

five points as follows:

> "(1) Economic development is characterized by a substantial
> increase in the demand for agricultural products, and failure
> to expand food supplies in pace with the growth of demand
> can seriously impede economic growth.
>
> (2) Expansion of exports of agricultural products may be
> one of the promising needs of increasing income and foreign
> exchange earnings, particularly in the earlier stages of
> development.
>
> (3) The labor force for manufacturing and other expanding
> sectors of the economy must be drawn mainly from agriculture.
>
> (4) Agriculture, as the dominant sector of an underdeveloped
> economy, can and should make a net contribution to the
> capital required for overhead investment and expansion of
> secondary industry.
>
> (4) Rising net cash incomes of the farm population may be
> important as a stimulus to industrial expansion."[116]

It is thus accepted that industrialization, while indicating

a modern economic system, has to be complemented with

agricultural expansion both vertically and horizontally.

Together, they form a major phase of modern economy.

b. Planning

'Planning', in its general sense, means 'target setting, determination, and a mechanism of mobilizing resources. In this sense, planning is a necessary precondition for accelerated growth'. [117] To be advanced economically, requires, according to Shils, economic planning accompanied by the employment of economists and statisticians, conducting surveys, controlling the rates of Saving and investment, controlling imports and foreign exchange, constructing new factories, building roads, etc. [118]

In traditional societies, the components of economy are so fitted that the spontaneous interplay of economic forces keeps the society in a stationary state. Putting the system into dynamic action requires the introduction of three elements that Hosney put in short words as: an objective, a drive, i.e. a determination to achieve specific objectives; and a mechanism for collective mobilization of resources. [119]

Planning, is associated in the minds of the leaders of the new states with policies of governmentally controlled economic development which are imposed by the conditions of such states. Examples of the conditions are seen by Shils in the increasing size of the civil service and the large increase in its powers particularly the powers of the politicians and high civil servants responsible for economic development. [120]

c. Change Directed through Science

Shils states that, 'To be modern is to be scientific', and relates it indirectly with economic progress as in the following argument:

"Science is today part of the regalia of national greatness; it is linked, in popular opinion, with a complex technology and hence ostensibly with economic progress." (121)

The dynamic modern elites in the new states aspire to direct change in their countries through the use of science. The first among the principles is setting   face against guidance of policy whether in economy or other sectors, by the old traditional procedures as astrology, magical practice and the like.(122) Apter explains the zeal on the part of the leaders of the new states to direct change through science in much the same way as Shils did. The leaders beleieve that only through science, they are capable of making up for the long backwardmess. Science, as they believe, gives the great push needed for the present and the future alike. Such leaders, as in Apter's words,

"share an urgent and understandable desire to make a gigantic leap across time, to bypass slower and more 'natural' processes of economic and scientific growth and place science at the service of an immediate technology -a technology of improved agriculture, of industrial expansion, of health sanitation, and of startling new methods in education and training."(123)

One more consideration with which Shils interprets the trend toward science, is that the economic development requires the prospecting and appraisal of resources. Soil, minerals, marine, animals, water resources, .. etc., are all matters of importance that any plan for economic development has to take into account. However, Shils adds that, 'in all these matters, a country which aspires to economic development must know where it stands, what it can count on, and what it must reckon with. It is the first task of almost every new state to organise its survey machinery and to staff it with competent persons'. (125)

Shils tends to believe that modern economy to the new states of the underdeveloped world is related with the advancement of scientific knowledge which is capable of making their land reveal whatever secrets. This makes scientific research a matter of relevance to their schemes of economic development.

However, Shils raises a question as regards the type of scientific research needed. He strongly argues in favour of the view that these states, in their struggle for reaching modern economy in short time, need not start from the zero point in which most of them find themselves at the present time, but rather from the point to which

advanced countries have already reached. Hence, he assures

that the first priority in the new states is to be given

to the organization of 'survey machinery' and its

adequate staffing. From this, he proceeds to specify the

particular type of research needed amidst their particular

conditions:

> "This does not require original research of a fundamental
> character. The techniques have already been formed in
> the advanced states, and most of the colonial powers
> and their business adjunts had made some progress
> in the conduct of geological, zoological, entomological,
> hydrological, and other types of surveys. The pattern of
> organization is well established, the skills required are
> fairly well defined, and the techniques are available." (I25)

The type of research that the new states require is the

'adaptive research'; that which is after adapting to their

specific conditions an industrial or agricultural process

already known and applied in advanced countries. What these

aspiring countries urgently need is not the original research

of fundamental character, but rather the upgrading of the

skill of their manpower.

Ideal Typical Man in Modernity

A model for the norms of man in modernity signifies
that such norms stand as antithetical to those of traditional
man. The latter is narrow-minded, apathetic, possessing few
individual opinions, excessively cautious and suspicious,
fatalistic, living entirely to the 'now' with exaggerated
respect for the sacred past. In other words, he is non-rational
and highly superstitious.[126] Modern man, on the contrary,
is open-minded towards others as well as towards situations,
rational and emphatic. Modern man, as Apter suggests, may
be judged on the criterion of 'rationality-activism',[127]
which is taken to mean his orientation toward the future with
an outlook at change as the norm rather than the exception,
self-consciousness about his own thinking processes, and
placing a premium on scientific modes of explanation.[128]

With Parson's typology previously mentioned, modern
man is seen as having clear inclination to 'universality'.
Opposite to traditional man, he has no special regard to family,
clan, tribe, class or ethnic group. He has no excessive 'particularity'

such as the one that directs the behaviour of the individual in a traditional society and which urges the latter to consider the members of his own family, clan or class as deserving particular and favoured treatment.

The achievement versus ascription index of norms would require a modern man to favour the granting of status and authority to others, not on the basis of ascription, but rather on the basis of demonstrated ability. A modern man hence, believes in accomplishment and qualification as essential criteria for recruitment into social roles and positions. Such rationalist-positivist criteria make of him skill-oriented, ingenious and a man of the world.

Contrary to the tendency of the traditional individual, who is generally inclined to view other individuals in emotional terms heavily coloured by personal values and with an absence of 'mental status' of things, a modern man is seen as 'affectively neutral' in terms of his willingness to perceive other individuals and institutions as neutral, disinterested, fair-minded and unbiased.

Specifity, which is included as one of the characteristics of the modern man, is exemplified by the precise and specific nature of modern legal and contractual systems. In these, specific obligations are codified and sharply defined. Contrary to these, are the 'diffuse' roles,

obligations and 'ties' prevalent among individuals of traditional societies. The interaction between individuals in a modern society is regulated by internalised norms that direct the attitudes and modes of behaviour rather than by explicitly defined codes.

If Parsons' concept of individual modernity builds on the five contrasting variable tendencies of the ideal 'modern' versus 'traditional', which will later be applied to society in the present chapter, Mc Clelland builds his concept of individual modernity on what he called 'need achievement', a 'mental virus' that a modern man comes to possess. By 'need achievement' is meant, not the need to attain a certain station in life, but station satisfaction in the process of achieving. It is a need distinguished sharply from the feeling that one has a duty to accomplish. Mc Clelland sees it as a 'certain way of thinking that was relatively rare, but which, when it occured in an individual, tended to make him behave in a particularly energetic way'. (I29)

Lerner, on the other hand, represents a slight deviation from the 'contrast' dichotomous typologies of 'modern' versus 'traditional' individual in that he recognizes the existence of a third group of individuals in between the two extremes and whom he called the 'transitionals'. This latter group is classified under several categories. While the 'moderns'

are cosmopolitan, urban, literate, generally well-off and
seldom deviant, the traditionals, representing the other
extreme, have opposite characteristics. The 'transitionals'
share some of the empathy and psychic mobility of the moderns
meanwhile lack the essential components of the modern style.[130]

The high 'emphatic' capacity is what Lerner gives
due attention in the identification of typical individual
modernity. He is interested in empathy as the inner mechanism
which enables newly mobile persons to 'operate efficiently'
in a changing world.[131] Empathy, as he defined it is:

"the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation.
This is an indispensable skill for people moving out of
traditional setting." [132]

The degree of 'empathy' an individual has is associated with
his education. The more educated the individual, the more
emphatic he becomes, i.e. the greater his readiness to offer
opinions in response to the challenges encountered.[133]

Together with 'empathy', Lerner's stress in the
identification of individual modernity is laid on the
'mobile personality', a term often used by other thinkers
as signifying modernity. Lerner distinguishes a mobile
person by:

"a high capacity for identification with new aspects of his environment; he becomes equipped with the mechanisms needed to incorporate new demands upon himself that arise outside of his habitual experience."(134)

These meahanisms for enlarging a man's identity operate in two ways:

I. projection which facilitates identification by assigning to the object certain preferred attributes of the self (others are 'incorporated' because they are like me).

2. interjection which enlarges identity by attributing to the self certain desirable attributes of the object (others are 'incprporated' because I am like them).

Lerner uses the word 'empathy' as shorhand for both these mechanisms. It is thus that empathy is given a high value on the grounds of being the inner mechanism which enables newly mobile persons to operate efficiently in a changing world.(135)

The properties attributed by Lerner to a 'mobile person' bear clear resemblance to the findings of modern recent studies. Inkles and Smith, for example, support the concept of empathy in their'definition of the modern man', particularly what they include in qualities number I and 2 namely, openness to new experience and the readiness for social change.(136)

Yet, a difference in the statement of individual modernity
has to be pointed out. If individual modernity to Inkles
and Smith is similar in some respect to those suggested by
Lerner and some other sociologists, Inkles and Smith prefer
to see it, not as a single-quality type, i.e. single traits,
but rather a syndrome or complex of qualities. They developed
a long list of 'themes' each of which might reasonably be
reflected in the attitudes, values and behaviour of the
'modern' man. Their list was subject to a further step until
they eventually nominated twenty-four 'dimension' of individual
modernity as follows:

I. Active public participation

2. Aging and the aged

3. Aspirations

4. Calculability

5. Change orientation

6. Citizenship

7. Consumption

8. Dignity

9. Efficiacy

IO. Family size restrictions

II. Growth of opinion

I2. Identification with nation

I3. Information

I4. Kinship obligations

I5. Mass media

I6. New experiences

I7. Planning

I8. Religion

I9. Social class stratification

20. Time

2I. Technical skill

22. Understanding production

23. Work commitment

24. Women's rights (I37)

The selection of these themes by Inkles and Smith was guided
by three perspectives: the analytic, the topical and the
behavioural. (I38)

It is true that there are very few studies that tackle individual modernity from the angle of underdeveloped people, but two stand as distinguished examples. The first is Kahl's study (1968) in which he concentrated on individuals from Brazil and Mexico[139] and the other, is the previously mentioned study by Inkles and Smith who concentrated on individuals from six underdeveloped countries: Argentina, Chile, East Pakistan, India, Israel and Nigeria.[140] Their findings are, hence, most likely to serve the purpose of the present study.

Kahl described 'the ideal typical modern man' by the answers he gave to the items in seven core scales that included: activism, low integration with relatives, preference for urban life, individualism, low community stratification, high mass-media participation; and low stratification of life chances.[141] On these seven we throw some light.

A typically modern man is activist in the sense that he believes in making plans in advance with a sense of confidence in his ability to bring such plans to fruition. In that, he is in contrast with the fatalistic peasant who, according to Kahl, 'follows the routines of life and shrugs his shoulders to indicate that much of what happens will be beyond his control'.[142]

The second of Kahl's cores is indicated by the

modern man's willingness to move away from his relatives depending on his own initiative in order to carry out his plans. He refuses the burdensome responsibility of nepotism, and is characterized by a high degree of individualism. The ideal typical modern man, thus,

> "avoids extreme identification with people in his own work group. Therefore, he says that he would prefer to express his own ideas and make his own decisions even if his peers disagree." (143)

The modern man, besides, prefers the open scene of the big city for carrying out his plans finding strong stimulation and better opportunities in the urban life.

Contrary to the traditional man who perceives himself as permanently stuck in an uncontrollable life which does not change putting thus severe limitation on his expectation to gain and drive him to seek security through personal ties, the typical modern man has a clearly different perception:

> "he perceives the world around him and its opportunities for himself, and through the way he chooses which paths to follow, is a man who seeks to control his life, plan his future, climb up a bit in the status of hierarchy, and improve his material circumstances -because these ends are desirable and also because they are seen as obtainable."(144)

To the above major characteristics of the ideal typical modern man, Kahl adds some others which are termed 'subsidiary characteristics' on the grounds that they appear with less frequency.[145] These include the modern man's willingness to let his friends and relatives enter into the secrets of his life, his trust in others, his regard to manual work as a worthy contribution to life, his willingness to take risks, and his acceptance of more freedom to be granted to women and children.[146]

The ideal typical norms of modern man are, to Kahl concentrated round rationality-activism with a great deal of openness to others as well as to new experiences.

The modern personal qualities as presented by Inkles and Smith form another good basis for the present argument due to their rejection of the personal qualities that have heavy bearing on the Western views. The approach they adopted takes the differences into consideration stressing the trends springing from underdevloped countries, culture and individuals.

The concept of a modern man's character that they developed encompasses four major areas:

I. The informed participant citizen.
2. The one with marked sense of personal efficiency.

3. High independence and autonomy in his relation to traditional sources of influence.

4. Open-mindedness and cognition flexibility. (147)

The list of norms of modern man that Inkles and Smith put, and which the present study favours as the most expressive of ideal typical individual modernity, includes twelve themes that cover a wider range than what Kahl included in his study. These twelve themes can easily be seen as the development of the nine ones that Inkles had suggested in 1966.(148)A review of the twelve themes serves the argument of the present chapter and present the chosen model of the ideal typical norms of man in modernity. They include:

1. Openness to new experience. What counts in this respect is the psychological disposition rather than the specific techniques or skills that man passes.

2. Readiness for social change which is related to, but goes beyond the openness to new experience. Differentiation, however, is made on the grounds that the latter asks something for oneself whilst the former allows it to others as well. In the light of this, a modern man is:

> "One who more readily acknowledges the process of social transformation taking place around him and who could more freely accept the changed opportunities which others, previously more restricted might now be enjoying. He is,in a sense, less rigid, less anxious about allowing others to do things in a new way, in sum, less rooted in tradition."(149)

3. Similar to what has already been mentioned as regards
Lerner's regard of 'empathy' as expressive of individual
modernity,[150] Inkles and Smith took a man to be modern
if he had a disposition to form or hold opinion on a large
number of things. They measured such a quality in the
individuals they interviewed in their study by the number
of times each of the individuals responded to their question
by saying, 'I don't know', or 'I never thought about that',
as well as the number of themes he introduced in reply to
question about his views concerning national, local and
family problems. They also judged an individual to be modern
according to three other criteria they put:

(a) if the degree of awareness he showed of the diversity
of attitude and opinion round him is high, i.e. if he
acknowledges differences in opinion,

(b) if he does not automatically accept the opinions of those
above him, or reject the opinions of those below him, and

(c) if he is less likely to evaluate opinion in a strictly
autocratic or hierarchical way. [151]

4. The measure of information. Being modern meant not merely
having opinions but basing them on facts and information that
are energetically acquired.

5. Time. More modern man would be oriented to the present
or the future than to the past.

6. Efficiacy. Efficiacy of the modern man may take the following forms:

(a) the individual's belief that man can learn how to exert considerable control over his environment,

(b) the belief that care will help prevent accidents,

(c) the belief that human nature can be changed.

It can thus be taken that 'the modern man's sense of efficiacy would express his confidence in his ability, alone and in concert with other men, to organize his life so as to master the challenges it presents at the personal, inter-personal, and even the international levels'. (152)

7. Planning. Man is rated as more modern according to his orientation toward long-term planning both in public affairs and in his personal life.

8. Claculability or trust. Modern man is seen as the one who has more confidence that this world is calculable and that the institutions around him can be relied upon to meet their obligations. He is more inclined to trust a stranger than a traditional man does. His belief in fate contributes to the consideration of his degree of modernity. Accordingly, a modern man, 'would not agree that everything is determined either by fate or by the whims and the inborn character of man. In other words, he believes in a reasonably lawful world under human control'. (153)

9. The valuing of technical skills or the degree of shift in the individual's preference from skills which are more valued in the 'traditional village setting' to those which are 'technical' or more required in the industrial world.

10. Educational and occupational aspirations. The more modern man is defined as having interest in and placing higher value on formal education and schooling in such skills as reading, writing and arithmetic rather than the concentration on religious teaching. In matters of occupation, the modern man prefers to see his son leave his occupation sanctioned by tradition, to one more closely associated with new ways of doing things.

11. Awareness of, and respect for the dignity of others.

12. Understanding prediction, i.e. how far man grasps the logic underlying decision making at the basic level of production in industry. (154)

The above 'analytic perspective' is supplemented in the same study by what Inkles and Smith called 'The Topical perspective', which calls the attention to many matters that other thinkers stressed as well in their concern with individual modernity. While many of the items of the 'topical perspective' were widely accpeted, some were

regarded as 'counter to popular impression'. However, the
striking thing observed as regards these was that nearly
all of them 'had been the object of very little systematic
research'. [155] The items of 'topical perspective' include
the attitude of the individual toward the following:

1. Kinship and family.

2. Woman's rights.

3. Birth control, or restriction to family size.

4. Religion.

5. Aging and the aged.

6. Participation in politics.

7. Communication media, mass and non-mass.

8. Consumption or 'consumerism'.

9. Social stratification.

10. Work commitment. [156]

Ideal Typical Norms of Modern Society

Adopting the same argument previously followed in
dealing with the norms of man in modernity, the norms of
the ideal typical society in modernity can be taken as the
ones that run counter to those of the traditional society.
In the same way that the five famous variables of Parsons
were adopted for the differentiation of a 'modern' man
from a 'traditional' one in terms of affective-neutrality,
collective-orientation, universalism, achievement, and
specifity characterizing the modern man, as against the
affectivity, self-orientation, particularism, ascription,
and diffusion of the traditional man, so might be the
case with 'modern' and 'traditional' societies. The
prevalent attitudes and modes of behaviour of individuals
eventually determine the ranking of society in modernity.

Looking at universalism-particularism from the
societal perspective induced Wiseman to pose several
questions that are likely to throw light on the ideal
typical norms that govern a modern society:

"Are the laws applied without regard to person? do
the judges operate according to the "rules of the
game"; or do particularistic factors such as family,
kinship or social position enter into such
relationships? Are all the people treated according

to the same standard, e.g equality before the law
or according to their personal qualities, or
their/particularship in a class or group? Are value
standard highly generalized or are they significant
for a particular actor in a prrticular relation
with particular objects ......(I57)

Thus, while the traditional societies tend to be

'particularistic' in the sense that the members of one

clan, family, or ethnic group have special position

and deserve particular and favoured treatment, the norms

of modern society that sims the whole argument is put by

Palmer in the single statement: 'All people are equal

in the eyes of the law'.(I58)

Likewise, with "achievement-ascription" Wiseman

directs the attention to the way status and authority are

granted in a society. A society is inclined to modernity

if selection at various levels is made on the basis of

achievement. The contrast within the above pair

indicates what Wiseman sees as 'the difference between

ability or performance; or achievement on the one hand,

and race, birth or social status on the other'.(I59)

In "specifity-diffuseness", the modern society is

of specific nature which is exemplified by modern legal

and contractual systems. The distinction between modern

and traditional societies in this respect is explored

by Wiseman's questions:

"Is the relationship bounded by the obligations of
contract strictly limited to specific obligations
or by a limited scope of interest in the object
with no obligation beyond the scope indicated in the
contract?; or is there an undefined range of obligations
as those between close kinship roles? How are the votes
granted to candidate and how is he judged by the voters?
What kind of relation is there between ministers,
civil servants as well as between local administrators
and the public they serve? and what part does the family,
caste, tribe etc. have in such relations?"(160)

When the attitudes and behaviour patterns of a modern

society are seen against a traditional one, it is possible

to get a number of themes that Palmer could compile

in the following table.

Table 5.2

Characteristics of ideal traditional and modern societies·(161)

Attitude and behaviour patterns

Modern	Traditional
High ego development	Low ego development
Rational scientific reasoning	Superstition
Other directed	Tradition directed
High demand and expectation levels	Low demand and expectation levels
High demand of human volition and efficiacy	Low evaluation of human volition and efficiacy
High empathy	Low empathy

Strong identification with secondary symbols	Minimal identification with secondary symbols
Long-range time perspective	Short-range time perspective
High sense of civic responsibility	Low sense of civic responsibility
High innovation	Minimal innovation

But it should be noted that the ideal typical norms of modern society are, by themselves, not enough indicators for the explanation of differences between 'modern' and 'traditional' societies. When the abstractions of 'modern' norms are applied to actual conditions of societies, they take the shape of what is termed as the 'evolutionary universals'. There are three such universals: social mobilisation, social differentiation and social integration.(162) These were seen by Eisenstadt as 'providing the most general and pervasive force of change in the modern and modernizing world'.(163)

The idea of 'evolutionary universals' as explanation of the road from traditionalism to modernity is accepted by other sociologists though under different names and in a less number. Palmer, for example, expresses them in terms of 'disintegration' and 'reintegration'.(164) He distinguishes between the two in that:

"Disentegration involves reducing the utility of
effectiveness of traditional institutions, beliefs
and behavioral patterns. Reintegration involves
inducing the individuals to accept a new set of
institutions, beliefs and behavior patterns radically
different from the old." [165]

The previously mentioned 'evolutionary universals'
are initially intended to explain the 'modernization'
process. However, they are relevant to the argument of
the present chapter in so far as they throw light on how
the already stated abstractions of 'modernity' are applied
to actuality and a society becomes eventually a modern one.

(a) Social mobilisation

Eisenstadt highly appreciates Karl Deutsch's definition
of social mobilisation as 'the best over-all summary of
socio-demographic indices of modernization.' [166] Deutsch
defined social mobilisation as 'the process in which major
clusters of old social, economic and psychological
commitments are eroded and broken and people become
available for new patterns of socialization and behavior'. [167]
He gave it certain main indices such as exposure to aspects
of modern life through demonstrations of machinery,
buildings, literacy and so forth. [168]

(b) <u>Social differentiation</u> which is concerned with the
continuing process of the separation of tradition-bound
roles from the ascriptive moorings, and the growth of
social organizations that house them in order to enable
modernizing societies to adopt the changes affecting their
environments.[169] Eisenstadt identifies two aspects in
which differentiation affects a modernizing society: the
occupational and the institutional. As for the first, the
person possessing a particular role is not automatically
entitled to engage in others in whatever sphere. As for
the latter, it is characterized by the emergence of
distinctive units into/organized around the goals specific
to each sphere without being fused with personal bases:
familial, kinship or other.[170]

The relation between social 'mobilisation' and 'differentiation'
denotes several processes developing side by side with basic
structuring changes in all major institutional phases of
social life of modern or modernistic societies. [171]

(c) <u>Social integration</u> in which kinship, tribe, trade guilds
and other organizations are duly differentiated and brought
together to form a part of a larger aggregate.[172] Thus,
the society, as in Palmer's words steps from disintegration
to reintegration.[173]

Such step from disintegration to reintegration by which

a society enters the stage of modernity, is neither

immediate nor automatic, as it hits with the   enchantment

that the individuals have towards traditional ways thus the

stride for modernity is slackened. However, when a society

successfully eliminates such impediments, it is assumed to

have moved from 'traditionality' to 'social integration',

a state in which:

> "the individual ties with local, regional and other
> intermediate structure are reduced at the same time
> that his ties with the larger and more diffuse urban
> and industrial network are strengthened. This shift
> in relationaships gives the individual the advantages
> of greater opportunities in a more flexible society
> and a larger share in the distribution of resources in
> terms of education, consumer goods, and a variety of
> services ...." (174)

＊　　＊　　＊

Having dealt with 'modernity' and how it is identified in

contemporary thought,it was possible to see how 'modernity' of

politics and economy is likely to be. A step further was to

deal with the ideal typical 'modern man' and 'modern society'.

The whole argument induces a researcher looking for fitting

'solution policy proposals' to ask whether adult education

has got a role to play in the realization of modernity

particularly in terms of attitude modification and skill upgrading

of its clientele. Such role is elaborated in chapter 6.

Notes - Chapter Five

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3. ibid. pp. 42-43.
4. COULSON, J. et al (editors), The Oxford Illustrated Dictionary.
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'modernization' as 'the process leading to the state of modernity ....'.
8. BLACK, C. E. op.cit. p. 242.
9. LERNER, D. op.cit.
IO. ibid. Introduction, p. viii.
II. RUDOLPH, L. I. and S. H. The modernity of tradition: political
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I3. see LEVY Jr., M. J. Modernization and the structure of societies:
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N. J. : Princeton University Press, 1966. p. II.
I4. DE SOLA POOL, I. 'The role of communication in the process of
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W. E. Moore (editors), Industrialization and society. Paris: UNESCO,
1963. pp. 281-282. It is to be noted that De Sola Pool defines
a 'modernized' society not in terms of GNP per capita, nor of the
proportion of population engaged in industrial endeavour, as one
might recommend, but rather:

> "in terms of certain values and modes of behavior shared by the
> inhabitants. These values - e.g., high achievement motivation,
> secularism, functionally specific relationships, mobility, etc..'

Pool then classifies under 'modernized' 'both industrially advanced
countries and regional enclaves and educated groups which have only
recently acquired the cultural prerequisites of industrialization.....'

- One has to note as well that W. E. Moore, adopts in the idenification of 'modernity' a similar line to the above, stressing the 'specific values and principles of conduct appropriate to modernization'. Among these are included rationality, puctuality, achievement and mobility aspirations, ... <u>see</u> MOORE, W. E. 'The strategy of fostering performance and responsibility', in E. de Vries and J. M. Echavarria (editors) <u>Social aspects of economic development in Latin America</u>. Vol I. Paris: UNESCO, 1963. pp. 236-237.

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see also DE SOLA POOL, I. op.cit. pp. 281-282. He cites seven norms for 'modern' man as follows:

"1. The norm for the modern man is to work with high aspiration level, energy and discipline. He does not necessarily work harder than the peasant who breaks the baked crust of the earth under the tropic sun. But the work norm accepted in modern society is that of striving, by mental effort, system and hard work, for the successively higher levels of achievement.
2. The modern man has strong secular aspirations- in particular, aspirations to improve his material condition.
3. The modern man computes strategies on a broad stage. He considers policy for the nation, or even for the world. If he is an entrepreneur, he thinks about wide markets and the management of vast enterprises.
4. The modern man calculates his strategies with relatively little inhibition by custom. Taboos are vital to any society, modern as well as traditional; but the modern man enjoys a greater freedom of means and goals. He is more free about where he lives, whom he marries, how he earns his living, and which faction he supports. Over considerable areas, means-ends considerations supersede fixed traditions.
5. As modernization prevails, ascribed status becomes less, and functional role becomes more significant in interpersonal relation. The way a man is treated is largely determined by the job he is doing, rather than by his family origins. Since jobs in modern society can be reassigned according to criteria of expediency, emphasis on functional role promotes social mobility.
6. All these factors make it possible for the device of organised association to be used extensively in modern societies. There are voluntary associations, business firms, and the state bureaucracy- each has the characteristics of a body of members organized in a hierarchy of ranks who, though free in their private lives, owe certain voluntarily assumed obligations of descipline, in restricted portions of their lives. These organized associations are tree-connected. Decision-making of a medium or high degree of generality is assigned to specific persons; and all other persons act under the guidance of these decisions as they are transmitted by intermediaries responsible for leadership of specific portions of the social body.
7. There is, subject to retrieval, information covering advanced science and advanced technology somewhere in society."

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131. ibid. pp. 49-50.

132. ibid.

133. ibid. pp. 45-52.

134. ibid. p. 49.

135. ibid. pp. 49-50.

136. INKLES, A. and SMITH, D. H. op.cit. Chapter 2 especially pp.19-21.

137. ibid. Table 7.I,p. 101.

138. ibid.

139. KAHL, J. A. op.cit.

140. INKLES, A. and SMITH, D. H. op.cit.

141. KAHL, J. A. op.cit. p. 132.

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147. INKLES, A. and SMITH, D. H. op.cit. p. 290.

148. INKLES, A. 'The modernization of man', op.cit. pp. 139-144.

149. INKLES, A. and SMITH, D. H. op.cit. p.20.

150. Vide supra pp. 239-241.

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156. ibid. pp. 25-32.

157. WIESEMAN, H. V. op.cit. pp. 16-17.

158. PALMER, M. op.cit. p. 17.

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160. ibid. p. 18.

161. PALMER, M. M. op.cit. p. 17. It has to be noted that Palmer
has drawn it from various sources.

162. EISENSTADT, S. N. Modernization: protest and change, op.cit.
pp. 2-3.

163. EISENSTADT, S. N. Tradition, change and modernity, op.cit. p. 14.

164. PALMER, M. op.cit. p. 4.

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167. ibid.

168. ibid.

169. EISENSTADT, S. N. Modernization: protest and change, op.cit. p. 2.

170. ibid.

I7I. EISENSTADT, S. N. <u>Tradition, change and modernity</u>, op.cit. p. 23.

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I73. PALMER, M. op.cit. p. 4.

I74. BLACK, C. E. <u>The dynamics of modernization: a study in comparative history</u>. New York: Harper & Row, Torchbooks, 1967. pp. 80-8I.

<u>also</u> PALMER, M. ibid. p. 4.

Chapter Six

Possible Contribution of Adult Education to Modernity Realization

The concept of causation in education has been taken by many educationists as 'dangerous and difficult'. [I] This imposes certain limitation on the argument of the present chapter.

On the one hand, the assumption that adult education serves a social cause the result of which is change in society, may not be accepted without reservation. The social functions that adult education has, are not independent of other social processes of society. One may be induced to argue that education per se has no separable social effect. On the other hand, one can raise the view that adult education is not mere education, any education, but rather education with a social mission in mind. In line with this, the Third International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo, I972) [2] takes an adult educator not as an ordinary teacher, but as an individual who operates in the community as a 'catalyst'. [3]

With the complexity of interrelations that characterize the social setting, only few researches could verify the impact of adult education in other than mere inference. [4] The few that are available, mainly deal with the significance of 'literacy' acquisition. [5] In case of 'adult vocational education', one has to consider the complaint raised by Staley concerning the rarity of researches undertaken on the impact of vocational education on attitudes and personality traits. [6] Staley's view is recalled by Thompson who stresses the inseparability of the impact of vocational education from the impact of other institutions and, hence, the uncertainty of findings. He puts it unambiguously that:

> "We cannot identify with a high degree of assurance all the specific institutions and situations that influence the outcomes of vocational education. Nor can we measure the exact influence that a specific institution has had or does have on vocational education." (7)

Besides, investigating the impact of adult vocational training
on the upgrading of individual skills hits with semantic barriers.
It is admitted that 'skill' is very complicated and difficult
to be measured. It depends on many factors as education, experience,
aptitude and ability to work.'[8] One mid-way is to estimate skill
through the pace with which the worker performs his work.[9] In one
way or other, worker's productivity is involved.

The argument of the present chapter focuses on the possible
contribution of adult education on the creation of apt individuls
for carrying out the modernity proposals. It attempts to probe
its possible impact on attitude modification and skill adequacy.
Both are dealt with in some detail.

I. Adult Education and Attitude Modification

a. The impact of literacy

Gaining literacy exceeds the mere ability of adult individuals
to encode and decode messages, i.e. reading and writing. It
facilitates an adult's orientation to social and other changes
around him. The U.N.E.S.C.O. takes the provision of literacy
programmes as one tool for 'promoting man's adjustment to change,
so that he may become both agent and the object of development.'[10]
The Experimental World Literacy Programme (EWLP), carried out
in thirteen underdeveloped countries (1965-1972)[11] has,
despite its short duration, yielded positive results that
U.N.E.S.C.O. experts pointed out especially in the case of Tanzania,[12]

the Sudan, [13] and India [14].

The changes that experts could measure are expressed in the form of 167 indicators or indices retained after methodological refinement of six out of the eleven projects [15] and which represented 85.9% of the participants of the EWLP. [16] At the level of the three dimensions which the UNESCO experts put including: insertion in the milieu, mastery over the milieu, and transformation of the milieu, the overall picture is a positive one as indicated in the following table:

<u>Table 6.1</u>

Changes related with the EWLP at the level of the three dimensions [17]

	Insertion in the milieu	Mastery over the milieu	Transformation of the milieu
	in percentages		
Positive influence, possible or plausible	39	53	38
Positive influence, uncertain or concomitant	33	35	48
No influence,	9	3	3
Negative influence, uncertain or concomitant	13	9	8
Negative influence, possible or plausible	6	0	3

The evaluation of the positive changes in so far as attitude modification is concerned, indicates that through participation in functional literacy programmes, many adults have become more 'rational-activist', open minded, with better attitudes toward science, technology and collective work. These have been

reported by UNESCO experts in the three dimensions cited above:

(A) Insertion in the milieu

i. Functional Literacy Programmes incite individuals to pursue a rational type of behaviour.

ii. Such programmes encourage the development of future-oriented behaviour. Adults participating in them have adopted modes of behaviour related with savings accounts, family planning, etc. more frequently than illiterate adults.

iii. Adult participants seek the advice, counsel and technical assistance from competent organizations or individuals, more readily than illiterates.

iv. Adults with functional literacy training can better locate problems of everyday life and seek their solution in the community.

v. Adults who have undergone functional literacy participate more frequently in collective activities (professional, cultural, confessional, leisure organizations, etc.) than illiterate adults.

(B) Mastery over the milieu

i. Workers with functional literacy training have a lower rate of absenteeism than illiterate ones.

ii. Better quality of work habits and higher level of technical knowledge linked to production.

iii. Higher level of knowledge and understanding of techno-productive practices.

iv. Higher degree of adoption of techno-productive practices and better techno-economic behaviour.

v. Adoption of more rational techno-productive norms.

(C) <u>The Transformation of the milieu</u>

i. Exposition of adults to functional literacy programmes
leads to more orientation toward economic and social change
and development. They are more highly conscious of the
rational needs required, of their role, and more open to
the scientific approach of problems. Their concern with the
quality and qualification of work is better than in the case
of illiterates.

ii. Orientation toward the desert of traditional values and
order. Their orientation toward change and innovation is
stronger than in the case of illiterates.[18]

Studies by individual researchers indicate the existence
of a corre—lation between literacy acquisition and the
attitudes of individuals. In their study on cultivators
and factory workers in East Pakistan (1967), Schuman,
Inkles and Smith found every reason "to expect literacy to
be significantly and strongly associated with many attitudes
and values."[19]   The findings of their study, which will
be mentioned later in the chapter,[20]   generally indicate
that literate adults in East Pakistan have got more modern
attitudes than illiterate ones.

Likewise, Lerner (1963)[21] in his study on six
Middle Eastern countries highly appreciated the role of ·
literacy acquisition as people move from traditional to
a modern outlook in life. He sees literacy operating as
"the pivotal agent in the transition to a fully participant

society."[22] At the national level, he recognized the

existence of a joint interacting growth in urbanization,

literacy, mass media participation and political partici-

pation. From this, he came to a model which he regarded as

"applicable to all modernizing societies on all continents

of the world regardless of any variations."[23] Each of

these mentioned above was found to form one rung in a chain

leading to the other and the eventual outcome is the

turn to a modern society both politically and economically.

If we take Lerner's argument into acount, literacy is

one essential step that a traditional society has to reach on its way to

modernity, for, as in Lerner's conclusion:

> "Everywhere, ... , increasing urbanization has tended to
> raise literacy, rising literacy has tended to increase
> media exposure: increasing media exposure has "gone with"
> wider economic participation (per capita income) and
> political participation (voting)."[24]

Similar consequences of literacy have been verified

in Rogers' empirical study on Columbian peasants (1969).[25]

He made a three-division classification including: antecedent,

process and consequence. Literacy, as one antecedent,

facilitates the process of mass media exposure, and the

final outcome is illustrated by rise of 'man' on the indices

of modernity. He becomes more emphatic, achievement-oriented,

innovative, etc. as is shown in the following diagram:

Antecedent ⟶ Process ⟶ Consequence

```
Literacy ⟍                               ⟋→ Empathy
                                        ⟋
education ⟶       Mass Media    ⟋→ Achievement and
                  Exposure          home innovativeness
Social ⟶                    ⟶ Political knowledge
Studies    ⟋
                           ⟍→ Achievement motivation
Age ⟋    ↑
                            ⟍ Educational and
Cosmopoliteness               Occupational
                              aspirations
```
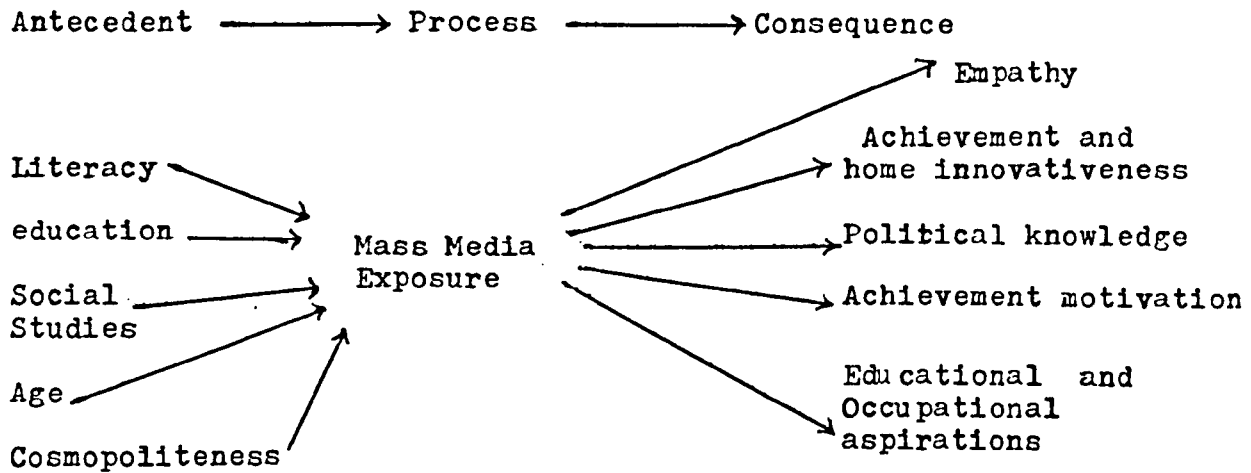
The focus on the relation between functional literacy and

individual modernity as illustrated by empathy, innovativeness

and the like shows Rogers' findings to be in line with

the already mentioned ones by UNESCO experts. On each of

Rogers' eight modernization indicators, functional literates

(N=78) had higher average scores than the functional illiterates

(N=177) in the five Columbian villages of his study. The

results are displayed in the following figure:

Figure 6.I

Difference between 'functional literates' and 'functional illiterates'
(26)
in Rogers' study
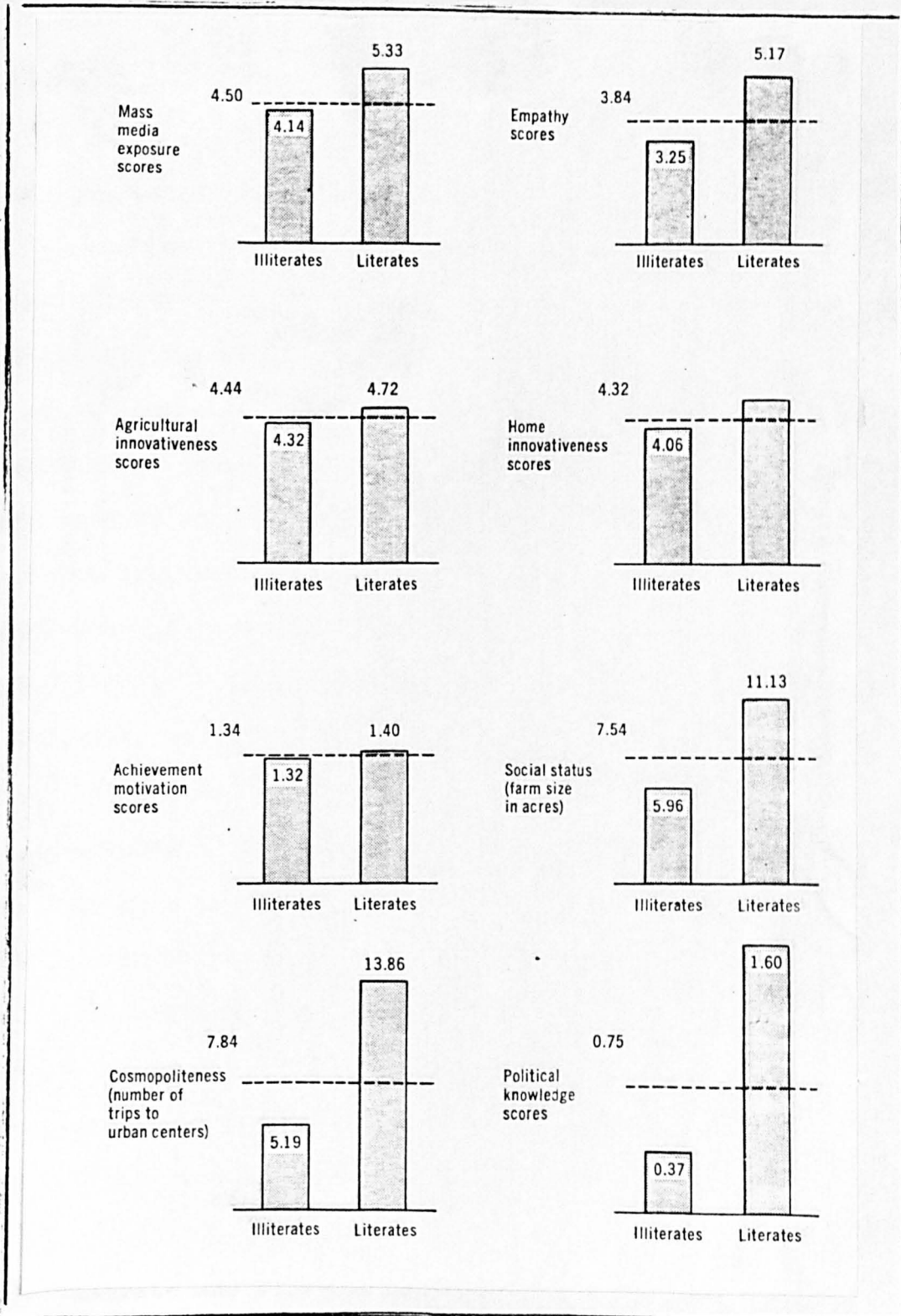
Attitude modification that may be attributed to the acquisition of literacy is evident particularly in three areas: openness to change, empathy and familism, the three are given special attention.

I. Openness to Change

In the study by Schuman, Inkles and Smith, mentioned above, it was suggested that literacy "makes men more open to change, to new information, to different goals."[27] The same is reported by Fakoury (1973)[28] who builds his argument about the psychological aspects of literacy programmes on that information which people get about technological development, for example, is indirectly related with literacy via mass media communication. Such information leads them to more awareness of the disparity between their standard of living and that of the technologically advanced countries. This, along with the prospect for a higher standard of living, "will change the attitude of the people toward their environment."[29] In this way, it may be argued that literate adults are more open to new techniques.

Awareness of the need for change, and openness to change, often result in more acceptable modes of behaviour. 'Family planning', which has for long been the major source of concern in the underdeveloped countries struggling for modernity, is one realm in which adult literacy has a role. As previously mentioned, this was indicated by UNESCO experts evaluating the EWLP.[30] The same was reported in the study of Schuman, Inkles and Smith mentioned above.[31] A difference was recorded in the response of their literate and illiterate respondents to family planning

schemes in terms of limiting the number of children in a family.

A difference of 12% was found between illiterate and literate

workers, though in the case of cultivators such difference was

non-existent, as indicated in the following table:

Table 6.£

Views of literate and illiterate cultivators and factory workers

as regards their approval of family planning (32)

Response	Cultivators			Factory Workers		
	(a) illiterate (N=103)	(b) literate (N=74)	difference b - a	(a) illit erate (N=180)	(b) literate. (N=205)	Differ ence b - a
Agrees that limiting the number of children in a family may be necessary	30%	30%	0%	30%	42%	12%

However, the researchers could not accept to negate the impact cf

literacy on the cultivators, but rather argued if the urban

industrial setting generated perceptions, interests and knowledge

reflecting the socio-economic relationship of workers and their

contact with modern technological world. A question was raised

whether certain social psychological changes are related both with

literacy and urban industrial experience. Relating their findings

with the time in which their study was carried out (November 1963

and May 1964), they suggested that until that time birth control

was not propagandized in East Pakistan and none at all in most

rural areas. Only in some cities there were advertisments which

promoted contraception besides the availability of contraceptive

devices in urban market areas. Such conditions have their

relevance, but the impact of literacy cannot be negated.

One result reached was, hence, that, "It is only among the urban

literates who have moved both physically into the city and

intellectually into the symbolic realm of new ideas that a change

seems to occur." [33]

2. Empathy

An individual adult acquiring literacy is likely to be

more emphatic than an illiterate one. From this angle, literacy

contributes to the creation of 'modern' individuals. The argument

as regards the relation between 'literacy' and 'empathy' shows

how control over a formal language is followed by changes in

an adult's power to see himself in the role of others, which, to

use Lerner's terms, "gives people access to the world of vicarious

experience and trains them to use the complicated mechanism of

empathy which is needed to cope with the world." [34]   The

correlation was ascertained in Lerner's study on the responses

of 248 Syrians and in which empathy, semi-empathy and non-empathy

were related with the degree of literacy which was classified

in three levels: illiterate, elementary or less, secondary or

more. The percentage of empathetic individuals within each group

was positively correlated with the degree of education as shown

in the following table:

<div align="center">

Table 6.3   [35]

</div>

Correlates of empathy with education among Syrians in Lerner's study

	Emphatic	Semi-emphatic	Non-emphatic
Illiterate	5%	21%	74%
Elementary or less	14%	45%	41%
Secondary or more	39%	42%	19%

A comparison of the 'non-emphatic' among each group shows
how the percentage drops from 74% in the case of illiterates
to 41% then 19% in accordance with the rise in the educational
level.

Other than Lerner's Middle Easterners, variation between
literate and illiterate Housa men was no less evident. A study
by Doob (1961) [36] showed how literates were better able than
illiterates in their reply to the question about what they would
like to know about what they did not know. While this might not
be a measure of empathy after Lerner's style, it, nevertheless
shows that literates are less 'apathetic' toward objects in
the world around.[37] In the same way, functional literacy,
mass media exposure, and cosmopoliteness are, to Rogers[38]
important antecedents to the development of emphatic ability
as expressed in the following paradigm:[39]

ANTECEDENT ———————> INTERVENING VARIABLE ————>CONSEQUENTS

Functional literacy
Mass Media exposure ————> Empathy
Cosmopoliteness

Innovativeness
Achievement motivation
Political knowledgeability
Opinionatedness
Opinion leadership
Aspirations
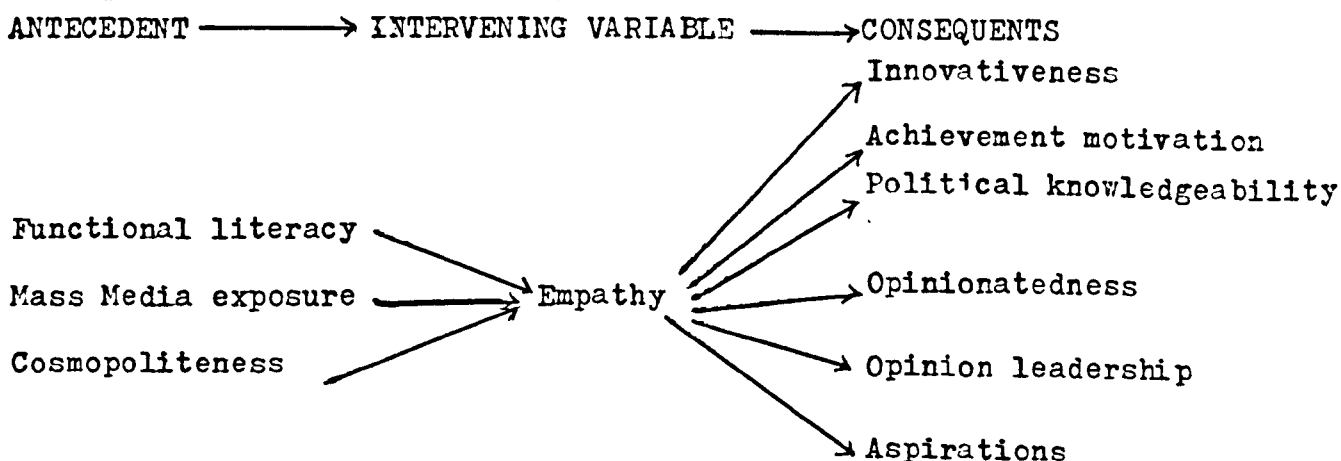
Rogers' words sum up the whole argument about the relation
between literacy and individuals' empathy:

"The relationship between empathy and literacy thus appears
to be positive and independent of factors such as age and
social status. Empathy and literacy are positively related*
With the development of literacy skills, an increase in the
individual's ability to empathize with roles outside of his
particular environment can be expected. Perhaps literacy
facilitates exposure to the larger society and hence develops
empathy." (40)

———————————
* Italicized in the original

3. Familism

The exaggerated bonds between an individual in a traditional society and the family is embodied in what may be put under 'familism'. The question raised in this respect is, whether literacy contributes to the shift of adult masses to more modern attitudes toward family and class. On the individual basis, the fundamental shift required is that the individual thinks of himself "primarily as a member of the recently formed political state."[41]

In the above study by Schuman et al (1967), they tended to discover if literacy could have an effect on familism in East Pakistan. They asked each of their adult respondents whether he regarded himself "first and foremost as a Pakistani, a Bengali (language-ethnic group), a man of (R.'s) district, or a man of (R.'s) village. Literates in each of the two groups (cultivators and factory workers) formed a higher percentage in considering oneself first and foremost a Pakistani as is indicated in the following table:

Table 6.4

Positive effects of literacy irrespective of occupation[42]

Response	Cultivators			Factory Workers		
	(a) Illiterate (N=103)	(b) Literate (N=74)	Differ- ence $a-b$	(a) Illiterate (N=180)	(b) Literate (N=205)	Differ- ence $a-b$
Considers self first and fore- most a Pakistani	36%	58%	22%	45%	62%	17%

The conclusion reached in the study ascertains the view that literacy makes adults more 'modern' in their attitudes as they desert, at varying degrees, traditional attitudes toward family and clan. Schuman et al interpreted the figures they got in their study in that "literacy is an important and highly correlate of this variation. Whereas urban versus rural occupational setting produces only a 6.5%difference on the average, literacy accounts for nearly a 20 per cent change in the level of a man's political identity."[43]

b. <u>The impact of adult vocational education</u>

As for 'Adult Vocational Education', many, like Radwan,[44] believe in the double purpose of vocational education: skill upgrading together with "the insight, understanding, knowledge and spirit of adventure necessary to establish themselves in business and industry."[45] But, this double impact throughout adulthood is, in some views, controversial. By the time an individual reaches adulthood, his personality traits are seen as "fairly well set",[46] though the possibility/of change is not, altogether, discarded. There is, as Staley[47] states:

"some plasticity, and there is reason to believe that education and training programmes can be devised which have a significant impact on at least some of these traits." (48)

Ezz el-Din (1970)[49] chose three issues to see whether vocational training of adult workers has effect on attitudes:

1. Respect of punctuality and awareness of the value of time in the process of production.

2. Discipline-orientation within the firm.

3. Accuracy in the productive processes.

He could see a part of each of the three related with the

'behavioural aspect' while the other part is related with technical skills of performance that workers have. From this, adult vocational education and training may be said to have its impact both on the attitudes and skills of adult workers though both aspects are interrelated. He sees the regard for punctuality, the awareness of the value of time and commitment to discipline within the firm, as types of workers' behaviour rather than expression of their technical skill. Likewise, accuracy in the productive process is mostly an indicator of skill and technical efficiency more than it is a mere pattern of behaviour among workers. Nevertheless, he differentiates to a certain degree, between the process of modifying behavioural patterns, and developing skills regarding the means in each case to be different. The conclusion he reaches is that the development of workers' regard for punctuality and their commitment to discipline, is likely to be realized through proper supervision, good example of rational leadership, and through effective contact between workers and supervisors. As reagrds the development of precision in the productive processes, it basically depends on good selection, proper induction into work, continuous vocational training as well as implementation of a good system of incentives. [50]

The extent to which adult vocational education and training contributes to the modification of behavioural patterns among workers, is a controversial issue. On the one hand, Ezz Erdin denies that direct instruction or technical

skill has got direct role in behavioural adjustment.[51]

Ezz el-Din could only accept such a role to be found when

any of the following three occurs:

I. the rise of income through the rise of wages or the

promotion of services provided.

2. the promotion of a worker's social status.

3. the vertical upgrading of a worker to supervisory level.[52]

Putting the argument this way he did, and making modification

subject to certain conditions, Ezz el-Din fails to give

an unambiguous answer to the question he attempted to answer.

S.C. Kelley,[53] on the other hand, argues strongly in favour

of the possible role of education in the change of social and

cultural values. His study presented before the 'International

Conference on Education as a Factor of Accelerated Economic

Development' (Istanbul, I966)[54] puts the role of education

in developing skills and expanding scientific knowledge only

in a second place to the task of value orientation, to the extent

that he even denies that the development of skills and scientific

knowledge is "the principal contribution of education to economic

development."[55] The whole issue of economic development is

seen in the light of capability of institutions of value

orientation. Economic development, as he declared, "is a function

of the social capacity to adapt its institutions and values to

particular requirements of industrial organizations and

technological change." (56) Hence, what is needed, in the first

place, is the adaptation of workers' values and personality

traits to accord with technological change. Vocational education

and training is in the *middle of* orientation task mostly needed in

in a modern technological society, as Kelley indicates:

"If a society is to use rather than be used by technical change, it must possess an adaptive capacity that permits role fulfilment in a context of coincidence between individual and social values. The capacity depends upon the development of a set of institutions which are concerned with the shaping of values, attitudes and perceptions. While ducation is not the sole receptient of this responsibility, it must assume a primary role in a condition in which other value-Producing and sustaining institutions, the family and kinship group, are losing their relevance and authority."(57)

The capability of vocational education and training to

modify attitudes has, as well been raised by a report by

Arab Labour Organization (A.L.O.) in I976.(58) The rationale

on which the argument goes, is based on the notion that mastery

of one's profession or vocation generates inherent feeling

of self-confidence and self-capacity, which have their bearing

on other aspects of one's behaviour. Besides, the broadening of

knowledge and experience related with one'e vocation, is to

the Director - General of the A.L.O.,associated with resistance

to the monotony of mechanical work and with self-accomplishment.(59)

Vocational education and training is taken as a means "to implant

in a citizen, through enlightenment and understanding of his

role in society, feeling of work-value, and work-dignity

especially the high ranking of vocational belongingness." (60)

The impact on individual workers by vocational programmes was

put, in the above report in points, of which the following are noticeable:

I. Development of abilities, whether physical, mental or behavioural.

2. Self-confidence, ability to find fitting solution to work problems,

and more accpetance to shoulder responsibilities.

3. Increasing awareness of work-dangers and how to protect oneself.

4. Development of collective spirit among workers. (6I)

c. The impact of adult civic and political education

Adult political and civic eudcation, which is part of the overall socialization process, has its impact on adult acquisition of knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them able members of society. The purpose of adult education, in this respect, is defined in terms of society's purpose and serves in the process of transformation of "the raw material of biological man into a person suitable to perform the activities of society." [62]

A 'modern' society, based on political democracy, tends to make its individuals more 'apt' for democratic practice, i.e. active participants. This involves on the part of the individuals concerned both perception and adaption. These two form the basis of the socialization process.

An individual acquires an understanding of the recognized statuses in his society. He learns what Brim [63] calls, the names which enable him to locate other individuals in the social structure, and learns, as well, role participation and role behaviour associated with different positions. [64] Adult education has been trusted, in this respect, as one agent. 'Fundamental Education', that was strongly advocated by UNESCO in the I940's and I950's was directed toward the realization of specific objectives, of which democracy was one. [65] As one form of the education of adults, Fundamental Education was advocated as process of transmitting the minimum knowledge, training and attitudes that man in 'backward' areas needs to better health, to profit by the chances offered to him for education and to be prepared to fulfil the duties and exercise the rights become of a free citizen and/productive individual in his community. [66]

Through this transmitted knowledge and training, an individual

adult perceives and understands. With understanding, comes

mental effort which is essential complementary to an adult's

goodwill for the formation of sound political democracy.

The 1919 Report on Adult Education in Great Britain, [67] highly

regards this complementarity:

> "It is not the lack of good will that is to be feared. But
> goodwill without mental effort, without intelligent provision,
> is worse than ineffectual; it is a moral opiate. The real lack
> in our national history has been the lack of bold and clear
> thinking....." [68]

But, understanding and goodwill are not the ultimate goal

that adult citizens are required to reach. The matter is more

than one of allegiance to a particular government or political

setting. Bergevin, [69] adds active and constructive participation

in various social institutions. This, involves the inclination

to participate actively, which in turn needs motivation.

Motivation may come through education as well as through some

other means. The individual adult may, thus, be adapted to

democratic practice. It is lack of adaption that many traditional

societies suffer from as a great many of their adults remain

with passive attitudes toward participation in political action,

i.e. within the circle of 'marginality'. This is another realm

in which adult education has got a task. Bergevin strongly

argues that:

> "With proper continuing education, many marginal citizens can
> be helped to carry a share of the social load, even if it is
> a very small share. Everybody can do something, and the
> greatness or smallness of the contribution is not as important
> in this instance as the fact that each of us is continuing to
> learn how to share, how to play his part. It is equally
> important that each of us learns that we have a part to play,
> that we are needed." [70]

2. Adult Education and Skill Adequacy

The 'human capital theory' in economy gives special regard
to the worker himself in terms of his capacities whether physical,
intellectual, etc. Productivity is seen as an aggregate of
various factors some of which may be improved through 'investment
in man'.[71] Such investment includes among others, facets of
the individual worker such as his information, education and
technical capacities. But, recent thoughts about lifelong and
recurrent education seem to add more dimensions to the above
theory. Investment gives yield, not only to a specified age,
as traditional economists used to think, but rather throughout
the whole adult life. Hence, economists are, more than ever
before, in favour of what we may call 'lifelong vocational
education'. This is supported by the words of Scultz:

> "that not all of the economic capacities of individuals are
> given at birth, or at the age of 14 when some of them enter
> work, or at some later age when some complete their schooling;
> but that many of these capabilities are developed through
> activities that have the attributes of an investment." (72)

Thompson's views in this respect run in line with those of
Schultz.[73] The age-range of occupational development to him
is broad enough to include the period from the age of 18 to 65.[74]

According to Thompson's classification, an adult continues
to grow and mature occupationally through five sub-stages:
I. Transition in the typical age-range of 18-21 during which
the individual converts a generalized choice that he has made
at an earlier stage of his life, into a specific choice. He makes
a final commitment to it by embarking on specialized and training

programme, or by taking a job.

2. Trial (little commitment) during the typical age-range 18-23 during which he implements the choice. The period witnesses the individual's transition from 'general' to 'specialized' education, or from 'school' to 'employment'. It is likely that the adult during this period shifts from one occupation to another.

3. Trial (commitment) in the typical age-range 21-30 during which the adult is settled on one occupational area. However, 'job change' rather than 'occupational change' may occur.

4. Advancement, during the typical age-range 30-45 when establishment in the occupation is reached and it is likely that the job provides security and comfort.

5. Maintenance, in the typical age-range 45 until retirement during which the major concern of the adult is to maintain his material and prestigous status.[75]

With the above classification, Thompson is induced to adopt Geiger's view that since the early years of adulthood, and until the age of retirement, an expanding programme for adult vocational education is essential.[76] In other words, both seem to favour a 'lifelong vocational education' trend 'which will exploit every possible device for making men think, for making them sensitive to authentic and imperative problems, for enriching the making of a living so that it becomes more than a carefully neglected instrument.'[77]

It should be noted, however, that Thompson's classification accords more with the American society and other similar advanced 'countries than with less developed ones, as the case with Egypt, for example.

On the one hand, the inability to accomplish universal primary education for the whole children of a . nation deprives a great number of individuals (that varies from one nation to another) from getting even the minimum base on which further development of their education and training is built. Besides, the low quality of what is provided to accepted children, and the high drop-out and wastage rate,aggravate the problem. The outcome, in most cases, is prevalent illiteracy among the adult population. Vocational education at the 'transition' stage is not provided, unless an individual imitates what the elders do. This, in turn, reinforces the continuation of the traditional techniques. It is thus, that adults in rural Egypt for example, suffer the drawbacks of the absence of Thompson's 'Transition' which is reflected both on their skills and, accordingly, on the national economy.

It is difficult to think of Thompson's five sub-stages apart from a clear mission to be undertaken by 'adult education' if the smooth move of the individual adult throughout his lifetime is maintained, and if the society keeps the skills of its adults continually upgraded. It was thus, that 'Vocational improvement' was recognized by the 'Second World Conference on Adult Education' (Montreal, 1960)[78] as part of the mission of adult education to undertake in its programmes for the accomplishment of four goals namely, economic preparation, vocational improvement, public responsibility and liberal education.[79] In so far as the first two are concerned, we quote the report's words:

"I. Economic preparation.-- This component of the learning experience will be concerned with the preparation of adults to meet their responsibilities as citizens and workers in whatever society they live. It will be primarily a remedial

program to provide training not secured during youth. It will include night and day courses which can permit men and women to continue their education after work. It will provide literacy and vocational training for adults who never had the opportunity for such training during their youth. This programm will also, where required, include basic education in health and citizenship. It should have as its objective the preparation of all adults for useful and productive work in community life. It should be carried out by public education systems. It should be entirely underwritten by the government.

2. Vocational Improvement. -- This component of the learning experience will be concerned with continuing technical and vocational education which will provide adults, throughout their working lives, with the new skills and ideas necessary for effective operation as workers or as members of a profession. It will be looked upon not so much as a remedial program but as a program to admit adults to keep up with the essential technological and scientific developments which occur during their life span and which they must know about to be effective workers or professionals..................... Some provision for contribution by the individual involved might be included. Its objective should be the maintenance of the knowledge and techniques required for the continued effectiveness of workers and citizens in a rapidly changing democratic society." (80)

The last statement above is related with the quick rate of

technological progress at present times, and which serves to

make equipment and machines obsolete in short duration even

before the instructors themeselves gain complete mastery over them.

This   points out to the special position that is given to 'adult

vocational education' in the age of 'modern technology'.

Competition in such an age becomes more acute, and it is in

fields like new processes, machinery, procedures and universal

solutions that one firm wins, or loses. Hence, the above fields

are kept as secret, carefully guarded. This represents, to

Fawcett's way of thinking, an invitation for non-public

agencies to make up for the lag of public vocational agencies

behind current vocational practice.(8I) This led him to state

that 'This line of reasoning inevitably leads to the suggestion

that it is the non-public agency that should bear the prime

responsibility for vocational education.' (82)

Skill dilemma from which many underdeveloped countries suffer is also a matter in which adult vocational education is involved. Balance between supply and demand on skilled manpower is not determined solely through planning for formal education. Shortage in some sectors and surplus in many others cripple the attempts to build 'modern' economy from two angles:

a. 'Skilled' manpower available do not cover the requirements of various industrialization schemes. Hence, the difficult choice between two alternatives: either to accept to employ unskilled or semi-skilled workers in positions that have to be filled by skilled ones, which means the sacrifice with productivity; or to resort to foreign skilled labour which may prove highly uneconomical.

b. Abundance in 'unskilled' labour whose number exceeds the actual needs of 'modern' economy. This gives rise to various kinds of unemployment which stand in the way of attaining optimum benefit of human resources.

It may be argued that the satisfaction of the needs of industrialization schemes of skilled labour is possible through technical secondary and intermediate schools and centres. However, one has to take into account that, in most cases, the capacity of such institutions is far behind the actual needs, as is the case with Egypt mentioned earlier.[83] Hence, unskilled (and to an extent semi-skilled) labour is reported to, especially in the transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' economy. Furthermore, the development of the 'modern' sector cannot, however, be unlimited. It uses modern technological means that require less numbers. In other words its capacity to absorb the unskilled labour surplus is limited.

Agriculture, as the traditional sector in most underdeveloped countries, has also to be developed in order to satisfy the increasing needs for food. The modernization of the rural economy requires that the skills of adults have to be upgraded.

In the light of these, adult vocational education has a big task at three levels:

I. Upgrading the skill of the adult population who will continue to work in agriculture in the way that allows the accomplishment of the following goals:

 i. developing agriculture to the extent that facilitates specialization, concentration and mechanization;

 ii. farmers reach a degree of awareness and progress that allows their adoption   of modern technological methods;

 iii. developing agricultural co-operation to the extent that allows the organization of production on the basis of concentration and specialization;

 iv. training the technical cadres necessary for various activities related with rural development; and

 v. finding surplus labour power to be made use of in other sectors.[84]

2. Upgrading the skill of semi-skilled and unskilled labours now working in the industrial sector. This is designed to solve the bottlenecks that impede the industrial expansion. It has to be remembered that 'The semi-skilled category is the immediate shortage of underdeveloped countries in the transitional stage to modernity.'[85] On the other hand, it will lessen the ratio of 'frictional unemployment' that accompanies quick technological transformation and which threatens many workers with the loss, not only of their jobs but of the profession itself.

3. Training the higher cadres whether administrative or
technical including agricultural engineers, scientists,
veterinarians, and indeed leaders and specialists with knowledge
and skill necessary to keep in line with the ever developing
technology.

Functional Literacy and Skill Adequacy

The move from 'verbal' to 'functional' literacy was especially
witnessed in the 1960's. As one form of adult education, literacy
was to be directed toward the acquisition of skills that facilitate
the adults' involvement in their community, and their participation
in solving its problems. The Second World Conference on Adult
Education (Montreal, 1960) recognized this 'functionality' as
an immediate need of the underdeveloped countries:

> "The rapidly developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin-
> America have their own special problems. For them, adult
> education, including education for literacy, is an immediate
> need, a need so overpowering that here and now we must help
> adult men and women to acquire the knowledge and the skills
> that they need for the new patterns of community living
> into which they are moving. The developing countries have   (86)
> few immediately available resources, and great demands on them"

Hence, functional literacy programmes are envisaged to have
vocational implications fitted to solve the problems of skill
inadequacy from which underdeveloped countries suffer (see
chapter 4 for the case of Egypt).

From the perspective of the individual adult, 'functional
literacy' programmes are designed to make him more apt to
live in a modern society. Apart from the 'communication skills'
that he acquires from learning to read and write, he gets
those kinds of skill needed for successful interaction with
his community. In line with this William S. Gray takes a person

to be functionally literate when he has acquired the knowledge

and skill in reading, writing and notation, which make him

more apt to engage effectively in all those activities in which

a normal person in his culture or group is assumed to engage.[87]

If the Montreal Conference was the starting point for the

new approaches of literacy work, the Tehran World Congress of

Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy (I965)[88]

combined literacy acquisition with the accomplishment of development

activity distinguishing thus between 'functional' and 'traditional'

literacy. Functional literacy came eventually to be 'not only

a method for acquiring skills but also a process for the development

of the personality; it is not basically and exclusively a method

of making the written or printed word accessible.'[89]

The Third International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo, I972)

went with the belief in the capacity of adult education programmes

to upgrade skills, some steps further. It recognized adult education

as one specific and indespensable education that an individual gets

throughout his life.[90] Amidst the new look, evident stress is

laid on the ability of adult education, whether through literacy

or other programmes, to provide the adults with various skills.

In clear words, it is stressed that the availability of apt man

for the realization of development is increasingly accepted as one

task of adult education:

> " ...., adult education has been increasingly concerned to foster
> the development of the individual's productive capacity by
> training and refresher-training courses, to contribute to the
> development of human relations and to the respect of human rights,
> and to assert the ideals of peace and international understaning." (9I)

The argument of the present chapter has shown adult
education to be capable, to a certain extent, of influencing
the attitudes and behavioural aspects of the adult masses
towards 'empathy', 'open-mindedness', 'innovativeness',
'achievement motivation', and 'rationality-activism'. On the
other hand, adult education has got the capacity to upgrade
skills whether in the purely 'technical' sense through
adult vocational programmes, or in the 'comprehensive' one
through functional literacy programmes and others.

Seen in the light of the 'problem intellectualisation'
dealt with in chapters 2, 3, and 4, adult education may be
seen as one solution to the staggering modernity in underdeveloped
countries caused by the inavailability of 'modern' individuals
in terms of attitudes and skills. It seems that, through a
sound policy for the expansion of adult education opportunities
to penetrate as many adults of these countries as possible,
that the inconsistency between the 'high modernity proposals'
on the one hand, and the 'inaptness' of adults on the other,
may be solved.

Notes - Chapter Six

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2. UNESCO. Third International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo: 25 July-7 August I972).

3. ibid. Adult education in the context of lifelong education (Basic Working Paper). UNESCO/CONFEDAD/5. pp. 29-30.

4. see BERGEVIN, P. A philosophy for adult education. New York: The Seabury Press, Incorporated, I967.

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5. ROGERS, E. M. and HERZOG, W. 'Functional literacy among Columbian peasants', Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. I4, No. 2, January I966. pp. I90-203.

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also GOLDEN, H. H. "Literacy and social change in underdeveloped countries", Rural Sociology, Vol. 20, No. I, March I955. pp. I-7.

also ROGERS, E. M. Modernization among peasants: the impact of communication. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., I969.

6. STALEY, E. Planning occupational education and training for development. New York/London: Praeger Publishers, I97I. p. 39. It is to be noted that Staley recognizes such a difficulty in a more definite manner than others have cared to do. He puts it unambiguously that 'the amount of hard, carefully verified evidence and clearly stated conclusions seems to be relatively scanty.'.

7. THOMPSON, J. H. Foundations of vocational education: social and psychological concepts. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.,: Prentice-Hall, Inc., I973. p. 7.

8. HAMDY. M. <u>Long-term manpower planning research- a proposed</u>
<u>occupation structure for the manpower for U.A.R. in 1985</u>.
Cairo: Institute of National Planning, 1963. memeo No. 264.
p. II.
<u>also</u> ABDEL- RAHMAN, I. H. 'Preface', in M. Hamdy (ed.)
<u>Manpower requirements for the U.A.R. for the period 1960-1985</u>.
Abdel-Rahman complains of the lack of sound indicators of skill
which often leads to arbitrary judgements. He puts it clearly that:

> "For lack of a better indicator, educational training levels
> are taken to represent the degree of skill and organisation.
> Evidently, this is not a sufficient indicator, since a form
> of leadership, team work and a set of social values are
> required to make out of a group of (educated) or (trained)
> citizens an enterprising and developing community."

9. HAMDY. M. <u>Long-term manpower ....</u>, ibid.
10. UNESCO. <u>Practical guide to functional literacy: a method of</u>
<u>training for development</u>. Paris: UNESCO, 1973. p. 9.
11. UNESCO, <u>The Experimental World Literacy Programme: a critical</u>
<u>assesment</u>. Paris: UNESCO Press and UNDP, 1976.
12. ibid. p. 110. - Few systematic sample studies were conducted
in 1971-1972 showing that the programme was a success in terms
of such criteria as the generation of under-consumption habits
among participants as well as increased technical knowledge,
and the adoption of modern sanitary and nutrition practices.
Furthermore, some before-and-after studies of three Tanzanian
groups in 1970 and 1971 seemed to show that:

> "the functional literacy classes had a direct influence on
> participants' behaviour vis-à-vis their participation in
> formal organizations, their knowledge of modern technology,
> their adoption of modern methods, their knowledge and adoption
> of improved health and nutritional practices, and their level
> of socio-economic aspirations".

13. ibid. p. 94. The 'critical assesment' states the following
as regards results in the case of the Sudan Republic:

> "The Sudanese WOALP resulted in mostly positive changes in levels
> of knowledge and skill acquisition, attitudes, consumption patterns
> and behaviour on the part of participants completing the course.
> Differences tended to be found in these areas both in comparison
> to participants' preliteracy performance and in comparison to
> matched groups of non-participants (control)."

14. ibid. p. 54. the critical assesment of the Indian case points
to results 'sufficiently favourable for UNESCO and UNDP to
recommend the continuation of the project. Among the positive
results were:

"acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills, improvement in knowledge of new agricultural practice, attitudinal change, behavoural change (utilization of newly-learned agricultural skills), and improvement in the standard of living, although differences were found among the various subprojects and programmes."

15. In India, Tanzania, Iran, Ecuador, Ethiopia and the Sudan.

see BATAILLE, L. (ed.) A turning point for literacy, adult education for development, the spirit and declaration of Persepolis. (Proceedings of the International Symposium for Literacy, Persepolis, Iran: 3-8 September 1975. Oxford: Pergamon Press, Ltd., 1976.

16. ibid. pp. 55-56.

17. ibid. p. 56.

18. ibid. pp. 57-58.

19. SCHUMAN, H., INKLES, A. and SMITH, D. H. op.cit. p. 3.

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PART FOUR

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The 'contextual analysis' proceeds further with the foundation already laid in the 'proposed policy formulation'. The 'Problem approach' suggests that the choice of one policy solution rather than another is related with its ability to realize certain objectives that reflect aspirations. This can only be reached by giving specification of the circumstances under which the solution in one country has worked, but has not been so successful in another.

In the present study, reconstruction of what War II had damaged in England economically and politically, coincided with the need to establish the British version of the 'welfare State'. Variation between the conditions of Post-War England and Post-1952 Egypt, is not underestimated. However, dealing with political and economic proposals in England after War is a necessary ground on which to see how adult education policy was designed amidst these proposals. This is dealt with in chapter eight. Two adult education policy trends are of special relevance to the argument of the present study, namely the integration of adult education in the national system of education, and the 'fourfold partnership' between the Ministry of Education, L.E.A.'s, universities and the W.E.A.

On the other hand, adult education policy in Egypt since 1952, is analysed in chapter nine. The argument in the chapter shows how the marginality of the adult education sector, and its alienation from the national system of education have left serious stamps on the ability to disseminate it among the adult masses at large. Moreover, adult education was not dealt with comprehensively, but rather in a fragmental manner within which each adult education type has to plan for itself separately. The outcome of the efforts made is inadequate for a country aspiring for modernity.

With these two defects that have characterized the adult education policy in Egypt since 1952, in mind, the choice of the English model for comparison is justifiable, and a clearer view of the solution is reached.

Chapter Seven

Political and Economic Proposals in Post-1944 England

Before the World War II ended, Government bodies,
political parties and various pressure groups in England
were all enthusiastically involved in drawing the broad lines
of the policies that would be implemented after War. Six years
of war have, in a sense, evoked new aspirations both political
and economic. However, the new policy trends were not solely
the ferment of war conditions, but rather consistent with
issues that have remained with the society in the inter-war
years and even before. The call for 'effective democracy' that
was brought into focus after war is hardly separable from
the democratic application both of the immediate past under
the emergency war conditions, or the distant past since the
Chartist Movement (1832-1848). Likewise, in the economic realm,
industrialization was more keenly attended to in post-War
policies. On one hand, this may be seen consistent with the
concern initially felt since the Great Exhibition of 1851
and the fear that Great Britain might lose its industrial
supremacy. On the other hand, acute shortage of labour,
inadequacy of investment in mass-production machinery during
the inter-war years intermingled with scarcity of basic
materials and the deterioration of production in some major
industries during the War years.[1]   Accompanying the two
lines of 'effective democracy' and 'industrialization' was
a third one which has long been with England eversince the
Great Industrial Revolution namely, the intense conflict
between classes which made urgent the attempt to find a more
peaceful formula that would eliminate the existence of 'two
nations'.[2]

I. Effective Democracy in Post-War II Proposals

That the democratic application in England until the outbreak of World War II was 'inadequate',gained general agreement on the part of political parties themselves. The Labour Party's Declaration of policy (Bournemouth, 1940)[3] took as a starting point of its argument that "Our Democracy is still an incomplete Democracy."[4] The Declaration linked this with the inadequate standard of living of millions, and the incomplete educational opportunities. Inequality, however, was the gravest of all the defects to which the Declaration pointed out. The general evaluation given was that, "Even if there be a deeper social conscience than in the past, our society still remains, in its essential outlines, acquisitive and unequal."[5] The Conservative view was not far from that of the Labour Party, though with less severe criticism.[6]

The need felt for more effective democracy was not to negate that, long before the Second World War, England had institutionally, accomplished modern political structure. The franchise rights have been broadly extended since the Chartist Movement especially in the peaks of 1842 and 1848. The two Gladestonian Reform Bills of 1884 and 1885 further extended the vote to agricultural workers and redistributed Parliament seats in favour of smaller towns. The 1928 Act eventually removed all anomalities in the male franchise, extending the vote to the vast majority of women as well. Accordingly, 97% of the population aged 20 and over have become actual voters.(7)

As for 'political parties', the arrival of the 'Labour Party' on the stage of politics has been a remarkable landmark. Its solid base was the growing Trade Union movement, although the Trade Union Congress was joined in its creation of the Labour Representation Committee, by the Fabian Society (founded in 1884), the Independent Labour Party (fouded in 1893) and the Social Democratic Federation (founded in 1881). Since its victory of 1906, the party has eversince been the Labour Party in Parliament.

In parliamentary institutions, the twentieth century witnessed the growing consolidation of the power of the House of Commons, while the House of Lords sank into a much less activity and importance than before. The former strongly became the true focus of legislative power. It changed fundamentally its electoral base and became more openly the organ of public opinion.

Various pressure groups were allowed to undertake their role in parliamentary democracy. By 1900, trade union membership in Britain had reached a top of two million workers including a mass of skilled and unskilled labour. In the meantime, working class movements were also gaining strength. The Co-operative Movement also flourished. In 1903, the Workers' Education Association (W.E.A.) emerged, and since then has been welcomed by other partners and pressure groups. It is thus, that, at least in form, democracy in England has got by the advent of the Second World War an institutionally modern political structure.

The call for 'more effective' democracy was associated
with discovered slips in application rather than with the
institutions themselves. This was sharpened by stronger
belief in democracy and insistence on it as a way of life
since the outset of the present century. The growing lack of
faith in religion that came to affect ordinary Englishman
through acceptance of philosophies of relativism and
uncertainty, was not without relevance to the cause of democracy.
Livingstone (1943) lamented the 19th century England when
Christian philosophy was strongly adhered to, only giving its
place to athiesm and immorality.[8] The Conservatives (1959)
admitted the existence of great difficulty, far beyond the
power of statesmen to solve,represented by the growing
confidence in the power of science and technology that coincides
with 'disturbed religious beliefs'.[9] Weakened belief in
spiritual values has, indirectly,yielded stronger belief in
democracy and freedom. It is no odd thing in Ottaway's[10]
analysis that this lack of faith among the English population
is associated with the growth of their belief in democracy,
and from this he comes to a conclusion that:

> "The strongest faith is in democracy and freedom, however
> differently or vaguely these words may be interpreted.
> Democracy and freedom are not ends in themselves, yet they
> are held as important values by the majority of the
> English people." (11)

From this angle, it is easy to interpret the louder call that
grew in England in the 20th century for sounder democracy
and which came in the post-WarII era to form a major core
of policy trends. It centred round three issues: individual
freedom, social freedom and equality of opportunity.

(a) <u>Individual Freedom</u>

Strong interference, and even 'control' that the government practised over the activities of citizens during the War years, was justified on the grounds of emergency conditions.[I2] Atlee admitted that some of these were necessary, but "very irksome."[I3] While the economic measures were more likely to be accepted by the Labour Party's Declaration (I945), the extension of restrictions on personal freedom was strongly condemned.[I4] The Conservatives were no less critical of the violation of individual freedom under whatever mask, not even 'the interests of the State':

> "Had it not been for the War, the British people would never have allowed the power of the State to encroach so far upon their freedom. The surrender of their liberties in I939-I945 went very far indeed much further than in I9I4-I9I8." (I5)

The policies after War went further in asserting the importance of individual freedom.

Participation of commom man was not seen in seclusion from his freedoms. The trend that gained support from political parties and individual thinkers highly valued the extension of common man's active participation in politics as a gurantee for more effective democtatic application. Shearman (I944), cared to explain that it is not beneficial that government remains the sole concern of spcialists whether bureaucrats or statesmen, but, "must be studied and reflected on by ordinary men and women engaged in the affairs of life."[I6] The policy that the Labour Party adopted was

included in its Statement of Policy (I945) which was later
affirmed in I949. Effective democracy in the former was [17]
associated with with keeping and enlarging freedom of
worship, of speech, of the press and other civil liberties. [18]
In the latter, effective democracy was envisaged as the one
in which the whole people would participate. In a definite
way, it was put that, "There can be no advance without the
participation of the people."[19] As the 'remote' and 'impersonal'
feature of control over apparatus of common life was reinforced
by previous indifference to common man, it was suggested
after I944 that bringing common man to participate was
essential.

The Conservative policy, while approving the above broad
lines, gave stress on the way the individual uses his ballot
rights. Sound democracy was to be attained through the electorate
who should be strong enough to control Parliament. Parliament,
on its part, must control Government and not governed by it.
The trend was expressed by Marquis of Salisbury in I949:

> "We must ensure that this free and independent electorate
> keeps a firm hand on Parliament, and through Parliament on
> the Government. We must make it our business to restore
> the control of Government by the people." (20)

In this way, the individual becomes the means of sound democracy
as he is its ultimate goal. The Conservative trend embodies
the clash over the increasing role of the State at the expense
of individual freedom and to which the Labour Party has shown
leniency, as will later be elaborated.[21] In 1965, twenty years

after the end of War, the Conservative policy in this concern
was unchanged. Their content has ever remained not to let the
physical aspect of reconstruction outweigh the human. One
report of theirs put it strongly, though vaguely that,
'society was created for the individual and any plan or
political party that ignores this will suffer and deservedly so.' (22)
What the country needed most was independent and responsible
citizens working for the public good "not slaves but free
men - the/masters of their country."(23) Such trend was recalled
      true
by Churchil in that the people should not be reduced to a
'mass of State-directed proliterians' controlled by an
aristocracy of privileged officials whether party leaders or
trade union bosses.(24)

It was thus that individualism which gave new dimensions
to the cause of personal freedom and participation represented
a controversial issue between Labour and Conservative policies.
However, no tendency was there on either part to deprive the
State of its responsibility toward the whole community
eventhough the Conservatives were more sensitive to the growing
role practised by the State. The trend to create balance between
both within the framework of a 'welfare State' came to be one
major issue in post-War policies. Such balance was strongly
advocated by Marshal:

> ".. if we put individualism first, we must put collectivism
> second. The Welfare State is the responsible promoter and
> guardian of the welfare of the whole community, which is
> something more complex than the sum total of the welfare of
> all its individual members arrived at by simple addition.
> The claims of the individual must always be defined and
> limited so as to fit into the complex and balanced pattern
> of the welfare of the community, ... " (25)

Marshal's way of thought was midway between, on the one hand

Labour policy geared in the first place to protect the interests

of the State, and the Conservative policy which, though inclined

to protect the individual's intiative, accepts some sort of

equilibrium between both 'State' and 'individual'. They admit

that the conflict between central authoritarianism and the right

of individual choice is a danger, yet "if the individual is

given the background and true facts upon which to base his choice,

coupled with bold and imaginative leadership from Government, then

the choice is likely to be a wise one."[26]

(b) Social Freedom

The attempted balance between 'individual' and 'State' in

post-War England was not only a matter of supporting individual

freedom that was, in a sense, pressed under War emergency

measures, nor the activation of common man's participation in

political action after some neglect in the inter-war years.

'Freedom', as one basis of British democracy was to take a new

role. Apart from the already recognized forms as freedom of

worship, of speech, of opinion, etc..., there emerged what came

since the Beveridge Report (I942)[27] to be termed 'Social Freedom'.

These are the types of freedom demanded in the interests of

social justice. They are envisaged in post-War policies as

essential component of 'sound democracy'. Beveridge associates

'social freedom' with 'democracy' on the grounds that without

the former, the latter can hardly be complete even in peace

time. His argument is made clear in the following quotation:

"I came to realise the intense interest of the citizens
of this country in the problem of security after the war.
I had a lesson in democracy, and of what is needed to make
a democracy wholehearted in war. Democracies make war for
peace, not war for its own sake. They fight better if they
know what they are fighting for after the war." (28)

Social freedom was dictated as well by humaniterian

outlook at man in a 'welfare State', and who should be freed

from shakles of want, disease, poverty, ignorance and squalor.[29]

Such freedom, as the Beveridge Report recommended, has to be

comprehensive if it is to accord with sound democracy. The

umbrella of 'social freedom' was designed in post-war policy,

to shelter not some sectors of the population, nor even the

majority, but necessarily all citizens of both sexes irrespective

of any considerations. The line could even be seen clear in the

White Paper (1943) which recognizes that, "It is right for all

citizens to stand together, without exclusions based upon

difference of status, function or wealth."[30] Such

comrehensiveness gives what the Paper saw as "concrete expression...

to the solidarity and unity of the nation, which in war have been

its bulwarks against success in the fight against want and

mischance."[31]

The policy of social freedom was vigorously supported

by great sectors of the people, as well by the political

parties and pressure groups.[32] As for the Government, it

received it, at the beginning, rather cautiously and even

cooly.[33] Some views of individual thinkers and men of

politics were not much in favour of the policy of social freedom.

On the one hand, automatic provision was feared to corrupt

self-reliance among citizens, demoralize the family, and

magnify the Government.   However , it was inseparable

for some, to envisage a welfare State without an egaliterian

social policy.[34]

The policy of 'social freedom' did not take long before

it was put in legislations that were described as a 'social

revolution'[35] The National Insurance Act and the National

Health Service were passed in I946. According to these, every

unemployed or sick individual was entitled to receive what is

enough for his bare essentials. Free medical services were to

be provided for all. Old Age Pensions were to be paid by State

to men at the age of 65, and single women aged 60, in case of

giving up work. Although these measures were modified after

I948, they underwent no radical change.

(c) Equality of Opportunity

The call for an equaliterian society, rose to the top amonr

trends of after-War policy. Such a call was stirred both by

a positive passion for equality, as well by a negative passion

for the removal of inequalities that characterized the inter-war

English society. To post-War Labour leaders,the major aim was

to make sure that England would not slip back into what they
and helplessness
called "the degradation/of the twenty years between the wars."[36]

The classless society that Tawney preached in I931, and in which

the people would enjoy similar standards was, to many of

the Labours, the base on which the new policy should be founded.

Fruits of victory have to be distributed fairly among various

classes of the one nation.[37] Lawson (I945)[38] saw such

equaliterian distribution to be in the form of "Homes for All,

Jobs for All, Social Security for All, Full Education for All."[39]

In such a call, he seems to favour the equality of all, hardly

recognizing various forms of discrimination that have to be

regarded in order that equality may be genuine. The inequalities

of the inter-war English society haunted the mind of common man.

Sympathy with the call for equality was clear in the thought

of Professor Laski.[40] The danger, to him, has exceeded the

boundaries of unjust distribution of privileges, to affect the

unity of the nation with all that this might represent to its

survival. Writing on 'The War and the Future' (I940), he was

induced to shift the focus of attention from the pressing

conditions dictated by War, to the cause of inequality which

had far more reaching impact. To him,

> "The enemy at the gate is the privilege of a class-society
> which fears the extension of democracy. Men live so differently
> in our nation that they think differently too. The unity we
> may establish if they had an equal share in the common good
> is attainable so long as the claims of the common people
> are sacrificed to the vested interests of privilege." (4I)

Laski's vision of equaliterian democracy came to form the

basis of the Labour Party's argument. The defects that Laski

pointed out were crystallized in the Labour Declaration of

Policy (I940).[42] The diagnosis made in the Declaration

was prelude to the socialist planning policy adopted by the
Labours, and implemented during their post-war government.
To them, 'irrational privileges', which used to disfigure
the order had to be abolished, thus giving place to more justice
and more active participation on the part of all regardless of
class. "Genuine equality and a high level of educational
opportunity" were stressed as first hand priorities. Justice
that was enjoyed only by a few, had to be made responsive to
the needs of the majority, if not all.[43]

The post-war Conservative policy was declared to be
against inequality and class strife. However, the concept they
adopted for 'equality' was not the same as the one adopted by
the Labours. Equality, in the Conservative sense, is "to secure
a better opportunity for our children. A fair and free
opportunity for women and children and for family life are
first priorities."[44] Stress, which is easily seen to be laid
on the extension and promotion of opportunities rather than
on 'equality', has always remained one principle on which
the Conservative policy in the post-war era is founded.

On the other hand, the Conservative policy was committed
to eliminate class strife. Explaining the Party's policy
(May 1949), Churchil declared the condemnation of class strife
that might rise from blowing the trumpet of one class only
however big the number of its members. Nor did the Conservative
policy show leniency toward the 'aristocracy of the State'.[45]

Privileges have, hence, been under attack meanwhile the

intitiative of the British people has to be preserved by

all means:

> "We declare ourselves unsleeping opponents of all class,
> all official or all party privilege which denies the
> genius of an island race its rightful career and reward."[46]

The dispute over 'equality of opportunity' left its

stamps on the policies of post-war England so long as

the chance given to each of the two big political parties to rule

was accompanied by attempts to embody their concept of the term

into legislations and implemented policies. A society of

equal opportunities was what Atlee, Bevin and other Labours

vigorously dedicated themselves during the 1945-1951

government through the 'Social Policy' adopted in health,

education, insurance. As for State intervention in economy,

nationalization was committed to as a policy associated with

the application of the principle of equality. The coal, gas

and electricity industries, the railways, inland waterways

and the Bank of England, were all brought under public

ownership during the six years of the Labour Government as

will be elaborated in detail later.[47] What concerns us in the

present respect is their policy declaration of 1949 which

states:

> "Our aim is that every person with ability should have an
> equal opportunity to rise to the highest posts." [48]

The Conservative policy that came to be followed in their
government (1951-1964) was more in favour of 'opportunity'
rather than 'equality'. As a term, equality was almost
rejected on the grounds that it is 'a drab slogan'[49]
The need for an 'Opportunity State' to match and sustain
the 'Welfare State', was the focus of the debates
especially by the Right-Wing of the Party.[50] More
opportunities in all realms, education, employment, housing,
... etc. was vigorously supported as a principle. Yet, the
hierarchy of statuses and status-groups seems to be unavoidable
and does not necesarily involve inequality or injustice.
The comparison between 'Labour' and 'Conservative' post-war
policies gave Kogan (1978)[51] to see the former confusing
'greater opportunity' with 'greater equality', yet "increasingly
moved towards the 'strong' version of agaliterianism,"[52]
meanwhile the latter "concentrated on those social objectives
which aim to produce an efficient work-force and a strong
social fabric."[53]

2. Industrialization in Post-War II Proposals

Immediate challenges that initiated proposals

Problems of Post-War Britain are often seen as 'endemic problems' of twentieth century Britain, and Thompson's view[54] seems plausible that, "if war had been avoided in 1939, Britain would have to face tasks of economic overhaul and social reconstruction resembling those which confronted the Government in 1945."[55] However, this does not negate that the Second World War's impact on British economy was far deeper than the impact of World War I in at least three respects:

(a) The Second War had a greater effect in terms of affecting the whole people, rich and poor, from all social classes. Women were influenced by war conditions in matters of work and employment in almost the same way as men. This accounts for the 'totality' of the Second War that some thinkers find no sound basis for comparison with the First : "The first World War never was, but the second soon became, after a shaky start a 'total war'.[56]

(b) The wide-scale evacuation due to air bombing was far greater in the Second War. In September 1939, 1.500.000 evacuees were received in the reception areas.[57] The number rose and fell according to military considerations with whatever bearing this had on economic, social and other apsects of British life.

(c) Government expenditure represented a great challenge that strained economy. It ran at £ 20 millions a week at the outbreak of War. Within six months, it was at £33½ millions weekly. To

cover the increasing expenses, Great Britain had to rely on

overseas investments half of which went for war. In later

stages, War cost Britain £ I2 millions daily.[58] It was thus,

that a higher proportion of the national income was absorbed

by the war effort than it was in the First War.[59]

When industry is specified, the call for a new policy

for that sector was inevitable on account of the impact left

by War conditions as well as by growing difficulties since

the outset of the present century amidst unfavourable conditions.

By I943, the White Paper 'Educational Reconstruction' was clear

in admitting the need for a new policy for industry. In the

words of the Paper:

> "The initial and natural advantages that gave this country,
> almost for the asking , its place of pre-eminence in world
> manufacture and world markets, have long been fading. More
> and more in the future will it be necessary to rely on the
> capacity, adaptability and the quality of our industrial
> and commercial personnel." (60)

It is likely that one of the 'natural advantages' meant by

the Paper was concerned with 'basic materials' which was

turning against Britain's favour. Import of such materials

from other countries has been with Britain for a long time,

but a big change has been brought about by the two World Wars.

To get them, "we shall have to pay for them by the export of our

goods and services. For as a result of two world wars, we have

had to sacrifice by far the greater part of the foreign

investments which we built up over many years when we were

the leading creditor country of the world."[6I]

When one economy starts to depend largely on the quality of exports, the cause of industrialization naturally comes to top in economic policy, as will later be shown.

But, industry was first among economic sectors that came to suffer due to War conditions. Modernization of British industries or replacement to capital equipment, which was due by 1939, had to be delayed.[62] Capital formation represented another challenge. The annual net non-war capital formation in Great Britain fell from £ 214 millions representing 5% of the net national income in 1938, to about − £ 1.000 millions (capital consumption) in 1940-1945 represneting -12%.[63] This, was reflected on capital formation in the industrial sector, which was diminishing in war period.

Manpower, was another great challenge. Between mid 1939 and September 1943, Britain mobilized 8.500.000 insured persons or 18% of the total working population for the Forces, the auxiliary Forces and the munitions industry. To these are added 400.000 workers of post insurance age, many thousands of immigrants and refugees, 224.000 War prisoners as well as 160.000 from Ireland.[64] This, was not without significance to manpower in industry which declined during War years from 17.920.000 in 1939 to 17.121.000 in 1943, and continued to decline in the first years of peace to reach 16.209.000 in June 1945.[65] Decline may look meagre, but was with striking effect on many British industries. Half the manpower in some major occupations as pottery, textiles, clothing, building

and reconstruction, retail distribution was lost. Some
other civilian industries as furs, and carpets faced a
more acute shortage.[66]

Labour productivity declined in the War years, whether
qualitatively or quantitatively. On the one hand, there was
the impact of shortage in basic materials, and the delay
of equipment replacement. On the other hand, there was the
impact of manpower shortage and the distribution of male
workers between several industries in accordance with
priorities, or between more or less essential industries.
Men workers had, according to such distribution, to work
for particular firms regardless of the distances from their
homes. Similar action was taken with female workers. Married
women were called up for industrial service on account of
their previous experience in paid work[67] The outcome of
all these was, "simpler styles, plainer finishes and, often,
lower quality, and, in some cases, as in clothing and furniture,
these became the "utility" grade, supervised by the Board of
Trade."[68] However, poor performance was found to vary
from one industry to another and, as a general rule, the
resort to female workers was one factor among many that was
notable for the decline in productivity. Pollard,[68]
accepts Maddison's estimate that the decline in output
per man-hour in industry during the War years was as high as
8% for the period 1939-1946.[69] But, it was also noted that
as the influx of unskilled and female workers was repaired
by the return of more skilled male workers, the decline would
be stopped or even reversed. (70)

Industry and State in Post-War Proposals

Public direction and control that dominated the economic policy during War II, was dictated by the need to plan effectively which could not be entrusted to private enterprise. Such a line was strongly supported by the Labour Policy for the Post-War England. Their Declaration of Policy (I940) condemned all previous measures taken in this respect as hesitant and characterized by avoidable delay. It lamented the non-existence of forms of bold, effective and carefully prepared planning.[7I] Therefore, the programme they proposed in I945 was clear in adopting a strong line of nationalizing industries:

> "The Labour Party submits to the nation the following industrial programme - public ownership of the fuel and power industries . . . Public ownership of inland transport . . . Public ownership of iron and steel . . . Public supervision of monopolies and cartels . . . . (72)

Their argument was founded on the fact that industry, on which the future of Britain lies amidst world challenges, requires the direction of investments the way that best served public interest. Nationalization of coal and power, together with the basic forms of transport, was seen as of utmost relevance to the economic reorganization most needed after War. Those industries to be left in private hands, have to plan their structure and methods, "for the nation can no longer tolerate the grotesque waste of man-power and wealth which arises from unregulated private ownership. Individual initiative and ability must not be restricted, but must be directed to the service of the community."[73]

The above line of policy of the Labours was also strongly advocated in their 1949 Declaration[74] though it began to use a less sharp tone possibly due to the modest outcomes of their earlier attempts as may be deduced from the above document.[75]

The Conservative policy for post-War was seen in contrast with with the Labour policy. One report which analyses the Conservative discussion group in which 1092 members took part (1949) condemned the Labour policy in this concern as one leading Britain to slavery.[76] It quotes Belloc in "The Servile State" in that, "if we do not restore the institution of property, we cannot help but restore the institution of slavery."[77] The report looks upon property ownership as the only sure shield capable of protecting individual freedom from encroachment by State or by neighbours. In this way, the policy of bringing industries and other economic institutions under State control was refuted on three grounds:

1. The institution of the family is in danger of being destroyed with the destruction of individual right to acquire property.
2. Public ownership or nationalization is not a happy solution for whatever problems simply because it denies the individual and family the type of security for which they yearn; it is a 'totaliterian' rather than 'democratic' in both conception and effect.
3. It kills initiative and responsibility among individuals. Refering to the nationalization of industries, David Eccles was clear in stating the Conservative fears that:

"The power of the individual is weakened and the people
must study the mood of the Government, toe the line
if they wish to keep their jobs, and seek the permission
of the Government before they do anything."(78)

The sacrifice of 'private property' at the alter of the State's

interests is seen   in the Conservative report cited above,

as improper. Private property has to be maintained if

productivity is to be raised. The angle through which the

Conservative policy looks takes private ownership as essential

for British society as it, "teaches a sense of responsibility

and thrift, and, at the same time, is an incentive to hard

work. Through it, men and women are enabled to give full

expression to their potentialities."(79) It is thus that

private industries are strongly supported by the Conservative

policy. State monopoly was seen as worse than private monopoly

and their declared policy condemns both public and private

monopoly.(80) The human factor in industry, which they

highly regard, represents the cornerstone of their policies.

Macmillan declared in I948 that the Conservatives are after

incentive, opportunity, partnership, security of employment,

or in his short-cut words: "Our policy is to humanize not

nationalize."(8I)

As for the Liberal Party, the nationalization of

industries was reservedly taken but with agreement on it as a

policy. The nationalization movement was seen in their

declaration of I964 as still in need to be designed in a

way that makes the nationalized industries more efficient,

to enable them to serve the consumer and the Public better,

and to maximize competition and lower costs."[82]

In implementation, the policy followed by the Labour Government (1945-1951) turned their ideals into legislations. Five major legislations were passed including the acts of the nationalization of the Coal Industry (1946), of Electricity (1947), of Transport (1947), of Gas (1947) and the Iron and Steel (1949). This last one was delayed by House of Lords before the Conservative Government succeeded to denationalize Steel after 1951.

The policy of nationalization that was vigorously pursued by the Labour Government between 1945 and 1951 was reversed by the coming of the Conservatives to rule. In the latter's election manifesto it affirmed its commitment "to undo much of the Socialist legislation of the preceding six years, which involved the nationalized industries."[83] In assesment, the Liberals, on their part saw that the nationalization of industries was not quite successful.[84] The matter is not solely to bring industries under public ownership or control, but whether such nationalization is yielding financial results. Figures show that under nationalization, only slight improvement in financial profit   was accomplished and in some industries it even went down as indicated in the following table:

Table 7.I

Financial results of the Nationalized Industries- Profit and loss in
£ million   (85)

	1947-52	1952-3	1953-4	1954-5	1955-6	1956-7
*Coal	-5.6	-8.2	+0.5	-3.5	-19.6	+12.8
Gas	+2.9	+2.3	+2.1	+2.5	+0.5	+3.8
Electricity	+20.8	+7.3	+13.2	+18.8	+12.2	+11.7
Civil Aviation:						
B.O.A.C.	-27.5	-0.8	+1.1	+0.3	+0.1	+0.3
B.E.A.	-10.2	-1.5	-1.8	+0.1	+0.6	+0.2
*Transport:						
Railways	-43.1	+3.7	-2.4	-21.5	-38.2	-57.5
Other	+3.6	+1.8	+6.6	+9.7	+7.6	+3.1

	1957-8	1958-9	1959-60	1960-1	1961-2	1962-3
*Coal	-5.3	-3.5	-24.0	-21.3	-15.0	+1.4
Gas	+2.8	-1.5	-2.4	+2.0	+3.3	+4.9
Electricity	+16.1	+27.3	+26.7	+16.3	+26.9	+42.5
Civil Aviation:						
B.O.A.C.	-2.8	-5.2	-0.8	-2.5	-19.9	-12.2
B.E.A.	+1.1	+0.2	+2.1	+1.5	-1.5	-0.3
*Transport:						
Railways	-68.1	-90.1	-84.0	-112.7	-135.9	-159.0
Other	+4.6	+1.1	+0.1	+11.7	+13.9	+15.3

England and Wales   * Calendar Year

Industrial Production

With the growing realization that the country's economy
depended more than ever on the quality and quantity of its exports,
industrial production became an excessively important issue in
post-War proposals. Unfavourable conditions in terms of competition
with other industrial countries and the growing difficulty in
getting industrial basic materials were seriously considered
in arguments about post-War policies. In 'Employment Policy' (1944),[86]
in the Percy Report on Higher Technological Education (1945),[87]
and in the Barlow Report on 'Scientific Manpower' (1946)[88]
the challenge of production in post-War policy was given due concern.

The Labour Policy Statement (I949), while still in rule,
gave production the first priority as did their/ *earlier* Declaration
of Policy of I940.[89] The only hope for Britain to stand
challenges and continue in its ambitious programmes for a
'Welfare State' was through production as the I949 Declaration
states:

> "Britain's future depends on higher production. The wealth of
> Britain in only what we ourselves create. Unless we continue
> to increase production as we have done in the last four years,
> we cannot improve or even maintain our present standard of
> living; our people cannot be fed or clothed or rehoused;
> the social services cannot advance or even survive; and our
> national freedom and independence cannot continue." (90)

The Four-Year Plan drawn by the Labour Party in I949 was after
an expansion of output by one-third by I952 above pre-War
figures. Their diagnosis of economic difficulties and
international challenges led to the suggestion of three bases
that would help Britain raise production:

I. That economic planning is essential for economic advance
in order to ensure that public interest comes first. This is
supposed to be implemented through 'democratic planning' which
is taken to mean"continuing consent and co-operation of the
people in the objectives and methods of the plan."[9I]

2. That there should be effective partnership between
Government and industry. Rather than hampering, the machinery
of government has to stimulate enterprise.

3. Participation of the people is essential for advance. Whether
in politics or economy, extension of people's participation
is recognized as the most effective means to end remote and

impersonal relations between the authorities which control
the apparatus of common life, and the masses. As a rule,
the Labours defend their policies against the attacks by
stating their firm belief that, "For democracy to thrive, the
Government must at all times take the people into its confidence." [92]

The Conservative Party had its own diagnosis despite
a broad agreement on the challenges that necessitate raising
industrial production in Britain. They give special concern
to present and expected changes in industry. [93] The nature
of industrial society in one Conservative report (1965) suggests
a new outlook at British industry. The shift in emphasis, from
heavy industry (e.g. shipbuilding) to lighter industry
(e.g. electronics, plastics) and the big increase in service
industry (e.g. garages, hairdressing) has to be taken into
consideration in any plan for industrial development. [94]
The second core in the Conservative policy is by attending to
the 'individual worker'. If Britain is to stand the industrial
challenge, the way is through stimulating individual initiative
not eliminating it under the guise of the community interest. [95]

On the other hand, the Liberal Party was no less critical
about Britain's economic lag behind other countries of the West.
The responsibility for this is laid on both the Conservative
and Labour Governments who failed to untap the country's great
potential of economic resources and who "have put vested or class
interests before the interests of the country." [96]

Comparative figures with other industrial countries have
convinced the Liberal Party that, in production, Britain
has failed to accomplish a proportional rise. Britain's lag
is shown best since 1953 and until 1963 during which its
production has gone up only by 37 per cent compared with
275 per cent in the case of Japan, I38 per cent in the case
of Italy, and I07 per cent in the case of West Germany as
indicated in the following table:

Table 7.2

Industrial Production in United Kingdom and other Countries[97]
(1953=100)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963*
Japan	116	144	166	168	208	262	312	338	375
Italy	119	128	138	143	158	182	202	222	238
W. Germany	129	139	147	152	162	180	190	199	207
France	117	128	139	145	150	167	175	185	205
E.E.C.	122	132	140	144	153	171	181	193	204
Netherlands	119	124	127	127	139	157	160	166	171
Belgium	116	123	124	116	122	129	135	143	152
Sweden	111	115	119	122	129	141	147	150	152
Canada	110	120	120	120	129	130	134	144	151
U.S.A.	106	109	110	103	116	119	120	130	138
U.K.	114	114	116	114	120	129	130	131	137
* 3rd quarter									

To the Liberal Handbook (1964), which builds on a study by Allen
(1964)[98] underemployment is what the British efforts should
collaborate to wipe out. In this respect the Liberal document

strongly stands against three indicators of deterioration

of productivity in Britain, and which Allen's study

states as follows:

"I. For each person to produce a ton of steel in America
three are required in Britain.

2. In the maintenance engineering activities of the two
British chemical industries there are four people to
every American worker.

3. Ships could be constructed with about 40 per cent
fewer men if labour were employed efficiently." (99)

The policy trends raised by the 'Liberal Party' in the

face of the above challenge suggested an immediate attempt

to be undertaken to make up for the slow British industrial

production since the early I950's, or else 'France and even

Italy will soon have drawn level with the British standard

of living. By the fourth quarter of the twentieth century

Britain at the rate of growth achieved by the Conservatives

of 2.4 per cent per annum will have so declined as to be

among the less advanced countries of Western Europe, unless

we do considerably better than hitherto.'(I00) The goal is

likely to be achieved through more attention to be directed to

scientific research undertaken within a firm rather than

'State-sponsored research'.(I0I) Exaggeration in the adoption

of the 'nationalization' trend was seen as more harmful than

beneficial to the industrial development that Britain is seeking.

It is the conviction of the 'Liberals' that:

"industry can be helped over the 'development hump' by
public bodies like N.R.D.C. - whose capital they would
like to see increased, but unlike the Socialists, we
consider that this can only be achieved through persuading
industry that partnership in a venture is worthwhile and
that if a project is a success that industry (including the
employees) will reap attractive profits." (I02)

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* National Research Development Corporation.

Industrial Training

The industrial challenge that England met after the end of World War II was, in one of its phases, a challenge for more and better trained workers. Amidst various challenges, drawn policies by the Government recognized that 'More and more in the future will it be necessary to rely on the capacity, adaptability and quality of our industrial and commercial personnel.'[103] The call was once more expressed by the 'Barlow Committee on Scientific Man-Power' (1946).[104] Concerning itself with the need for more scientists, it went far as to call for the release of qualified scientists from the Forces in order to attend to more urgent task, reconstruction.[105] Only a few months after the issue of the 'Barlow Report', the Ministry of Education repeated in a similar tone that 'Today there is a palpable need for fully trained citizens . . . . The need is implicit in the responsibilities of a democratic society.'[106] Furthermore, it considered training as 'a vital challenge to our educational system.'[107]

The need was no less emphatically recognized in the policy declarations of the political parties. The Labour Party's Statement Policy (1949)[108] took the need for the training of more technicians, draughtsmen, scientists of all kinds not only from the narrow local angle of satisfying the increasing needs of British industries, but for the development of great resources of overseas territories.[109] Hence, it favoured the trend of pressing ahead of the policies undertaken since 1945

as regards fundamental research in universities and State-aided

institutions, and the establishment of technical colleges in

the main industrial centres all over Britain. Moreover, the

Labour policy admitted the inadequacy of research applied in

practice by industry where the gravest weakness seemed to lie.[110]

Labours' apparent content with what had been accomplished

in the field of industrial training during their rule (1945-1951)

turned later into criticism of progress under the Conservatives

who succeeded them. In their 'Plan for Progess: Labour's Policy

for Britain's Economic Expansion' (1958)[111] they put training

on the top of their policy items declaring unambiguously that:

> "Our first task must be to increase the total supply of   (112)
> trained personnel and to devote larger resources to research."

Their outlook was influenced by the severity of competition that

British products were facing in the world market for, 'If we

fall behind in research and the application of research in

industry, our competitive position in world markets will be

seriously undermined. Compared with both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

we are currently spending far too little on industrial research

and training far too few scientists and technologists in our

educational system.'[113]

Training skill was taken in their 'Policy for Education' (1958)[114]

as one compelling argument. One policy statement assures that

'Without skill, the nation cannot, in such an age, maintain its

standard of life ...... skill which enable us to get what we

want, ...'[115] It was taken that the capability of Britain

to produce skilled technologists was far less than the U.S.

respectively
and U.S.S.R. who produced 2½ times and 5 times technologists

in proportion to population as Britain did.[116]

On their part, the Conservatives were in the same line.
Their stress in the 'Responsible Society' (1959)[117] was
on Britain's urgent need for meeting 'the rising demand of
science, industry and technology'.[118] Specialists, and all
kinds of 'exceptional men' well trained and best motivated to
give the utmost for their country was, to them, the utmost
need of Britain.[119] Recognition of such need meant,
to British Conservatists, providing adequate training
'not only for boys and girls but for workers of all ages; not
only for long courses in skilled occupations but at least
a short induction course for every employee.'[120] The bitter
feelings after the fire of Sputniks drove them to quote
Swinburne's line:
"Glory to Man is the highest ! for Man is the master of things".
The implication of such mastery to industry is through 'A big
increase in industrial training . . to meet the need for more
skill at all levels of management and production. It can only
provide wider opportunities for promotion, so acting as a
direct incentive to individual responsibility and ꬶealthy ambition.'[121]

The feeling of defects in providing adequate numbers of
skilled manpower for industry, reached culmination in the
early 1960's. The 1962 White Paper 'Industrial Training:[122]
Government Proposals'[123] pointed out to these inadequacies
and that 'ever since the War industry in the country has been
short of skilled labour.[124] More important still is the
Paper's confession that such shortage has affected the
rate of economic expansion.[125] In so far as the standard of
training is concerned, the Paper admitted the existence of

wide variations. However, the judgment it gave was expressive

of qualitiative deficiency:

> "At its best, the standard of training in this country is
> high; unfortunately this is by no means universal. Much is
> barely adequate and some definitely unsatisfactory." (I26)

The White Paper included new trends in training that it saw

capable of eliminating past defects and providing for better

economic expansion in future:

> "To bring about economic expansion, there has to be skilled
> manpower and this means an increase rate of industtial
> taining. Whether or not we decide to join the Common Market
> our exprts will be faced with increasing competition. Our
> overseas competitors, particularly in Western Europe have
> paid great attention to the need to maintain an adequate
> supply of well-trained labour. We must be quite sure that
> our own arrangements do not fall too far behind." (I27)

Lack of co-ordination was conceived by the Paper as contributing

to the 'training dilemma' and so it called for better

arrangements in future:

> "A serious weakness in our present training arrangements is
> that the amount and quality of training is left to the
> unco-ordinated decisions of a large number of firms. They
> may lack the necessary economic incentive to invest in
> training people who, once trained, may leave them for another
> firm. While the benefits of training are shared by all,
> the costs are borne by only a few." (I28)

It has to be mentioned that the policy statements raised

by the 'Liberal Party' in I964 were also after better arrangements.

It called on the government to take three specific measures

in this respect:

I. Promotion of re-training schemes.

2. That Trade Unions and employers accept the principle of

freedom of entry for qualified adults into skilled trades.

3. That a system of national trade proficiency certificates

to supersede fixed periods of apprenticeship, has to be initiated. (I29)

The 'Industrial Training Act' was issued in 1964 with the
aim of ensuring an adequate supply of well-trained working
power at all levels in industry and commerce. The Act initiated
the 'Industrial Training Boards'. Among other taks, they
'provide or secure the provision of such courses and other
facilities (which may include residential accomodation) for the
training of persons employed or intended to be employed in the
industry ... '[130] They also look after the integration of
further education and training which are seen as complementary.
Thus, the new training policy in Britain is built on the
training of workers in industrial firms. Though the training
is not obligatory for all firms, they all have to contribute
to the cost of training in their particular industry. Thus,
problems of finance are dealt with in a co-operative manner.

Notes - Chapter Seven

I. see POLLARD, S. The development of the British economy 1914-1967.
2nd edition. London: Edward Arnold Publishers, Ltd., 1969.
also Employment policy, cmd 6527 H.M.S.O., May 1944.

2. COLE, G. D. H. and POSTGATE, R. The common people. 2nd edition.
London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1946.
also LASKI, H. 'The war and the future', in C. R. Atlee et al,
Labour's aims in war and peace. London: Linclons- Prager Publishers,
Ltd., 1940. p. 135.

3. ' A socialist Great Britain: a declaration of policy by the
conference of the British Labour Party, Bournemouth, Whitsun, 1940',
in C. R. Atlee et al, ibid.

4. ibid. p. 142.

5. ibid.

6. CHURCHIL, W. "The faith we hold", The Conservative Approach, No. 7,
May 1949. (Extracts from his speech at Blackpool, October, 5, 1946).
also BALIOL, LORD et al, The responsible society. London: Conservative
Political Centre, March, 1959. pp. 5-6.

7. RYDER, J. and SILVER, H. Modern English society: history and
structure 1850-1970. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1970. p. 74.

8. LIVINGSTONE, R. W. Education for a world adrift. Cambridge: at
the University Press, 1943. Chapter I.

9. BALIOL, LORD, et al. op.cit. p. 9.

IO. OTTAWAY, A. K. op.cit.

II. ibid. p. 81.

I2. COLE, G. D. H. and POSTGATE, R. op.cit., p. 662.
also Socialist election promises. London: The Conservative Party
Headquarters, January 1947. p. 7.

I3. Socialist election promises, ibid.
In one election address, Atlee was reported to have declared that:

> "During the war the government were given great power of control
> over the ordinary citizen. Some of the Orders and Regulations,
> though necessary, were very irksome. No one wants control for
> its own sake. But others are absolutely vital to protect the
> public from the profiteer and the monopolist. These must be
> retained."(p. 7).

I4. Let us face the future: a declaration of Labour policy for the
consideration of the nation. London: Labour Party, April 1945. pp. 1-2.
The 'declaration' showed   in strong words that '... the "hard-
faced men' and their political frieds kept control of the Government.
They controlled the banks, the mines, the big industries, largely

the press and the cinema. They controlled the means by which the people got their living. They controlled the ways by which most of the people learned about the world outside."

15. BALIOL, LORD, et al. op.cit. p. IO.

16. SHEARMAN, H. C. Adult education for democracy. London: W.E.A., 1944. pp. IO-II.

I7. Labour believes in Britain- a statement policy for discussion at Labour Party Conference. London: Labour Party, I949.

I8. Let us face the future...., op.cit., p. 3.

One policy statement reads:

"The Labour Party stands for freedom- for freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the press. The Labour Party will see to it that we keep and enlarge these freedoms, and that we enjoy again the personal civil blusters we have, of our own will, sacrificed to win the war."

I9. Labour believes in Britain...., op.cit. p. 6.

20. SALISBURY, MARQUIS OF, "Alternative to socialism", The Conservative Approach, No. 5, March I949.

2I. As will be shown in the argument about the avail of the nationalization trend that the Labours vigorously applied after the end of War II.

see COLE, G. D. H. A guide to the elements of socialism. London: I947. pp. 29-35.

22. CHAPMAN, S. et. al. Blueprint for Britain: a report by the young Conservatives on the reconstruction of Britain. London: The Conservative Political Centre, I965. p. 8.

23. SALISBURY, MARQUIS OF, op.cit.

24. CHURCHIL, W. op.cit.

25. MARSHALL, T. H. 'Social selection in the welfare State', in A. H. Haley et al. (eds) Education, economy and society: a reader in the sociology of education. New York: The Free Press, I96I. p.I49.

26. CHAPMAN, s. et al. op.cit. p. 46.

27. BEVERIDGE, W. H. Social insurance and allied services report. London: I942.

28. Quoted by LAFITTE, E. Britain's way to social security. London: Pilot Press, I945. p. 30.

29. ibid. p. 3I.

30. Quoted by LAFITTE, E. ibid. p. 40.

3I. ibid.

32. see ibid. pp. 32-39.

33. ibid. pp. 35-39.

34. BALIOL, LORD, et al., op.cit. p. 3I.

35. MARSHALL, T. H. Social policy. 4th edition.

London: Hutchinson & Co. (Publishers), 1975. p. 84.

Asking whether the legislations following the Beveridge Report (1942)
amounted to a social revolution, Marshall comments that 'This is true'.
He accepts Beveridge's words that:

> "The scheme proposed here is, in some ways, a revolution, but
> in more important ways it is a natural development from the
> past. It is a British revolution."
> see also

LANE, P. A history of post-war Britain. London: Macdonald & Co.
(Publishers) Ltd., 1971. p. 285.

36. CHUTTER EDE, J. quoted in Socialist election promises, op.cit.
p. I.

37. HALL, W. G. quoted in ibid. p. I.

38. ibid.

39. ibid.

40. LASKI, H. op.cit.

41. ibid. p. I35.

42. A socialist Great Britain, op.cit.

43. ibid. p. I43.

44. BUTLER, R. A. "Conservatism and the individual", The Conservative
Approach, No. 8, June 1949.

45. CHURCHIL, W. "The faith we hold", The Conservative Approach,
No. 7, May 1949.

46. ibid.

47. When dealing with industry and State in post-War proposals.

48. Labour believes in Britain, op.cit. p. 9.

49. CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL CENTRE, The future of the welfare State:
seven Oxford lectures. London: Conservative Political Centre, 1958.
p. I4.

50. GOLDMAN, P. 'Preface', in ibid. p. 7.

51. KOGAN, M. The politics of educational change. Manchester: Fontana,
1978.

52. ibid. p. 2I.

53. ibid.

54. THOMSON, D. England in the twentieth century. Middlesex: Penguin
Books Ltd., 1965.

55. ibid. p. 2I7.

56. COLE, G. D. H. and POSTGATE, R. op.cit. p. 658.

57. LOWNDES, G. A. N. The silent social revolution: an acount of
the expansion of public education in England and Wales 1895-1965.

2nd edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1969. p. 203.

58. POLLARD, S. op.cit. p. 5I.

59. COLE, G. D. H. and POSTGATE, R. op.cit. p. 658.

60. Educational Reconstruction, cmd. 6458.
London: H.M.S.O., 1943. para. 66.

6I. Employment Policy, cmd. 6527. p.4, para. I.
London: H.M.S.O., May 1944.

62. READER, K. S. The modern British economy in historical perspective.
London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1969. p. 5I.

63. POLLARD, S. op.cit. p. 308.

64. ibid. p. 306.

65. Abstracted from Labour Party Year-book 1946-1947. London:
Research Department of Labour Party, 1947. Table I, p. 27I.

66. POLLARD, S. op.cit. p. 309.

67. COLE, G. D. H. and POSTGATE, R. op.cit. p. 667.

68. POLLARD, S. op.cit.

69. ibid. p. 3I0.

70. Quoted by POLLARD, S. ibid. p. 3I0.

7I. A socialist Great Britain, op.cit., p. I44.

72. Let us face the future ....., op.cit., pp. 6-7.

73. A socialist Great Britain, op.cit., p. I45.

74. Labour believes in Britain...., op.cit., pp. 6-I3.

75. see ibid.

76. CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL CENTRE, What we think about poverty-owning
democracy: a report on the Fourth Phase of the two-way movement of ideas.
London: Alfred J. Isaacs & Sons, for the Conservative Political
Association, June 1949.   p. I.

77. ibid.

78. ECCLES, D. "Poverty-owning democracy", The Conservative Approach,
No. 3, January 1949.

79. What we think about ....., op.cit., p. I.

80. MACMILLAN, H. "The faith of a conservative", The Conservative
Approach, No. I, November 1948.

8I. ibid.

82. LIBERAL PARTY RESEARCH AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, Partners
for progress- Liberal candidates and speakers' handbook.
London: Prism Publications, 1964. p. 98.

83. Quoted by THOMSON, D. op.cit., p. 243.

84. Partners for progress ..., op.cit. p. 84.

85. ibid. p. 99.

86. Employment Policy, op.cit.

87. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (Britain), Higher technological education, report of a special committee appointed in April 1944 (The Percy Report). London: H.M.S.O., 1945. p. 5 para.2.

The report unambiguously states:

"The evidence submitted to us concurs in the general view: first, that the position of Great Britain as a leading industrial nation is being endangered by a failure to secure the fullest possible application of science to industry; and second, that this failure is partly due to deficiencies in education".

88. 'Scientific Manpower', report of a committee appointed by Lord President of the Council. (The Barlow Report) London: H.M.S.O., May 1946. pp. 3-10.

89. Labour believes in Britain...., op.cit.

'Up with production' was the first major issue dealt with. see pp.6-13.

90. ibid. p. 6.

91. ibid.

92. ibid.

93. CHAPMAN, S. et al. op.cit., p. 6.

94. ibid.

95. ibid. p. 7.

96. Partners for progress ....., op.cit., p. 84.

97. ibid. p. 103.

98. William Allen, an American management consultant published his study in the 'Sunday Times' in which he condemned under-employment in British labour force. The study was highly considered by the Liberal report above both in terms of argument and findings. The Liberal report states: 'Mr Allen has put his finger on a very sore point in the British economy'. ibid., p. 97.

99. ibid. p. 98.

100. ibid. p. 103.

101. ibid. p. 110.

102. ibid. p. 111.

103. Educational Reconstruction, cmd. 6458. op.cit.

104. The Barlow Report, op.cit. pp. 3-10, para. 3-29.

The report started by an emphatic statement that, 'We do not think it is necessary to preface our report by stating at large the case for developing our scientific resources. Never before has the importance of science been more widely recognised or so many hopes of future progress and welfare founded upon the scientist.' p. 3, para. 2.

105. ibid. para. 3

106. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (Britain), Further education: the scope and content of its opportunities under the Education Act, 1944. (Ministry of Education, Pamphlet No. 8). London: H.M.S.O., 1947. p. 5.

107. ibid.

108. Labour believes in Britain ..., op.cit.

109. ibid. p. II.

IIO. ibid.

III. LABOUR PARTY, Plan for progress: Labour's policy for Britain's economic expansion. London: Labour Party, 1958.

II2. ibid. p. 46.

II3. ibid.

II4. LABOUR PARTY, Learning to live: Labour's policy for education. London: Labour Party, 1958.

II5. ibid. p. 3.

II6. ibid. p. 4I.

II7. The responsible society ..., op.cit.

II8. ibid.

II9. The future of the welfare state ...., op.cit. p. 7.

I20. The responsible society..., op.cit., p. I7.

I2I. ibid.

I22. As may be deduced from the concern, in the few years preceding the issue of the 1964 'Industrial Training Act' with raising skill in British industry and cover the lag with other advanced countries.

I23. Industrial Training: Government Proposals, cmd. I892 London: H.M.S.O. pp. 3-6.

I24. ibid. p. 3, para. 3.

I25. ibid.

I26. ibid.

I27. ibid.

I28. ibid.

I29. Partners for progress..., op.cit., p. 86.

I30. Industrial Training Act, 1964, Chapter I6, Section 2- (I) a. H.M.S.O., 1964. p. 2.

Chapter Eight

Adult Education Policy in Post-1944 England

Indicators of Change in Adult Education Policy

The overall educational policy in England was under
consideration in the closing years of the World War II and
immediately after its end. As one sector among many, adult
education was involved in the process of reconsideration.
New aims and principles have been included in such official
and semi-official documents as the 'White Paper' on Educational
Reconstruction (I943),[I] the Education Act (I944), the report
of the Committee appointed by the B.I.A.E. under the
chairmanship of Lord Sanky, and published under 'Adult Education
After the War'(I945),[2] the Ministry of Education's regulations
and trends expressed in works as 'Further Education' or
Pamphlet No 8 (I947), the Ashby Report (I954)[3]. But, due to
the nature of the field, and the amount of attention directed
to it, the particulars of the policy are rather implicitly
deduced than explicitly declared in such documents. The Sanky
Report mentioned above, recorded with pleasure that great many
proposals were raised about education in general, yet, in the case of adult education 'only
a few give any detailed attention to its purpose and its
organization.'[4] This brief and implicit expression of an
adult education policy should not conceal the existence of
what Professor Wiltshire (I976)[5] calls 'a fairly coherent
group of new trends in post-war adult education which are
hardening into policy and which imply clear if unexpressed
purposes and principles.'[6]

The way by which this 'group of trends' of post-1944
adult education policy in England is identifiable has
something to do with the 'past' and 'future' dimensions.
The weaknesses of the older practice during the inter-war
period were at the back of the minds of the educationists
and policy-makers especially in so far as the penetration
of the adult masses is concerned. Meanwhile,adult education
was envisaged to have a new role in the realization of the
proposals for the setting up of the British version of the
'Welfare State'. The outcome of both was indicative of the
new plans raised for the sector.

Among the favoured aims, two stand as significant. The
first was concerned with ending the sector's alienation
from the national educational structure. Such integration
would likely call more public attention to the marginal
sector and, accrodingly,fairer share in public finance
to extend its service to greater numbers of the adult
population. The second, which may also be taken as one means by which
adequate extension would be reached, was concerned with the
re-organization of the structure of the sector and its
providing institutions in the way that would generate the
enthusiasm for more adequate service, what Shearman (1944)
identified as the 'close co-operation between the Board of
Education, the universities, the Local Education Authorities,
and those voluntary bodies whose main purpose is educational'.(7)
Thus, adult education after the War was heading for a closer

integration within the overall educational structure, and
the consolidation of the spirit of partnership between
its major providers oft called by British adult educationists
the 'fourfold partnership'.[8]

Past Defects as Indicator of Policy Change

Recognition of the educational defects of the inter-war
period served to define the new path for the post-War policy.
The McNair Committee on the Supply of Teachers (I944) was
quick to note the public demand for educational reform and
that 'the nation as a whole has woken up to the deficiencies
of its public system ... We are now witnessing one of the
most widespread and insistent popular demand for its reform.'[9]
Other reports echoed the same theme of the need for a new
educational policy different from the one before the War,
though one has to admit that the angles through which the
need was looked at was not necessarily the same. The Percy
Report on Higher Technological Education (I945),[10] and the
Barlow Report on Scientific Manpower (I956)[11] exemplified
as well the urgency of educational reform. In the former,
a warning signal was loudly raised that the leading position
of Great Britain as an industrial nation was 'endangered by
failure to secure the fullest possible application of science
and industry, and this failure is partly due to . deficiencies
in education.'[12] The plausibility of the argument could
easily be appreciated in the light of the staggering position

of British industries during the inter-war period in the face
of growing difficulties. Holmes (1956)[12] saw a grave defect
in the inadequate resources invested in education and pointed
out to three kinds of deficiency in education within the limits
of its resources. The first, he saw, was concerned with the
structure of the system that allowed mal-distribution of young
people leaving school and the impact of such a case on the
industrial and economic needs. The second is related to the
inability of its structure and subsequent distribution effect
to improve human relations within industry. The third is
concerned with 'content' and 'method' that affected the move
of young people to industrial and adult life.[13] It was thus
that a need was clearly felt that the overall educational
structure was not functioning as it should. Reconsideration
was the task that the I944 was to undertake.

From the adult education perspective, severe criticism
was launched on its ineffectiveness in extending its services
to the majority of the adult population masses.[14] Academics
like Livingstone bitterly lamented the meagre educational
chances open after the end of compulsory learning. This, he
saw, was the cause of the steady cultural deterioration at
the national level. Of the 347.096 children leaving elementary
schools in England and Wales in I937/I938, 284.372 (8I.9 per cent.)
left to take up employment, I2 per cent. proceeded to secondary
schools, and 5 per cent. to junior technical schools or other
full-time educational institution.[15] He saw little prospect
of the nation's future so long as 70 per cent. of its children

were 'entirely withdrawn from any educational influence at the age of 14.'[16] It is possible to raise a counter argument that the ratio of children in all schools as proportionate of the total age-group 15-18 was steadily rising from 1.5 per cent. in 1911, to 3.2 in 1921 then to. 6.6 in 1938.[17] Still, 6.6 per cent. could not be accepted as adequate for England and Wales in the closing years of the 1930's.

The upward trace of educational continuity showed no less defects. The provision of adult education for the 18+ was practically difficult to come by adequately notwithstanding the bright glimpses in the growth of the institutions providing adult education service including the emergence of the W.E.A in 1903, and the vigorous growth of the University Extension after the Oxford Conference (1907).[18] Reflection on the figures of the years immediately preceding the War showed that out of a potential field of recruitment comprising 18 million adults, the service as calculated by Dent[19] could only reach a fraction of about half a million adults whom he found to be 'undertaking any form of organized education; and of the half-million three-quarters or more were doing so for strictly utiliterian reasons.'[20] Furthermore, the W.E.A was only reaching unproportionate numbers 'after nearly 40 years of indefatigable crusading on behalf of cultural study.'[21] Its total class enrolment in 1938/1939 was only 66.966 which Livingstone judged to be inadequate for an island the total population of which amounted to forty five millions.[22]

The conclusion reached by Livingstone and Dent that the
adult education service had to be extended was echoed in
the Sanky Report mentioned earlier and which accused adult
education service of failure to reach the majority of the
masses. A graver defect to which the report pointed out was
the confinement, until the War II, to what the report called
the 'converted' or the 'seekers' meanwhile the 'indifferent'
are neglected despite their great numbers. The conclusion
thus cared to declare that the vast majority of the adult
population could not be   attracted by any of the existing
movements 'which have, on the whole been preaching to the
converted, or the seekers, and have produced little impression
on the indifferent and the uninterested.'[23] Failure to
undertake such an important mission justified the call for
a new policy that would take into account the judgement
passed by the Sanky Committee on adult education as 'still
only at the beginning of its task.'[24]

The need for more adequate adult education provision was
associated in the minds of many British thinkers with the
grave defects in the society until War II. On the one hand,
there was the declining cultural condition which Livingstone
cared to warn the government and the people against its
continuation.[25] From the economic perspective, there was
also the warning signals raised by such reports as the Percy
Report (1945) and the Barlow Report (1946) mainly dealing with
the impact of the inadequacy of formal education provision

on Britain's present and future economic situation. But,
they might have as well stirred some minds to question
the comrehensiveness of the national education structure
and the validity of alienating adult education from the
overall picture. More important still was the reflection
upon the growing defects of the democratic application
which was not seen in seclusion from the cultural standard
of the adult population. The 'physical impossibility' of
democracy that Herbert Read (1943) raised built on the
possibility of getting government _of_ the people, and even
government _for_ the people 'but never for a moment government
by the people.'[26] Such a view seems plausible in so far
as the ability of voters to discriminate and choose the right
candidate is concerned. Livingstone's reflection on the case
of Britain was consistent with Read's argument for '80 per cent
of the voters of the country will vote, as far as education
is concerned, with the knowledge they have been able to glean
in the first fourteen years of their lives.'[27] The bearing
of an unextended adult education service in England was
thus seen as destructive to the democratic experiment . 'True
democracy', as the Sanky report emphasized 'cannot exist where
the individual members of the community are ill-informed or
uninterested .... Indeed, we are so ill-equipped as
a people at present, that it is a question whether any form
of democratic machinery can hold its own effectively against
the growing tendency to mass regimentation in one direction
or another unless we have an immediate and widespread
development of adult education.'(28)

Future Aspirations as Indicator of Policy Change

'Reconstruction' as the immediate task in which many of the people in England were engaged while the War was still raging evoked a new interest in man and his education. Man seemed to be the common link between 'past', 'present' and 'future'. New belief in man as pivot for reconstruction plans was intermingled with a desire on the part of policy-makers and pressure groups to build by him and for him the promised 'Welfare State'. In so far as the Government is concerned, a three-dimensional look at man was standing behind the proposed policies for reconstruction: as a maker of victory, a designer of the plans for peace and welfare, and executor of whatever policies are to be agreed upon for reconstruction.[29] Political parties, on their part, had their commitment to reconstruction dictated by similar drives. The Labour Party Declaration (1945)[30] laid stress on the heroic role played by the people who 'deserve and must be assured a happier future than faced so many of them after the last war. Labour regards their welfare as a sacred trust.'[31] Parliamentarians highly appreciated man and his position. To a Conservative member as Fraser, 'Man was what Britain fought for in the two wars'.[32] The object envisaged as capable of transforming words into action was 'to trust the people and set free and encourage their initiative and reward their virtues.'[33]

Setting free the initiative of man implicitly meant the involvement of education which has to be adequately provided for him. From this angle, the challenge of post-war England was in reality an educational one. Its success in realizing the set goals for peace and reconstruction was conditioned by success on the educational front, or as Vickers (1940) rightly put:

> "... the new society of which both politicians and common
> men are beginning to talk, will not come by itself. It
> must be created by the wisdom, the courage and the self-
> sacrifice of men ....
> People are challenged to choose within the limits of the
> possible the conditions of life which they must want
> to preserve or create; and in this process education has
> a double part to play. It can clarify the choice, and it
> can enlarge or narrow the limits of the possible." (34)

Such an argument must have been clear in the minds of policy-makers. Churchill, for example, was aware of the link between 'man', 'education' and 'modernization' when he raised in 1943 the call that 'You cannot conduct a modern community except with adequate supply of persons upon whose education much time and money has been spent.'[35] In a much similar way, Ernest Green, General Secretary of the W.E.A. cared to show how 'of all the constructive tasks on which the nation is engaged, modern education offers scope for the most exciting adventure and promises the greatest social gain for the effort and expenditure involved.'[36]

The aspiration for the completion of the British version of the 'Welfare State' was not devoid of relevance to the post-war adult education policy in England. The 1944-1946

enactments bore relevance, however implicit or indirect.
The I944 Education Act recognized adult education as part of
the third stage of education 'Further Education' following
universal secondary education for all children of the nation.
Other acts created an atmosphere amidst which the provision
of adequate adult education was more of a necessity than
a luxury. The National Insurance Act, the Family Allowances
Act, the National Health Act, the Fulll Employment Act, all
were embodiment of the need recognized by the Beveridge
Report (I942)[37] to provide social security for all sectors
of the population against the five ills. The impact of putting
the social revolution legislations into practice,on the
provision of adult education was evident. With affluence
rises the need to foster the intellectual occupation of the
adult mind. Social security and income rise as indicators of
affluence give rise to the value of leisure time preoccupation
and a stronger need on the part of policy-makers to provide
the means for the use of such time fruitfully. The actual
weekly working hours for the manual workers in the United
Kingdom dropped from 50 hours in I943, to 48.6 in I944
to 47.4 in I945 to 45.2 in I947.[38] The Ministry of Education,
on her part, gave full support to the intellectual investment
of leisure time. In its Pamphlet No 8 entitled 'Further Education'
(I947)/gave the green light for a new policy in this respect
stating that 'We must make constructive use of our leisure,

for on the degree of maturity we achieve in our lives depends
in the last analysis the quality of our civilization.'[39]
Educationists like Dent were no less enthusiasts for a new
policy that better caters for leisure time. The adequacy of
any scheme of universal adult education in a democratic
community depended, in his view, on four bases first among
which was leisure time provision.[40]

Effective democracy that was aspired for in post-War England
turned into an argument for more adequate adult education
provision. The cause of effective democracy was linked with
education,in that education for democracy is essential for
the achievement of democracy, and that 'The democratic way of
life cannot be lived save by some democratically minded
community, and this is the last type of community the present
set-up (in Britain) however much modified, could be expected
to produce.'[41] Such an argument is of more significance to
the adults in terms of their age, degree of maturity and
responsibilities toward democracy than is the case with
youngsters. Hence, the fuller realization of a 'modern democrtic
society' for post-war England was seen by Shearman (1944) as
a task that adult education, in the first place, has to
undertake. Adult education was rightly taken as the profoundest
motive service to democracy.[42] Likewise, the Sanky Report
(1945) ran in almost the same line[43] affirming Shearman's
view that the achievement of effective democracy was depending
on the success to provide a sound system of education for
English adult. (44)

Agreement among academics and policy-makers alike on a
vigorous role to be undertaken by adult education for the
realization of post-War aspirations represented the pressure
for a new adult education policy. In the 'Future of Education'
(1943) and 'Education for World Adrift' (1942), Livingstone
went further than the mere statement of the dilemma that
the country was heading for. He investigated as well what he
called 'The Way Out' represented in a new outlook at adult
education where 'the solutions of our educational problems
must be found.'[45] This belief in adult education was highly
appreciated by Shearman (1944) regarding it as a 'most welcome
feature' of post-War era.[46]

Other than academics, policy-makers at the highest level
got similar views which were implicitly and explicitly
expressed. At nearly the same time when Livingstone published
his 'Future in Education', Churchill affirmed to the nation
the value of the 'highly advanced races' for its pre-eminence
in peace and survival in war.[47] Nor was it mere coincidence
that the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction (1943)
quoted Desraeli's dictum in its very first lines reading:
'Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of
this country depends.'[48] Education that the dictum meant
was for the adults and the young alike.

Amidst such an atmosphere, winds of change began to blow
on the place that adult education should take within the
national educational structure as of similar importance to

formal education. At least nominally, the belief was ever
repeated that adult education is a vital sector of the national
education. Churchill held on his view during the confrontation
between his Minister of Education and the Trade Unions as
regards the cuts in the I953 budget. He strongly affirmed that:

> "There is, perhaps, no branch of our vast educational system
> which should more attract within its particular sphere the
> aid and encouragement of the State than adult education. How
> many must there be in Britain, after the disturbance of two
> destructive wars, who thirst in later life to learn about
> the humanities, the history of their country, the philosophies
> of the human race, and the arts and letters which sustain and
> are borne forward by the ever-conquering English language?
> This ranks in my opinion far above science and technical
> instruction, which are well sustained and not without their
> rewards in our present system." (49)

Such high sounding words may work as indicators of adult education
policy statements though words about adult education are often
much louder than action, or what Lowe (I970) regards as
illustrative of 'disgenuous attitudes' on the part of policy-
makers towards adult education.'(50)

The outcome of the whole argument shows how the adult education
policy in England was directed towards the realization of
a comprehensive service for the adult population, what Dent
expressed in clear-cut words:

> "after the war we must build in this country a system of
> adult education adequate to meet all the needs which have
> so far been manifest, and probably many others which have
> not yet emerged." (5I)

The notion was gradually discarded that the reform of formal
education alone was all that England needed in the post-War
era. If some educationists imagined that the decline of the

cultural standard until War II was to be remedied solely
by raising the school leaving age to I5, or I6 or even
in part-time to I8, and for a picked few to the age of 2I or 22,
it might work a solution but not the radical one that the
British academics aspired for. Good as these partial solutions
might be, continuity of education throughout the adult life
was regarded as the solution which 'rightly conceived might
do something to meet the most serious danger to our
civilisation.'[52] To have the masses in England educated
was not to come by through post-primary education, but rather
as Livingstone put it 'it can only be solved by adult education'.[53]

In the context of the indicators of change in policy since
I944 which have necessitated a more adequate adult education
service to penetrate greater numbers of the adult population,
it is possible to point out to the two major trends that have
characterized such a policy:

I. Integration of adult education within the national system
of education.

2. Consolidation of the partnership between the major adult
education providers, i.e. the D.E.S., the L.E.A.'s, the
universities and the W.E.A.

In the following pages both the policy trends are analysed
in detail.

Official Structure of Adult Education

Dealing with the policy trends in some depth requires
a brief comprehensive picture of the official structure.
In so far as planning and decision-making in the English
education system are concerned, the role of the central
authority and the Parliament are of prime importance.
The central Government is concerned with the issue of acts
of Parliament that deal with the organization af adult
education. It may as well issue Education WhitePapers that
reveal the acceptable policy trends at the national level.
The Central Advisory Council for England assists the
Secretary of State with the development of the policy.
It can take the initiative in advising the Secretary of State
both in educational theory and practice.

The Ministry of Education (Department of Education and Science
since I964) has its dapartment of 'Planning Organization'
Through the steering committee, the Planning unit and policy
groups,the relations with the Local Education Authorities
can be regulated.

Parliament, on its part, enacts legislations which lay down
the national policy for education as regards central adminis-
tration. The annual full day's debate on education in the
House of Commons mainly centres on the report that the
Secretary of State makes annually to the Parliament including
how he has used the duties and right conferred on him as well
as the work of the Central Advisory Councils. Figure 8.I
indicates planning and decision making in English education.

It is to be noted that the role of the L.E.A's and other adult education providers will be dealt with in detail later in the chapter.[54]

Figure 8.I

Planning and Decision-Making in English Education [55]

| | | | CENTRAL GOVERNMENT | | | |
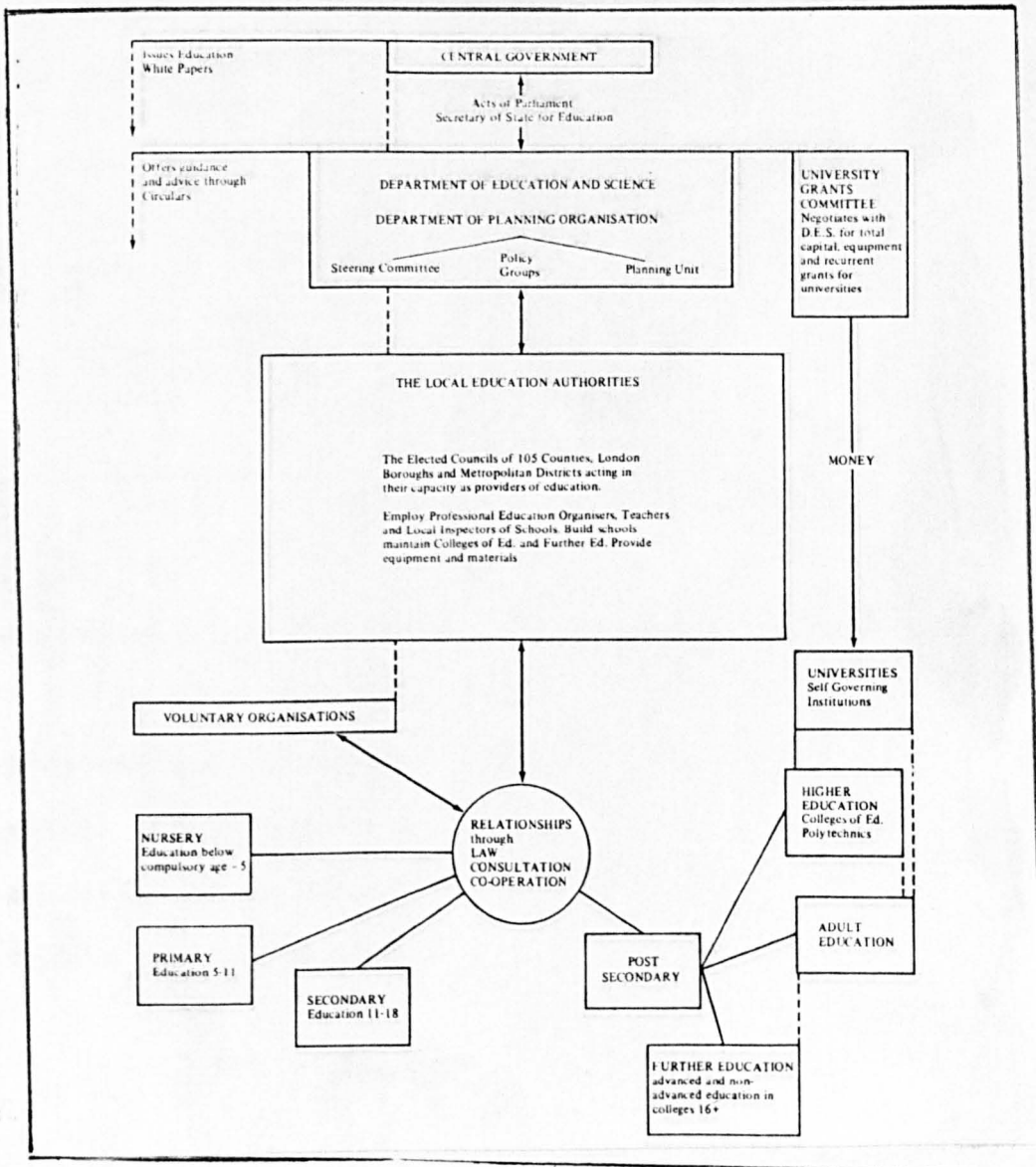
As for the official structure of adult education from the
point of view of provision and associated relationships,
it is shown in figure 8.2

Figure 8.2

ADULT EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES—THE OFFICIAL STRUCTURE[56]

Department of Education and Science

Secretariat — Inspectorate — Local Education Authority

Youth Service — Recreation — Liberal Studies — Direct Provision — Indirect Provision

Grant Aided
Responsible Bodies—
75% of Tutors'
fees and travelling
expenses

Admin. Grants to
organisations with
some educational
purpose

Support for
The National
Institute of
Adult
Education

Maintenance
of auxiliaries
(e.g. Museums
and Public
Libraries)

Aid to
R.B.s

Aid to
Voluntary
Organisations

Towns-
Women's
Guilds

Women's
Institutes

National
Federation
of Community
Associations

Miscellaneous
Organisations

Universities
(Departments of
Adult Education
and Extra-Mural
Studies)

W.E.A.

Y.M.C.A.
Wales

Prisons,
etc.

Evening
Institutes

Adult
Centres

Residential
Colleges

Colleges
of Further
Education

Components of the above figure will be dealt with in some
detail when analysing the two major policy trends in adult
education since 1944 namely the 'integration' and the
'partnership' trends.

I. INTEGRATION OF ADULT EDUCATION WITHIN THE NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Adequate penetration of the adult masses as necessary for the realization of post-War aspirations could not be thought of while adult education remained a marginal activity within the overall national system of education. Such marginality was indicated by the separation between the 'formal' education at primary, secondary or higher level, and 'adult education' striving for recognition but still remaining the poor relation of the system. Lack of continuity of education after the end of compulsory education was leading until War II to the confinement of the educational horizon of most people to the end of primary education. On the other hand, extending the scope of adult education to cover the 'indifferent' who formed the vast majority of the English adults, required a reconsideration of the map or provision. No more was it acceptable that adult education remains an effort largely undertaken by voluntary bodies meanwhile the State takes it/an essential service for reconstruction and the setting up of the welfare State. A new balance of power between the major providers was essential. The State had to be involved more heavily in the provision of adult education. In the third place, agreement among academics was growing that the adult education service should become varied as it is comprehensive. Sensitiveness to the needs of adults in each

local area suggested that a new role was to be undertaken
by Local Education Authorities. If these could look after the
provision of adult education in their areas in a similar way
to the one they did with formal education, this might serve
double purpose. On the one hand, adult education might be
helped to integrate more with the national system of education
bringing it into closer contact with formal education.
In the meantime, adequate provision that fits the varied needs
of adults in each area was to be ensured through the
leadership of the L.E.A.

The integration of adult education within the national
system of education in post-War England may, thus, be seen
in the light of three principles brought forth by the 1944
Act and which comprise the progression or continuity of
educational stages, the re-definition of State responsibility
in adult education and the consolidation of the role
undertaken by the local education authorities in provision.

(a) Integration of Adult Education through Progression of
Educational Stages

The 1944 Act recast the structure of statutory system of
public education. According to the old structure, education
was organized in two parts: elementary and higher education
the latter including all forms of education other than
elementary. This was replaced by a new one that better serves
the interests of the youth and the adults as well as children

through the principle of 'continuity' or 'progression'.
Section 7 of the 1944 Act recognized the statutory
system of public education in three progressive stages:
primary, secondary and Further education.

The dividing line that used to separate 'elementary' and
'secondary' at the age of II was, until 1944, a strong
impediment before progression. After the end of elementary,
education was allowed only to about 20 per cent in the
maintained secondary schools for children eligible by age,
and junior technical schools for less than one per cent.
This represented, to Dent, 'a grave inadequacy of educational
opportunity for young adolescents.'[57] With the issue of
the 1944 Act, the principle of continuity between primary
and secondary education for all children of the nation after
the age of II was established. Furthermore, the fees of
grammar schools were abolished. Thus, the Act went even
further than what a figure like Tawney had claimed in 1924
who argued that 'the only policy which is at once educationally
sound and suited to a democratic community is one under
which primary education and secondary education are organized
as two stages in a single continuous process.'[58] To policy
makers at Tawney's time, turning such a dream into fact was
too difficult to be thought of. When President of the Board
of Education (1924) was asked in the House of Commons if
the Board of Education intended to make a statutory provision
that all children of the nation have appropriate secondary
education, his reply was 'We could not do that, it would be
perfectly impossible at present time.' (59)

What the Hadow Report (1926)[60] and later the Spens Report
(1938)[61] strived to preach, was the recommendation of
education in England to be along lines of progression
for all children of the nation from infant stage up to the
end of secondary school period.

Such lack of continuity between primary and secondary
until 1944 should not be ragarded as devoid of relevance to
the place of adult education within the national system. If
formal education, to which special attention was directed
was faced with such difficulties, adult education must,
by and large, be content with its share of the cake, however
small.

What actually represented true shift in the place of adult
education after 1944, was recognition of the principle of
of progression to cover post-secondary education. The need
for 'Continuation Schools' that had been stirred by the Lewis
Report (1917)[62] urged the adoption of part-time schooling
for youth. The 1918 Act was an attempt to drive matters in
the direction of progression, yet it was unluckily born
dead·due to subsequent financial and other difficulties.
The report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of
Reconstruction (1919)[63] preached that education should no
more be locked within the age of youth, but rather that
education be a process continuing throughout life.[64]
However reasonable was the call, time was too early to think
of its practicality while the country was just coming out of war.

The call for continuity was there among some educationists,
and England was suffering a conflict between 'ideals' and 'reality'.
The gap between universal primary education and youth education
remained until 1944 an unsolved problem with whatever bearing
such a separation had on the marginality of both youth and
adult education within the national system.

With the 1944 Act, continuity of post-secondary education
was recognized within the realm of 'Further Education'.[65]
Adult education was the first to benefit by such recognition
that was met with evident support from both academics and
pressure groups alike. Ernest Green, General Secretary of
the W.E.A. saw as essential for the building of sound
democracy in post-War England 'that education should be
a continuous process and that provision should be made for
the adult.'[66] In no less emphatic words, the Labour Party
expressed its conviction that the years 15-20 formed 'an
integral part of the educational process'.[67] Proposed
continuity by the 1944 Act went further than mere extension
of education to the age of 15 or 16. More vigorously than
ever before, compulsory part-time education was advocated
to continue to the age of 18. In this respect, the gap
between school life and the independent responsibility of
adult life, where problems of adjustment arise and important
decisions have to be taken, is likely to be bridged
effectively in a consistent line without drop.

In the section of 'Further Education' in the I944 Act,
answers to many enquiries about post-secondary education
(including adult education) are made. Further Education
covers all education beyond the compulsory leaving age. It
embraces the continuous education for adolescents by
commercial, technical and art education side by side with
the liberal education for adults. Such a broad range is
defined in the Act as:

> "Full-time and part-time education for persons over
> compulsory school age", and

> "Leisure-time occupation, in such organized cultural
> training and recreative activities as are suited to
> their requirements, for any persons over compulsory
> school age who are able and willing to profit by
> facilities provided for that purpose." (68)

Progression between educational stages in the way that
the I944 Act proposed serves the cause of integrating
adult education within the national system in that it ends
the deep-rooted separation between 'formal' and 'adult education'.
This was what the Education Sub-Committee of Nuffield College
(I946)[69] highly appreciated in so far as the post-War
educational policy is concerned. The report stressed the
abolition of differences between the education of adults
and the education in general in so far as purposes are
concerned, which is stated to be the enabling of individuals
to live full and interesting lives. Hence, 'formal' and
'adult education' are no separate entities but rather
complementary within the overall educational structure.[70]

The 'County College' that the White Paper of Educational

Reconstruction (1943) proposed[71] and which was/later adopted

by the 1944 Act, represents the envisaged link in the

educational structure between 'secondary education' on the

one hand, and the 'adult non-vocational education' on the other.

The scope of tasks attributed to it reveals the nature of

such a link. The tasks include three major ones:

I. Training in clarity of expression and understanding of

written word.

2. Affording opportunity for the development of technical

and vocational skills as well as looking after a wide range

of vocational interests.

3. Educating in the broad realm of citizenship.[72]

Reflection on such a range of tasks shows the possibility of

filling the gap between 'technical colleges' and 'adult

education organizations' and/the weak spirit of partnership.[73]
hence , a remedy to

The 'County College' is likely to fill the gaps of educational

progression after the end of compulsory schooling, and the

whole picture draws nearer to what Lowe(1970) recognizes

as the 'ideal cycle' from school to County College, from

County College to youth clubs, and from youth clubs to

adult classes.[74]

Another trend relevant to the cause of integration, is

that 'formal education' is conceived in the post-War

educational policy as having duties of orientation towards

'adult education'. Further still, the success of primary and

secondary stage is, to the White Paper of 'Educational

Reconstruction' (1943) conditioned by the orientation they

make to the minds and abilities of children to proceed to

the third stage institutions. From this angle, the place of

adult education in the national system is raised . Its flourish

is an evidence of the successful implementation of the

preached orientation. The White Paper put it clearly that:

> "Without provision for adult education the national system
> must be incomplete, and it has been well said that the
> measure of the effectiveness of earlier education is the
> extent to which in some form or other it is continued
> voluntarily in later life. It is only when the pupil or
> student reaches maturer years that he will have served
> an apprenticeship in the affairs of life significant to
> enable him fully to fit himself for service to the
> community. It is thus within the wider sphere of adult
> education that an ultimate training in democratic
> citizenship must be sought." (75)

(b) Integration of Adult Education through Re-definition
of State Responsibility

By its text, the 1944 Act represented a further step

towards integrating adult education within the national

system of education through defining a more influential role

to be played by the State in the provision of adult education.

This was expressive of change in the relation between the

Government and adult education, and which had remained rather

fluid until the end of War II. Looking back in the history

of English education, one finds that the Bryce Commission (1895)[76]

vigorously supported the Laissez-Faire policy that was

dominant at that time, accepting only 'little direct executive
power' to be allowed to unified central departments'[77]
Adult education, which remained the whole of the 19th century
mainly a voluntary service was first to suffer from the
confinement of State responsibility. The Board of Education
Act (1899)[78] hardly defined any specific tasks by which
President of the Board would deal with the adult education
sector as responsibility of the State. His duty was rather
defined as 'the superintendence of matters relating to education'[79]
The conception of the role to be undertaken by the central
authority was as weak as stimulation, guidance, supply of
information and maintenance of balance between conflicting
interests can allow. However, four decades were enough to
show how adult education in England suffered from such
marginality in State consideration.

In a sense, the 1944 Act is an attempt toward the re-definition
of State responsibility toward adult education in the direction
of more positiveness. The duty of the Minister as stated in
the Act is:

> ".. to promote the education of the people of England and
> Wales and the progressive development of insitutions devoted
> to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by
> local authorities, under his control and direction, of the
> national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive
> educational service in every area." (80)

It is thus, that 'superintendence of matters relating to education'
in older legislations has given its place to a more specific
responsibility to be undertaken by him, and so wide as to

include the promotion of the education of the people of whatever age. Out of this stems the redefined responsibility towards the adults and their education. It is true, as will be later shown when assessing the extent to which the policy has worked, that such responsibility is not entirely devoid of vagueness and inspecifity especially in so far as words like 'varied and comprehensive service' are concerned. Yet, it should be appreciated that the Minister (secretary of State for Education and Science) has been given power to secure an adequate adult education service. Through the powers conferred on him by the 1944 Act, he is required to ensure that the local education authorities comply with the Government policy. More important still, is that it is within the realm of his powers to _force_ local education authorities to discharge the duties placed upon them by the Act.[81] He has also the right to _force_ backward authorities to come into line if any of them acts or proposes to act 'unreasonably'.[82] Such strong position has been dictated by two considerations that Lester Smith (1966)   explained as:

I. a belief that equality of opportunity in education is difficult to come by unless someone is able to force local education authorities and all promoters of voluntary schools to observe and maintain certain standards.

2. the fair distribution of available manpower can hardly be reached unless the Minister has an effective voice in planning as well as priority determination.[83]

But, the Minister's authority of taking decisions is not
left without control. His judgement of technical matters
is enlightened, in so far as England is concerned, by the
'Central Advisory Council for Education' the duty of which is

> "to advise the Minister upon such matters connected with
> educational theory as they think fit, and upon any
> questions referred to them by him." (84)

There are certain responsibilities placed on the Minister
of Education, and which are common to education whatever
the sector might be. It is his duty to make sure that
educational facilities and auxiliary services are adequate
in quantity and varied. Auxiliary services have to be well
managed, equipped and staffed and maintained, and he must
be satisfied with their standard. He looks after the
freedom of teachers, parents and other parties in educational
matters. Besides, charged fees, rewards and allowances are
subject to his control together with the provision of
educational premises.(85)

(c) Integration of Adult Education through Consolidation
of L.E.A's Role

The 1944 Act brought with it consolidation of the
role of local education authorities in the provision of
adult education. Since the education service in England
is locally administered, integration of adult education

with the national system of education is principally
envisaged through attachment to the realm of work of local
councils. Local authorities had some involvement in adult
education provision since the Technical Instruction Act (1889)
and the Local Taxation Act (1890)which gave County and
Borough Councils permission to establish evening classes for
children who left school. Yet, it was only with the Fisher
Act (1902) that the responsibility for adult education was
laid on local administration. Local authorities were
empowered 'to take such steps as seem to them desirable .....
to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary,
and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of
education.'[86] The 1919 Report on Adult Education was much
in favour of activating local authorities to assume more role
in adult education provision suggesting that they should
'take a large and important part in the development of adult
education,' and regarded such a role as 'an integral
part of their activities.'[87] Under Section 86 of the 1921
Act, local authorities were granted comparatively wider
powers for the provision of adult education of a great variety.[88]

However, in practice, local authorities remained in the
inter-war period content to look after formal education,
primary, secondary, technical, etc. leaving the provision
of non-vocational adult education largely to the universities
and voluntary bodies.[89] This complaint was clearly recorded
in the Ashby Report (1954) that 'Local education authorities

are so pre-occupied with primary, secondary and technical
education that they have not yet had the opportunity to
give full attention to liberal adult education.'[90]
It was thus, that wide variation characterized the response
of local authorities to the proposals raised by the 1919
Report mainly the establishment of non-vocational or evening
centres for humane studies, raising their financial
assistance to the universities and voluntary organizations,
and setting up Area Adult Education Sub-Committee which
would undertake the provision of non-university, non-vocational
adult education.[91] Financially, the L.E.A.'s responded
indirectly by affording more financial assistance to
universities and voluntary bodies. Only in few cases such
as the West Riding of Yorkshire that assistance reached full
responsibility for all one-year and tutorial classes.
Lowe (1970) estimated the response to be, on the whole, weak.[92]

Fear was justifiable that, if such a trend continued
meanwhile educational opportunities are on the threshold
of expansion year after year, that time might come when
complete negligence of adult education activities would turn
into accepted status quo. The main problem was not recognition
of the principle that local education authorities have got
some role to undertake in the provision of adult education
as they did with formal education. The problem was rather
with the 'leniency' and 'vagueness' by which their
responsibility toward adult education provision was defined
under existing legislations. Partly because of such a defect,

and partly because of the lack of financial and other

facilities, adult education remained a marginal task

undertaken by the L.E.A.'s meanwhile primary and secondary

education enjoyed increasing attention. Such differentiation

was reflected on the whole picture of the adult education

provision , and turned into a challenge for the post-War

policy of education. To the Sanky Report, published under

'Adult Education after the War' (1945), the elimination of

such differentiation in the treatment of 'formal' and

'adult education' should be the cornerstone of the suggested

policy. Continuation of such differentiation after the War II

would only lead to one result, more and more marginality

for adult education within the national system of education,

or as the Report put it:

> "The very fact that whilst one section of the educational
> system is obligatory and the other is permissive, suggests
> that the second is of minor importance and is consequently
> less urgent. It is indeed an invitation to neglect." (93)

What is more, is that the system might still work under the

notion that 'education ends with childhood'. (94)

The post-War II policy has differed significantly from

the one before. The 1944 Act added more to the role undertaken

by the local education authorities than was the case under

the Acts of 1902 or 1918. The old 'enabling power' which

the authorities were reluctant to use actively for more adequate

adult education provision in their areas, has now been turned

into '<u>duty</u>' 'to secure the provision for their area of

adequate facilities for further education.'[95] Moreover,

their leading role in the provision of adult education has

since the War II been an accepted principle in various

documents. The White Paper of Educational Reconstruction

(1943), while considering the special contribution that

universities and the Workers' Educational Association might

make to adult education, it made it clear that:

> "Local Authorities will undoubtedly be called upon to
> play a larger part than heretofore in this field." (96)

The leading part to be undertaken by the authorities was

as well accepted by the universities themselves, which saw

as natural that 'the ultimate responsibility for securing

adequate provision should rest on the local education

authorities, and we do not wish to claim any monopoly or

suggest any precise delimitation of sphere of action.'[97]

On her part, the Ministry of Education defined the whole

realm of 'Further Education' as 'a community effort in

which the authority must play the leading part.'[98] Again

it was thrown on the local authorities, in so far as 'Further

Education' is concerned, the responsibility 'to assume

leadership in the co-operative enterprise of community

education.'[99] Thus, in post-War policy, the local education

authorities were put definitely before their responsibilities

as regards adult education, a responsibility from which

escape is much more difficult than before. They were even

invited to respond to the Ministr's call 'to plan boldly and

comprehensively.'[100]

II. PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN BODIES INVOLVED IN ADULT EDUCATION PROVISION

Partnership as   an Adopted Policy for Post-War Adult Education

The need was clear after War to extend the base of adult population covered by the adult education service to encompass besides the 'seekers' or the 'converted' the vast majority whom the Sanky Report (I945) called the 'indifferent' or the 'uninter⁄ested'.[IOI] Recongnition of the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction (I943) of the organic link between adult education and the function of the system as a whole, and that⁄the fuller opportunities of adult education,
                    without
the whole system would remian incomplete,[IO2] represented an indirect pressure on the adult education providers to co-operate. In the meantime, there were certain considerations that made co-operation between providers essential :

I. The inability of voluntary organizations to undertake, by themselves, the task of penetrating the adult base unless co-ordination with other providers is made possible.

2. The possible failure of the Statutory authorities alone to meet the needs of such an important sector of the population. The conclusion which the Sanky Committee reached was that 'There is ample room for both, provided always that they work in co-operation and not in competition.'(IO3)

On the other hand, the consolidation of the partnership spirit was seen as a condition for the success of the future expansion schemes of adult education. In this respect, partnership was expressed in a rather impelling tone which left but little room for argument about its validity. The closing lines of the Report were unambiguous:

> ".... the development of adult education depends on the willing co-operation of the statutory authorities, the universities and the voluntary organizations concerned. Each of them must carry out its duty to the adult community in the fullest co-operation with the other agencies working in the same field, and to the same general end." (104)

The Ministry of Education, on her part, went even further than what the Sanky Committee had gone. It used all the weapons available to her in pressing the partners , mostly in an indirect manner, to co-operate. Partnership between the adult education providing agencies was raised by the Ministry as 'The first need...'(105) Mainly through partnership, it is possible, in the Ministry's argument,to 'quicken the cultural, artistic and social life of the community.'(106) The argument for partnership was hardly refuted by any of the academics of policy-makers. If it was acceptable that in the old days when the adult education service was still in its infancy, and the involved organizations few and the scope of work not so clear, that duplicated effort was little feared and the development of the work of each partner attainable without much regard to what others were doing, the case after War was different. A new formula of partnership had to be put

into effect, and 'the various organizations concerned should
come to agreement not on "mandated territories" or "spheres
of influence" but on the particular contribution which each
of them is specially fitted to make to the educational needs
of the community.'[107]

Academics, on the whole, were no less supporters of the
trend. The base of post-War adult education policy which
Shearman (1944) could think of, revolved round the major
suggestion; the 'close co-operation between the Board of
Education, the universities, the Local Education Authorities,
and those voluntary bodies whose main purpose is educational.'[108]

By the time the Ashby Report (1954) was published, some
drawbacks of the policy of partnership were beginning to rise
to the surface including the inevitable burden resulting
from the more administrative complexities than was the case
with other types of Further Education. There was also the
'smooth working of partnership' depending on cordiality of
relations between partners and 'which was not always to be found'[109]
Merits and demerits of the policy of partnership were reflected
upon by the Committee, but the conclusion reached was much
in favour of the continuation of partnership between providers:

> "After considering all the evidence we are unanimously of
> the opinion that at present the merits of the partnership
> outweigh its drawbacks and that we should make recommenda-
> tions which preserve it, at any rate during the present
> period of transition in British education." [110]

Ashby's appreciation of the validity of the partnership policy
was echoed in no less vigour twenty years later, when the
Russell Committee put it on the very top of its list of
recommendations. [111]

Types of Post-War Partnership

By 'partnership' is meant all forms of co-operation
between the major providers of adult education service.
Peers (1972)[112] recognized partnership as covering
many areas, but saw it largely financial in character.[113]
It is possible to locate three types of partnership in
adult education in England namely, financial, consultative
and in teaching service. The following figure illustrates
a typical regional organization as expressive of partnership
among providing bodies.

Figure 8.3

A Typical Regional Organization and its Financial Links[114]
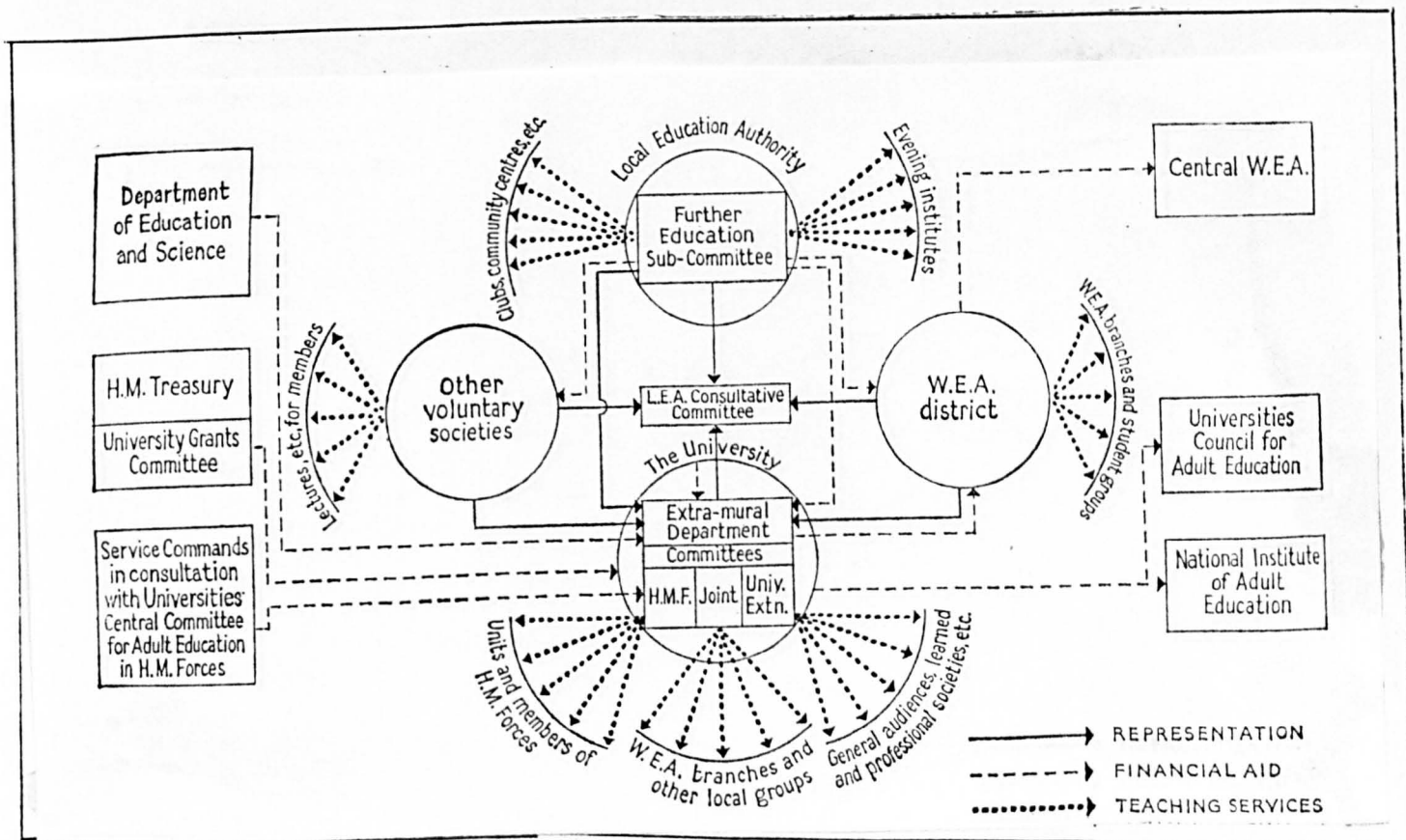
I. Financial Partnership

The complex organization that characterizes adult education in England has induced the Ashby Committee (1954) to describe the finance system as 'obscure'.[115] However, a look at the past regulations of finance makes the present financial partnership comprehensible. As a principle, financial partnership has been found in the adult education provision before War II in the form of grants paid, either directly from the Ministry of Education (Board of Education until 1944) and the W.E.A. districts, or indirectly as awarded by the L.E.A.'s towards the administrative costs of responsible bodies.

The Further Education Grant Regulations (1945) in accordance with the 1944 Act, as well as the 1946 regulations stand as indicative of change in the financial relationships when compared with the previous ones of 1938. According to the 1945 Further Education Grant Regulations, no distinction was made between university and non-university programmes except in the case of the three-year tutorial classes which are eligible for grant only in so far as they are provided by universities, university colleges or joint responsible bodies.

Another aspect of comparison with the 1938 regulations (Chapter II) the 1945 regulations represent an easier path to financial co-operation between the Ministry of Education and the responsible bodies. The term 'responsible bodies'

has continued since the 1924 Grant Regulations to signify

the combination of organizations recognized by the Board

of Education as providing liberal adult education. These

include the universities or university colleges and approved

associations. Regulations 22 (I) of 1946 maintained former

distinctions (under 1924 and 1938 regulations) in dividing

responsible bodies into three classes. Included in the first

class are universities and university colleges, while approved

associations fall under the second. The third type of responsible

bodies created by Regulation 22 of 1946 reads:

> "A joint body . . . for the maintenance of facilities for
> a specified area",   consisting of "representatives of
> other Responsible Bodies. . . whose activities relate
> to that area together with representatives of the Authority
> or Authorities concerned with that area . . . ."(116)

The rigidity imposed on the direct grant by the Ministry

of Education to responsible bodies according to the 1938

Regulations specified six types of courses conducted by

university responsible bodies, and three types of courses

conducted by approved associations.(117) Detailed requirements

as regards class work and written work as well as maximum and

minimum numbers of students in each type of course found

no place in the 1946 Regulations. These latter cared to ensure that

the programme submitted demanded serious study on the part

of the students. As a condition to approve the programme of

a responsible body, the Minister of Education (Secretary for

Education and Science) had to be satisfied that reasonable

provision was being made for one or more of the following:

I. Tutorial classes lasting for a period of three educational

years, with twenty-four two-hour meetings each session; (Reg. 24(a)

2. Sessional courses lasting for one educational year, with

not less than twenty meetings of at least one hour-and-a half

(Reg. 24 (b))

3. Terminal courses of not less than ten meetings of at least

an hour-and-a-half. (Reg. 24 (c)).

It was made obligatory that universities and joint bodies

should provide at least one of the three. As for other

responsible bodies, at least/of the last two was required.

Only when this obligation is discharged, it was made possible

for the responsible bodies to seek approval for grant .

4. Shorter courses of less formal character. (Reg. 24 (d))

5. Training courses for teachers and lecturers for adult

education. (Reg. 24 (e))

In so far as the assessment of the grant to be awarded

is concerned, the complicated details of 1938 and previous

regulations were partly amended as the Ministry of Education

undertook to repay to responsible bodies not less than

75 per cent. of the approved cost of the renumeration of

the teachers or lecturers employed.. (Reg. 27)

As recepients of financial aid by the Ministry (D.E.S.),

they must satisfy its requirements in three basic matters:

acceptability of their constitutions, efficiency of their

organization and teaching staff, and the adequacy of their

facilities provided for students. Also through the

direct grants, it is of importance for the Ministry to
be satisfied that the adult education service is provided
to individuals without discrimination. Recepients have
not got the right to exclude any person from their courses
on other than reasonable grounds.[118]

Reflection on the financial partnership between the
Ministry of Education as representative of the central
authority and the responsible bodies providing an adult
education service raises two points:

Firstly: There is a mutual commitment between both sides
within a frame of rights and duties. However, it is clear
that the financial aid in the form of grants is rather
a tool in the hand of the central authority to ensure,
to a certain degree, a comprehensive and good standard
service in a way that allows it to curb excessive
undesirable competit-ions between various partners.

Secondly: The direct grant from the central authority
to   university adult education towards teaching costs,
administration and accomodation, represents only one source.
They are entitled to receive indirect share from the university
itself through the University Grants Committee. This is one
type of financial partnership which we may term 'internal'
as it is granted within the university scope. Besides, there
is also finance through students' fees as well as the L.E.A.'s
grants. In a somewhat similar way the W.E.A. has its other
sources of finance as well.

Whether the financial system of awarding grants, specially

to universities, is the most fitting one, has been a

controversial issue among the universities themselves since

the 1950's. Amidst the approval expressed by the Ashby

Committee (1954) of the financial co-operation of the central

authority with the responsible bodies, there was an implicit

view raised by some university men that such type of

financial affiliation was not the ideal one. Yet, many

favoured the view that it was undesirable that the Ministry

of Education should withdraw its direct grants to universities

for the support of adult education service. The Ashby Committee

saw some dangers that extra-mural work would remain

indefinitely as a 'protected' activity content with what is

received from outside. The Committee suggested that:

"Unless adult education fights its own way for recognition,
unless it establishes its right to a share of the university's
finances it will never become an accepted part of university
work in the sense that psychology or dentistry are accepted." [119]

As for the financial partnership between the central authority

and the local education authorities, a clear change has been

made by the 1945 regulations. Following the issue of the

1944 Act, it was natural that the adult education financial

regulations be incorporated in the Further Education

regulations. With this change, it has become difficult for

the local education authorities to separate the provision

of adult education from their traditional sphere of

operations, i.e. liberal from non-liberal studies. [120]

The local education authorities undertake their duties
in accordance with the policy set by the Ministry (D.E.S)
but with what Lowe (1970) recognizes as 'a great measure
of latitude'.[121] They are eligible for a block grant
from the Ministry that represents slightly over 60 per cent.
of their total expenditure on education, and which they have
wide freedom in the allocation of proportions. Besides,
they have other means by which they can give more financial
aid mainly through the allocations for education from
levied rates.[122]

On their part, local education authorities have their
contribution to adult education provision in both direct
and indirect ways. But, it must be remembered that diversity
characterizes every aspect of the adult education provided
by the L.E.A.'s. On the one hand, types of adult education
such as the Evening Institutes, Adult Education Centres,
Further Education Institutes, or Adult Institutes, are all
directly looked after by the local authorities. Non-vocational
courses for adults as well as a wide range of courses covering
vocational interests are as well directly provided and
administered by them.

On the other hand, there is the indirect contribution
by L.E.A.'s to adult education in their areas. Authorities
foster, side by side with their own direct provision, courses
for liberal education for adults through the aid to responsible
bodies. Giving financial aid to universities has been one of the

trends that the 1919 Report strongly recommended.[123]
Authorities may, as well, award financial aid to
independent voluntary organizations sometimes called
'community associations' such as women's organization,
music and drama groups, old people's clubs and other
social organizations. Bringing these into the local
structure of adult education has been regarded as
'of prime importance'.[124] Both direct and indirect
provision by the local education authorities in so far
as finance is concerned, are shown in figure 8.2.

Indirect contribution of the local authorities may vary
from mere financial aid in the form of grants, which
confines partnership within a narrow circle, to what
may be called 'positive co-operation' through allowing the
use of their own resources, equipment, buildings, manpower
for adult education service in the areas.[125] The principle
on which financial grants by the L.E.A.'s to responsible
bodies are awarded may take more than one single type.
In some cases, it takes the form of grants per-class as
supplement to what the D.E.S. pays for the teaching
cost. Sometimes, it takes the form of block grant in
participation of the cost of administration usually to
the W.E.A. district.

2. Teaching-Service Partnership

The general form of the flow of teaching services between major adult education providing bodies in England is illustrated by Figure 8.4 which illustrates as well the cycle of finance.

Figure 8.4

Flow of Teaching Services and Money between Major Adult

Education Providers in England[126]
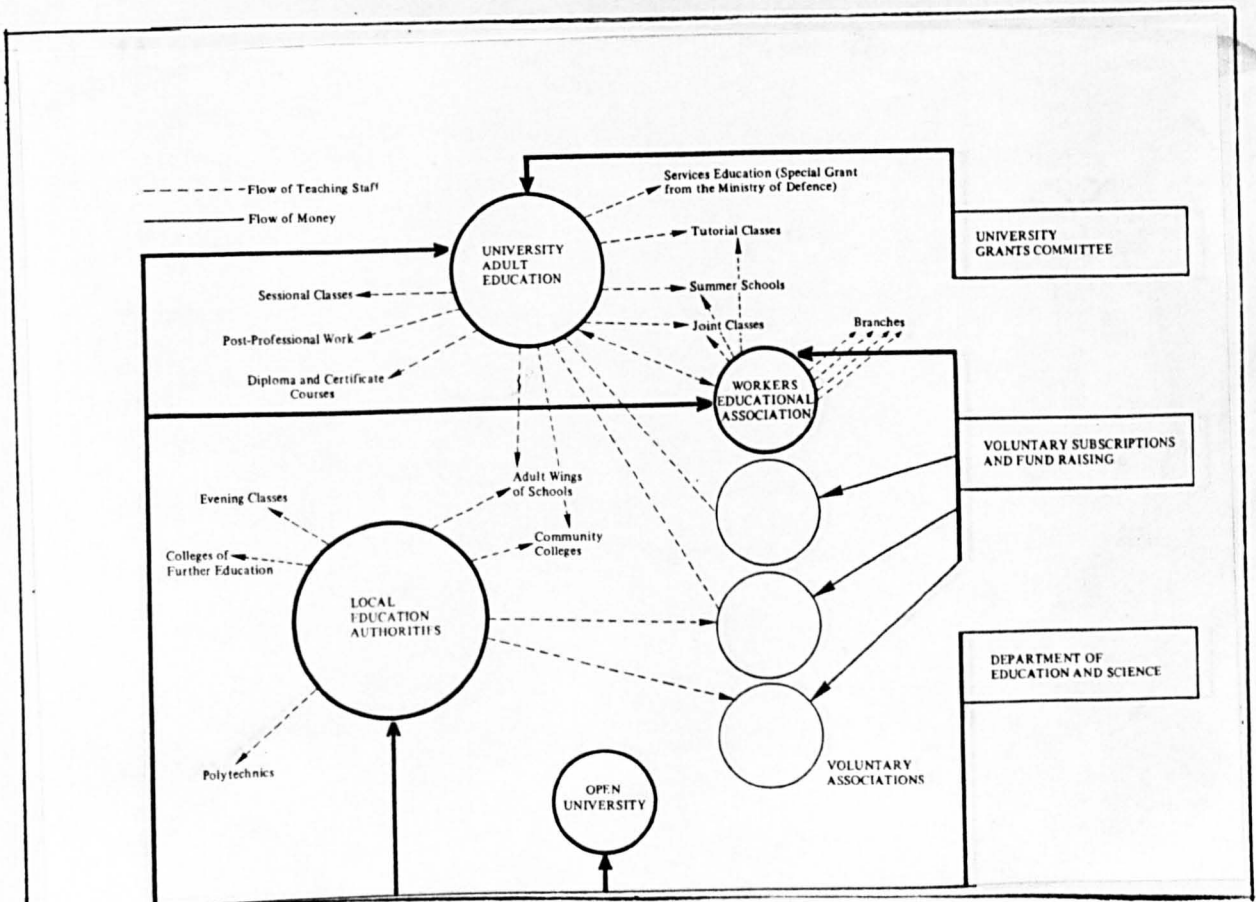
The expansion of the adult education service, which
was highly favoured in the post-War policy was seen by
the Sanky Committee as dependent on 'the availability and
selection of a sufficient number of competent men and
women to carry out the work.'(127) One way suggested to
to secure the availability of the required numbers was
through closer association with the educational system as
a whole. To the Committee, 'If there were more fluidity in
the teaching service; if it were possible for a teacher in
any one branch of education to pass over to full-time adult
education, whether organized by the statutory authority,
or by an approved voluntary body, without loss of
professional status or of salary and superannuation benefits,
it would   probably be found that not a few teachers
in other branches would find themselves attracted to, and
would be suitable for, adult work ... '(128) But, this line
of thought representing an appreciation of 'external
partnership' in matters of teaching service, could not
be envisaged by policy-makers as the sole outlet for
getting the required numbers of teaching staff for adult
education expansion. The co-operative action between adult
education partners, which we may call 'internal partnership'
was recognized by the Ministry of Education (1947) as
a need for the expansion of adult education provision.
Local education authorities, universities and voluntary
organizations of every kind were called upon to respond

to the framework put by the Ministry for effective

partnership, what is strongly advocated in the Ministry's

'Further Education' (1947) as follows:

"We need a close and confident relationship between
those teaching bodies, and the organizations, whether
for adults or for young people, which provide an
environment wherein things of the mind and spirit can
flourish. There is an opportunity to advance, if we
march together.' (129)

The local education authorities were asked to provide

adequate teaching-service to their own adult education

institutes through their own full-time and part-time teachers.

However, this was stated as only one partial fulfilment of

the security of adult education provision thrown upon

authorities by the 1944 Act. Opportunities for active

partnership with other providers in the supply of teaching

service were suggested by the Ministry to cover four

specific spheres:

I. To provide a range of teaching services from their

own institutions some of which operating extra-murally

as one token of partnership with adult and youth voluntary

organizations.

2. To provide what they can towards the ensurance of

'close working arrangements' for the provision of

lïberal study courses by universities and other

responsible bodies.

3. To encourage provision of adult education service

through strengthening such local organizations with broad

purposes and potentialities as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A.,
Community centres,.. etc.

4. To exercise general initiative within the community
through conferences, training courses and all other ways
of focusing attention on particular problems or recent
developments worth study.[130]

On the other hand, responsible bodies were similarly
requested to co-operate in the provision of teaching
services. This was included in the overall scheme of
co-operation raised by the Ministry which preached an
elastic method of interchange of staff 'from teaching in
school to teaching adult audiences; from teaching
undergraduates to teaching in extra-mural classes; from
employment by an authority to service in a university or
in a voluntary organization, ..'[131]

The leading position of universities in teaching-service
partnership has been an acceptable trend in the post-War
adult education policy. The Ashby Committee (1954) observed
with inherent content that the 'main burden for providing
adult education in England and Wales has been assumed by
the universities and university colleges'[132] and that
the university staffs 'are the most important source of
tutors both for Workers' Educational Association and
extension classes.'[133] Figures of the Ashby Report
showed how in 1951-1952, 21 university departments of
extra-mural studies provided tutors for 80.000 out of the
total 150.000 adult education students.[134]

The case of the W.E.A. represents a different position
from that of the L.E.A. or other providers in that it has
got no other educational activity. The vital unit of the
Association is the 'branch' which has the responsibility
of organizing its own programme of studies, recruiting
its members and raising money by its own efforts to meet
many of the incidental expenses of its work.[135]
Branches are grouped into districts. The latter are
autonomous with wide range of freedom to determine their
own policy.[136] As far as the teaching service is concerned,
districts and branches have three main activities:
Firstly, they organize tutorial and sessional classes for
which the local university provides tutors. In these
classes, co-operation with the university staff is more
important than is the case with other types of classes.
Secondly, they organize other classes for which the districts
themselves are responsible for providing tutors.
Thirdly, in case of week-end school and day schools, either
under their own auspices or under those of W.E.T.U.C.
they are responsible for arranging teaching servises.

Other than the major providers, teaching-service
partnership was called upon from both minor adult education
providers as well as out-of-the-field agencies.
Co-operation on the part of the Armed Forces was seen both
desirable and possible through the utilization of the
educational work that had developed under War II conditions.

Appreciation of such a source was evident in the Sanky Report. It built its argument on the value of using the interest, skill and gift of leadership men of the Armed Forces have. To ensure that their interest in adult teaching was maintained after their mobilization, a recommendation was raised that 'Steps should be taken now, while men are in the Forces, to make the opportunities known to them, and to arrange for such special training as may be desirable.'[137] On the other hand, the Ministry suggested that the field of adult education should benefit from the possible teaching efforts of a wide range of interested individuals whether in the field of commerce, industry, law, policemen, clerks and even artists, doctors and nurses.[138] In this way, states the Ministry, 'it may be possible to build up a tradition of adult education among a much wider circle of people than are usually drawn into this field.'[139]

3. Consultative Partnership

The main theme behind emphasis on the consultation between adult education partners in post-1944 policy seems to be associated with the attempt to achieve, a diversified and complicated set of relations, a greater deal of co-ordination in the adult education service provided. In the 1945 and 1946 Regulations, consulation is stated as a condition for the award of financial grants whether to the

local education authorities or to the responsible bodies.

Domination of any one partner over the service, disregarding

the views and interests of other partners has been taken

as a hindrance for the attainment of maximum adult education

service within the available potentialities.[140]

Responsibility for leadership of adult education services

was laid, according to the I944 Act, on the local education

authorities which have to 'secure adequate provision of

Further Education in their areas.'[141] But, two regulations

were put by the Act to organize the way the L.E.A.'s

might practise such leadership. Care is given to prevent

them from assimilating the type of work undertaken by

other fellow partners. On the one hand, the L.E.A.'s

are not given the right to ignore the efforts undertaken

by other partners. Section 42 (4) of the I944 Act states

that the local education authorities:

> "shall, when preparing any scheme of further education
> have regard to any facilities for further education
> provided for their areas by universities, educational
> associations and other bodies . . .. " (I42)

The way by which such 'regard' is envisaged to come by

has been defined in the same section of the Act through

consultation of any such bodies as well as other local

education authorities from adjacent areas.[143] The Ministry

of Education emphatically appreciated such regard on the

part of local authorities as a 'duty'.[144] In such a way,

arrangement of the protection of interests of the universities,

the W.E.A. and other partners from being assimilated by

local authorities.

Consulation is supposed to cover a wider realm than
the provided programmes. It includes as well other aspects
related with full-time tutors, tutor organisers, buildings,
equipment, .. etc. Consultation of the academic nature
is recommended by the Ministry of Education (I947) to
come by through conferences and common courses for tutors
which are seen 'of great value'.[145]

The task of the appointed consultative committees for
adult education in the local education authorities is to
bring the consultation suggested by the I944 Act into effect.
Consultation in such authorities described as 'the more
enlightened'[146] takes the form of established adult
education committee with broad representation to include
beside the Further Education sub-committee, the universities,
the W.E.A. as well as other voluntary bodies that are
interested in the provision of adult education.[147] This
doe not conceal the fact that the alternative to which
many of authorities of the 'less enlightened' type resort is
through 'informal' consultation with the partners concerned
which depends, in the first place, on personal or cordial
contact.

While the responsible bodies are safeguarded from the
domination of the local education authorities, they are
not left to practise their adult education activity
disregarding the views of other partners. The direct grant
they are entitled to get from the Ministry (D.E.S.) is

conditioned by their presenting an assurance 'that steps
have been taken to consult other responsible bodies and
local education authorities in the area.'(148) To this end,
some local education authories are directly represented on
the extra-mural boards. However, such representation may
be indirect through the joint committee or the university
extension committee where these exist separately.

Consulation between the universities and the W.E.A.
especially in so far as the W.E.A.'s demand for tutorial
and other extra-mural classes is concerned, is to be
undertaken through the Central Joint Advisory Committee
on Tutorial Classes. Since 1958, this has been replaced
by a joint consulatative committee of the W.E.A. and the
U.C.A.E. The Ashby Report (1954), however, observed that
most of the responsible bodies are in agreement on their
programmes through consulation both formal and informal.(149)

Internal consulation between universities was to be
undertaken until May 1947 through the Universities'
Extra-Mural Consulatative Committee. The need for consul-
tation based on a broader base was suggested to come by
through the above mentioned Universities' Council for
Adult Education (U.C.A.E.) . As for representation,
expansion was made possible through the inclusion of
representatives of university senates together with extra-
mural officers, a new arrangement that was not found in the
older 'Extra-Mural Consultative Committee'. Its sphere of
interest was also broadened to encompass other than

extension courses, all the other matters associated with
extra-mural teaching. Such a council looks after the
co-ordination of policy between universities. It recommends
a 'common service' to be undertaken by adjacent universities
or that competition should alternatively be avoided in the
development of extra-mural departments.[150] Its recent
reports harp not only upon partnership between universities
but have moved over to broader areas of partnership. Its
1970 report on 'University Adult Education in the later
Twentieth Century' strongly argues that 'The effectiveness
of the future contribution which adult education makes to
the national system of education is likely to depend to
an increasing extent, on the effectiveness of collaboration
between the providing bodies.'[151] The principle on which
necessity of partnership is insisted upon rises from its
conviction that 'No single type of providing body' will be
able to expand adult education service to the required
adequacy unaided by others.'[152] It is, hence, easy to
prove how consulation has got a higher tone in the post-1944
adult education policy both at the external level, i.e.
between one provider and the others, and internally, between
the units of the same major provider.

Role of N.I.A.E. in Consultation

Consultation in adult education policy on the national
level was envisaged to come by through the 'National
Foundation of Adult Education' established in 1946. With

its amalgamation with the 'British Institute of Adult
Education'(B.I.A.E.) in I949 under the 'National Institute
of Adult . Education'(N.I.A.E.), consultation on the
national level was to take a different form. The N.I.A.E.
has got the task of promoting consultation among the great
many providers of adult education by bringing them together
into a single organization. Kelly (I970)[153] could see
its mission as both of consultation and co-operation
among the local education authorities, the responsible
bodies, the interested government departments, and voluntary
organizations such as the National Centres Association,
the National Federation of Community Associations, the
National Adult School Union, the National Federation of
Women's Institutes, the National Union of Townwomen's
Guilds, ... etc. Its 'Adult Education' which is
published quarterly is another important means by which
the views of various partners as well as researches
in the field are to be exchanged. Through these,
academics and policy-makers alike are given the chance
to reach common grounds on various issues. The Institute
publishes, as well reports of special enquiries related
to adult education. Among these are 'Adult Education After
the War' (I945), being the report of a committee appointed
by the B.I.A.E.,'Liberal Education in a Technical Age' (I955),
'Accomodation and Staffing'(I963), and 'Recruitment and
Training of Workers in Adult Education' (I966). These
have proved of considerable influence on post-I944 adult
education policy. (I54)

The Extent to which the Integration-Partnership Policy

Has Worked

The provision of an adequate adult education service

capable of penetrating the wide base of adults in

post-War II England was envisaged to come/through two
                                            by

major policy trends, namely, the recognition of adult

education on the map of the national education structure

as similar to other forms of education; and the activation

of the providing agencies involved in adult education

provision within a framework of co-operation and co-ordination.

Judgement of the outcome of such a policy has to take into

account the lack, until present, of one agreed upon

comprehensive conception of 'adult Education' among academics

and policy-makers alike. This, opens the door wide before

the varying estimations of success that has been reached.

The implicit and explicit satisfaction expressed by the

Russell Report (1973) of the progress so far achieved

with/level of attendance reaching two millions, was taken as

a demonstration of 'great adaptability' and responsiveness

to local demands.[155] In clear-cut words the Report states:

> "Our evidence shows that adult education has proved rem-
> ·arkably adaptive to changing conditions, so that much of
> present practice still operates satisfactorily . . ." [156]

Rogers and Groombridge (1976),[157] on their part, express

their deep dissatisfaction of what the adult education

service has sunk to until present. Taking as plausible

the assumption that ommission of any strategy of policy

which might be relevant is a serious mistake that governments

might fall in, they argue that 'British governments have been

and still are guilty of such a sin of omission, by not having,

by never having had, a policy for promoting adult learning.'[158]

Lowe (1970) has got his strong reasons for dissatisfaction

with what has been achieved in adult education in England

mostly because of the unfounded separation between vocational

and non-vocational education in a most unconvincing manner;

and the marginality of adult education, the latter defect

is a consequence of the former.Progress in the field, has hence,
been estimated as " hesitant and largely unstructured."(159)
   Such sharp contradictions in the judgements passed on

the post-1944 adult education policy may be attributed to

the very complex pattern in which adult education provision

is undertaken by a great many formal and informal organizations

with a wide set of internal and external relationships. In

the absence of a comprehensive survey of the whole field,

the matter has become of utmost complexity 'of a proportion

equalled only by the Table of Kindred and Affinity which

occupies the final page of the Book of Common Prayer.'[160]

Furthermore, attempts to generalize judgements based on

fragmental investigations may turn to be oversimplified

and unrealistic. However, the present study attempts to

build judgements on the available studies both inclusive

and partial with focus on the outcomes of each of the two
policy trends, namely integration and partnership.

I. Policy of Integration

    Whatever might be the drawbacks in implementation, which
will later be elaborated, it is plausible to suggest that,
in theory, the policy of integration has shown considerable
success associated with the ability to introduce adult
education as one recognized component of the overall national
educational structure. Previous alienation of that sector
until 1944 could be easily pointed out from the exaggerated
attention directed to formal education whether in matters of
finance, administration .. etc meanwhile adult education
had to be content with very little interest as a poor relation
of the system. Throughout the whole of the 19th century, the
adult education service remained almost entirely on voluntary
efforts with only reluctant and feeble interference on the
part of statutory authority. The position was slightly better
since the establishment of the Board of Education in 1902.
To judge the validity of the integration policy, three
defects that continued to characterize the adult education
service until 1944 have to be taken into account:

i. Lack of progression or continuity between 'secondary'
and 'post secondary' education, the latter comprising adult
education.

ii. Lack of adequate interest in adult education on the
part of the 'Board of Education' whose commitment was only
fluidly stated as 'the superintendence of matters relating
to education.'(16I) With the notion, not yet weakened until
the first decades of the century have elapsed, that education

should mostly be obtained at earlier age, primary and
secondary education naturally occupied the attention of
planners and policy-makers at the central. level, at the
expense of the adult education service.

iii. Exaggerated attention of the local authorities to
ensure the adequate provision of formal education in their
areas while their responsibility towards adult education
provision was leniently undertaken as a second task.

Once the policy of integration was introduced through
the 1944 Act, progression from secondary to post-secondary
and adult education was made smoother through the assumed
'County Colleges' leading naturally to adult education
activities. New organization was made for post-school
education including 'Higher' and 'Further' education, the
former being the concern of universities, Colleges of Education,
Colleges of Higher Education, Polytechnics, .. etc. which
are financed by direct and indirect grant from the D.E.S.
or from the L.E.A.'s. These institutions concentrate
on full-time courses.'Further Education', on the other hand,
comprises a great variety of institutions with a wide range
of courses which are financed and controlled by L.E.A.'s.
Theoretically, the 1944 Act opened better channels of
progression from the first stage of education to the second,
and from the second to 'Further' and 'Higher' education.
This must be regarded as success to the policy of
integrating adult education with the national education
structure and ending its previous alienation, as might be
shown from Figure 8.5

Figure 8.5

Links between Various Stages of Education in 1944 Act[162]
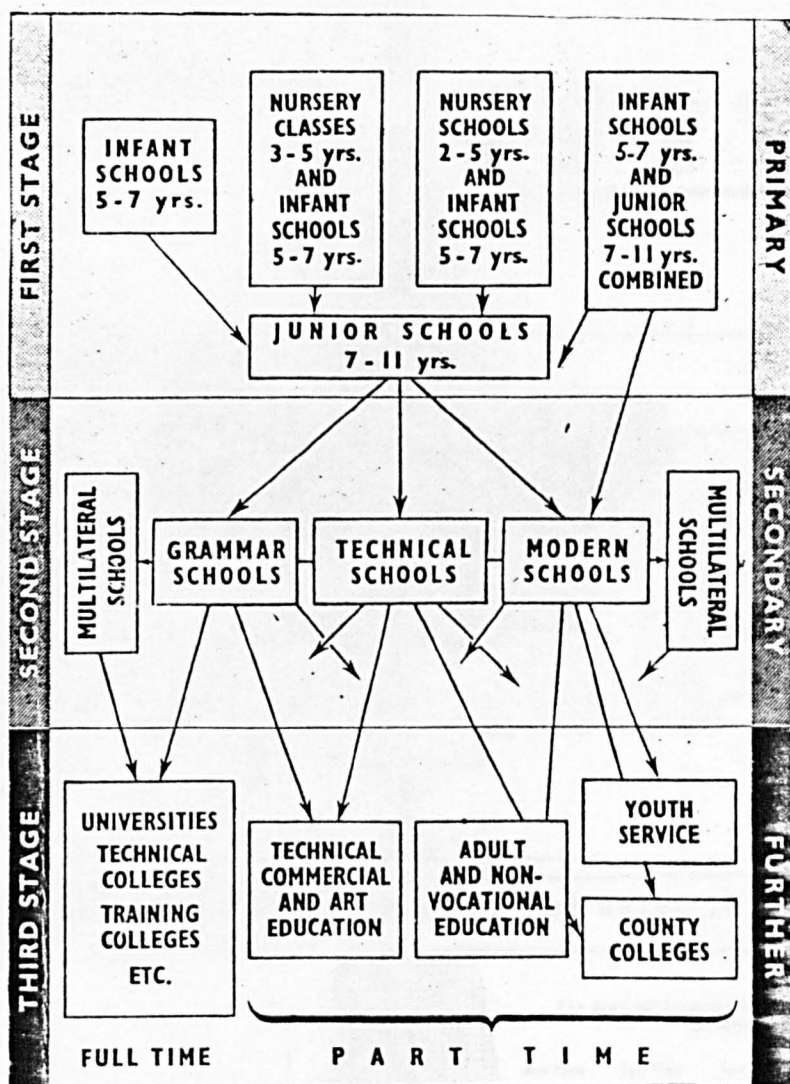
The progression, together with the expansion in enrolment since the end of War II in all stages have yielded evident change in the overall shape of English education. Comparison between such a shape in 1935 and 1965 shows how the narrow unproportionate neck of post-school sector has given place to a more symmetrical one, as is shown in figures 8.6 and 8.7.

Figure 8.6

Public Educational System in England and Wales in 1935 [I63]

Year of Age

Technical, Art, Adult Education 432,254
Students age 21 and upwards

Full Time Technical and Art Students | Part Time Technical and Art Students | Secondary School Pupils | Senior Elementary (Reorganised) | Elementary (Unreorganised) | Separate Junior Elementary

The area of each square above equals 25,000 units in attendance

Full Time 6,845

1,242 33,000
2,968 35,000
9,804 70,000
20,889 2,575 84,481

Children known to be living but educated outside the Public System

547,000 1,576 36,831 5,108 81,137
531,000 13,144 57,942 7,768 74,977
740,000 202,378 81,308 10,867 106,136
772,000 631,891 89,935 4,778
727,000 608,632 76,931 863
680,000 593,587 39,877
656,000 605,338 12,976
639,000 588,572 7,122
627,000 583,337 4,339
611,000 569,181 2,770
595,000 545,430 1,998
593,000 484,169 1,097
593,000 122,581
592,000 32,693

Nursery Schools 4,446

Figure 8.7 Public Educational System in England and Wales in 1965 [I64]

Year of Age

The area each square below equals 25,000 units in attendance

Full Time Technical & Art | Part Time Technical & Art | Evening Institute Classes | Secondary Grammar Schools | Comprehensive Schools

Bi-lateral Secondary Schools | Junior Technical Schools | Independent Schools | Secondary Modern | Primary & Nursery

1,643,700 Evening Students over 18

163,000
24,113
12,749
17,972
237,100 6,826
24,000 1,385
653,000 1,067 77,343 4,770 2,075 5,000
771,000 3,579 25,000 405,000 6,608 17,000
831,000 10,341 279,000 101,908 9,502 13,786 30,000
749,000 29,880 25,000 32,350 39,000
704,000 48,474 627,000 130,135 15,208 49,583 41,000
672,000 48,000 615,000 129,522 15,607 49,409 39,000
654,000 47,195 613,000 129,522 14,674 49,982 39,000
651,000 32,887 624,000 129,238 13,908 35,580 38,000
665,000 89,442 9,441 36,000
654,000 616,000 34,000
647,000 612,000 32,000
676,000 643,000 30,000
702,000 667,000 14,000
722,000 687,000 20,000
732,000 686,000 15,000
768,000 200,000
793,000 21,000
819,000 2,500

On the other hand, the first sector to benefit from the
increasing responsibility of the Ministry of Education towards
the promotion and expansion of all educational services is
'adult education' which had before been used to struggle for
its existence. What it longed for, is secured through the
principle of integration. H.M's Inspectors undertake the follow-
up process of the adult education classes in almost the same
way they do with other institutions of Further Education.

In the third place, adult education has been brought to
the focus of local education authorities. The provision of
adult education service in their areas is, as the case with
primary and secondary education, not a matter of 'may' but
a matter of 'must', much to the satisfaction of a previously
alienated sector. Through the leadership of L.E.A.'s, the
spirit is likely to prevail in the provision of responsible
bodies or voluntary associations.

If the policy of integration is theoretically successful,
have the outcomes, when/implemented/in accordance with aims?

In the case of post-I944 England, the policy of integration
has partly benefited the place and functioning of adult
education within the national framework. The previous
confinement within the narrow circle of non-vocational liberal
studies has, in a sense, persisted even after putting the I944
Act into effect.[165] Yet, through the impact of the 'integration'
policy, the situation is not the same. It has evidently changed
for the benefit of adult education, which could break the
barriers of non-vocational interpretation. It has found a place

in many 'further' and 'higher' education positions as a result
of its inclusion within 'Further Education'. This is proved
in a recent study by Ellwood (1976)[166] by the concern
given to the adult student and needs in the schools, the
polytechnics and the media which have re-oriented their
activities. One conclusion reached by that study, is that
'Adult education in its various forms, organised and
unorganised, penetrates every part of the educational system
and flows out into the community.'[167] Furthermore, the
educational functions have simultaneously been redistributed
between the formal educational system, the family and other
agencies in informal provision as is shown in the following
figure.

Figure 8.8

Adult Education as Part of Further and Higher Education[168]
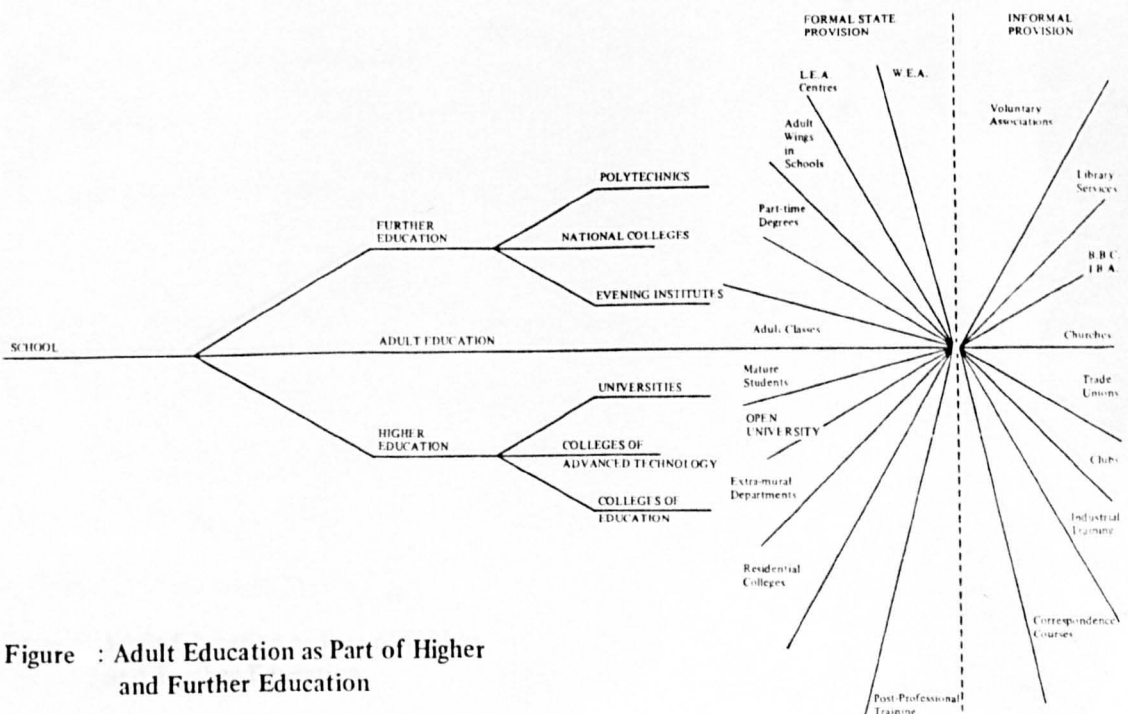

Figure : Adult Education as Part of Higher
and Further Education

This, however, should not be taken as enough judgement that the implementation of the integration policy has been a complete success. Reflection on what the L.E.A.'s could so far achieve shows that the outcomes are still modest in comparison with the sought goals. While they are supposedly the bearers of the greatest statutory responsibility toward adult education, they have actually maintained that sector's marginality amidst their preoccupation with so many 'more important' tasks. One evidence given by Professor Wiltshire to the Russell Committee affirmed the above judgement.

"They are multi-purpose educational bodies, so that for most of them NVAE is a very minor and marginal part of their total educational responsibility. If it were all to disappear overnight, City Hall and County Hall would remain unshaken, edudational policy and provision would remain in all important respects unchanged, and the money saved would be swallowed up in larger enterprises unnoticed. So although the stake of the LEAs in NVAE seems large, their commitment to it is small;..." (I69)

It is thus, that integration, which was thought to come by through equal concern given to adult education similar to the case with other forms of education, is good in theory, but in application by the L.E.A.'s, has not yet given proportionate outcomes. In the order of priorities that the L.E.A.'s still have, adult education has maintained the last position in their list. A complaint was raised in the I960's that they take the matter of adult education provision rather lightly for, '... they have many other things, and much more important things, to think about: first schools, then further education and teacher training, and then (if there is any interest or money left) what the Ministry of Education calls "Other Further Education" ...." (I70)

In this respect, two grave defects have to be taken

into consideration:

Firstly, that as yet, no clear-cut definition has been given

to the 'varied and comprehensive service of education', stated

in the 1944 Act as regards what the L.E.A.'s are supposed to

undertake. Such elastic words may give some of the authorities

the chance to provide whatever they like so long as they see

it 'varied' and 'comprehensive'. The Russell Committee (1973)

was induced to recommend as an immediate measure that the

Secretary of State should make specified statement of policy

defining what is meant by 'a varied and comprehensive service

of education in so far as adult education is concerned.'[171]

Moreover, the coordinating task of the work of other partners

through consultation was stated by the 1944 Act but was,

likewise, left to the discrete of local authorities. These

requirements, as has been found by the Russell Committee,

'do not add up to a duty or a right to coordinate, but the

local education authority is expected to take the intitiative

and also, presumably, the blame if adequate provision ......

is not secured.'[172]

Secondly, that until the present time, diversity exists 'in

almost every aspect of local education authority adult

education.'[173] Such diversity must be admitted as related

with available potentialities for each authority including

beside material resources, the personal relationships of

the councillors. Besides, the effectiveness is found to be,

in many cases, below what is required. In the 1970 Survey

by the N.I.A.E., I6 per cent. of all L.E.A.'s which responded
to the enquiry were not making special provision for the
disadvantaged adults in the sense of individuals unable
to participate in the normally produced programme of courses
and activities. These are abstracted by Clyne (I972)[174]
in the following table:

Table 8.I

Local Education Authorities which Offered no Special Provision[175]
(Population: OOO's)

	Counties	County Boroughs	Greater London Boroughs
England	5	I2	I
Wales	I	I	
Under 50	I	I	
50-I00	I	7	
I00-200	I	4	
200-500	3	I	I

On his part, Clyne analysed, in his study on 'The Disadvantaged
Adult' (I972) 7I% responses from County Local Education
Authorities, 84% from County Boroughs, and 80% from Greater
London Boroughs. Wide variation in response to various needs
of the disadvantaged,and the neglect, on the part of some
authorities are shown in table 8.2

Table 8.2

Percentage of L.E.A.'s making Special Provision for Disadvantaged
Adults [176]

Nature of Provision	Counties %	County B.'s %	G. Lon. B.'S %	Totals %
Adult illiterates	6I	40	75	52
Remedial Education	44	40	56	44
Mentally ill	32	3	6	I3
Mentally handicapped	39	I9	37	28
Physically handicapped	30	23	50	29
Non-English speaking immigr.	24	37	62	37
Deaf and hard of hearing	30	27	25	28
Blind and partially sighted	I2	4	3I	II
Elderly	27	I7	3I	23
No Provision	I5	I9	6	I6

If such is the case with the L.E.A.'s on whom the greatest

share in the responsibility of integration falls, it induces

one to appreciate the conclusions reached by Lowe (1970),[177]

Ruddock (March 1974),[178] Rogers and Groombridge (1976)[179]

and others in that the marginality of the adult education

has persisted notwithstanding the policy trends since 1944.

In, at least, three realms   of the integration

policy, the outcomes are not in accordance with aims. These

are finance, planning and administration.

Finance

From the financial point of view, the outcomes of the

integration policy,implemented since 1944,have not been

in accordance with the sought aims. Practice has shown that

adult education is the first sector to suffer whenever

the economic conditions of the country impose cuts. This

cannot be seen   separate from the ability to extend its

service to cover more numbers of adults. For this, policy-

makers may be accused of contradicting themselves.

Unjustifiable contrast between 'words' and 'action' in so

far as the financial support by central authority is concerned,

has left its impact on adult education expansion. Churchill's

reply to the resolution sent by Trade Union Congress (March 1953)

must have cuased the envy of other forms of education for

the priority given to adult education:

> "There is, perhaps, no branch of our vast educational system
> which should more attract within its particular sphere the
> aid and encouragement of the State than adult education." (180)

Unluckily, this was only followed by sharp stagnation of

expenditure on adult education according to the cuts on which

the Ministry insisted. The exaggerated alarm by which the
Minister in Churchill's Government noted the rise of
expenditure on the responsible bodies which trebled in
six years, may be taken as an indicator of the extent to
which, contrary to the Prime Minister's own words, adult
education was actually regarded not as a necessary service
for which funds have to be raised by all means, but rather
as Lord Eccles regarded it as some sort of 'luxury'.[181]
Not only was standstill imposed on grants for 1952/1953
but there was, in addition, insistence,on the Ministry's
part,to reduce 10% of the estimates for 1953/1954. When
the cuts are reflected upon, they seem to be too small to
have an effect on the country's financial situation. The
total grants awarded for that year were only £ 330.000
and the 10% reduction did not exceed £33.000.

The strict policy of expenditure was carried on to the
1960's as the Wilson Government (1964) was even more worried
about economic difficulties. So parsimonious was the
Government that the Joint Consultative Committee of the
Universities and W.E.A. thought of publishing a manifesto
declaring that the annual contribution by the Government
to responsible bodies was only £ 700.000 'rather less than
a single mile of motorway'.[182] The general picture of
was not different from the 1960's.
the 1970's, Response to the inspiration by the Russell Report in the
first half of the decade[183] mostly without Government
involvement was soon followed by cut-back in public
expenditure. Adult education was the first to suffer and the
case is vividly described by Bill Toynbee (1976) that:

'the ensuing cut-back in public expenditure has again taken
from those who have little, the little they have, with the
result that the adult education service is once more fighting
for survival.' [184] Figures for the fiancial year 1968/69,
the last year for which the Russell Committee (1973) could get
complete figures, show that the net expenditure on adult
education barely represented I per cent of the national
education budget making, in the Committee's estimate, less
than £ IO per year for each of the two million adult students
attending adult education classes. [185] An urgent need has,
hence, been expressed to raise local education expenditure
in the proposals for the next five to seven years in order
that the student number might be doubled, from £ I6 millions net
to a total of £ 38 million net, and the D.E.S. expenditure
from £ I.4 million to 2.65 millions. Even with this proposal,
the average net expenditure per student would barely exceed
£ IO a year. The proposals, however, represent only 'a very
modest rise in total expenditure.' [186]

It is possible to see how the policy of parsimony by which
adult education provision has been treated since the early
years of the I950's has held back its expansion. Enrolment
in adult education classes, whether of the responsible bodies
or the L.E.A.'s has been until the I960's been below what
was expected. The sharp drop in the early I950's was not
overcome until the first half of the I960's as is clear
in figures 8.9, 8.IO and 8.II.

Figure 8.9

Students in Grant-aided Courses of Responsible Bodies
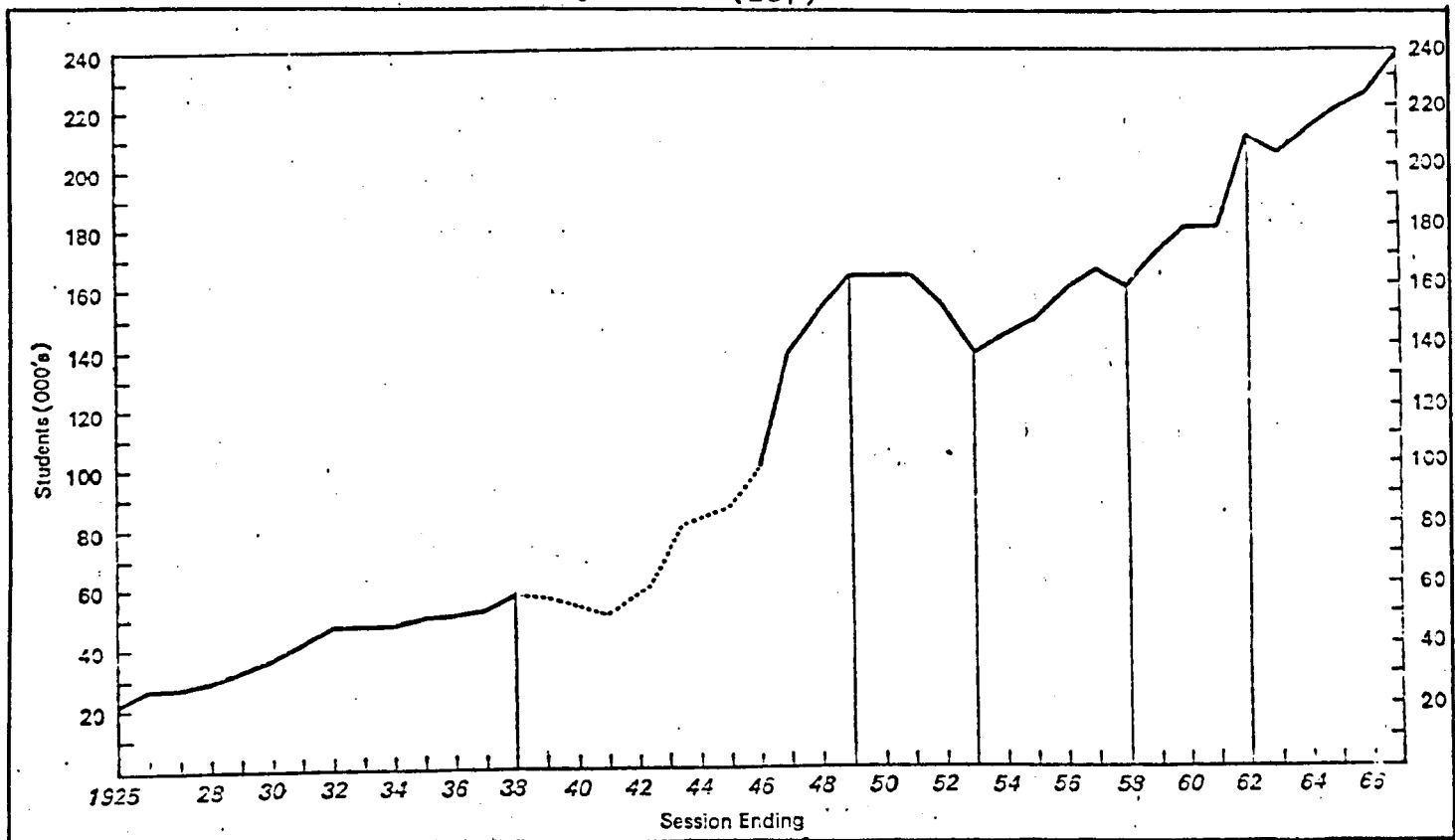(England and Wales) I925-67- Figures for I939-I945
are conjectural (I87)

Figure 8.IO

Enrolled Students in Extra-Mural and W.E.A. Courses (England
and Wales I925-I966 - Figures for I939-46 are conjectural (I88)
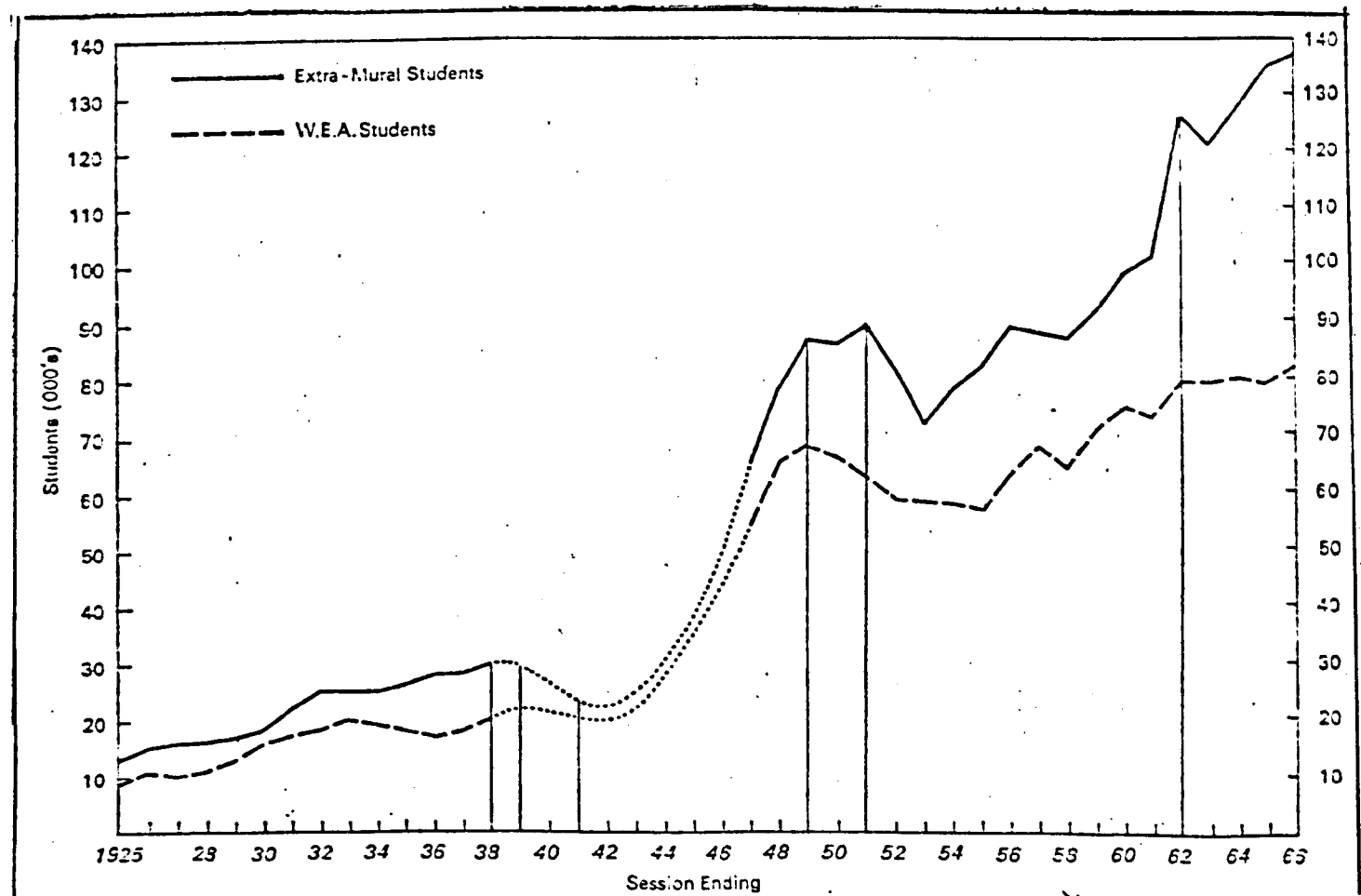
Figure 8.II

Students in Evening Institutes (England and Wales) 1925-67 [189]
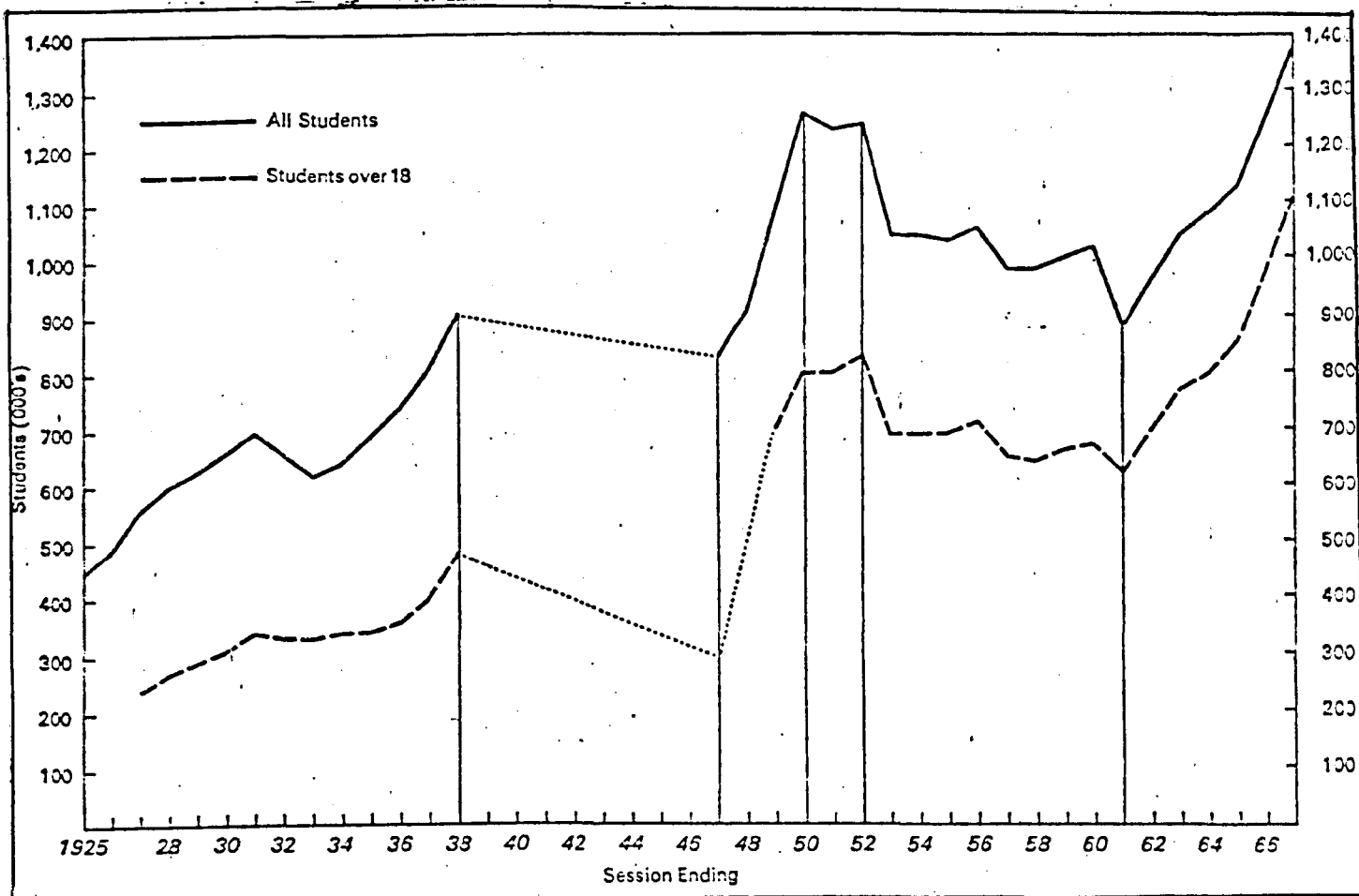
Close examination of Figure 8.II, which illustrates the

enrolment in the L.E.A. classes, may be taken as illustrative

of enrolment trends until the late 1960's for all major

providers. Adult students in L.E.A Evening Institutes

rose dramatically in the period immediately following War II

reaching a peak during 1950-1952. This was only followed by

decline reaching a severe point in 1961. Since then, it has

steadily risen exceeding the 1950-1952 peak with a toal

enrolment of I.400.000 in 1966, I.419.765 in 1967, I.394.742

in 1968 and I.352.552 in 1969. [190] Due to the difficulty

that the Russell Committee (1973) mentioned when attempting

to get statistics at the national level, its figures

had to stop at the closing years of the 1960's.[191]

However, a recent study by Wiltshire and Mee (1978)[192]

indicates a decline trend. The tendency to decline that is

seen from the 1969 figures in comparison with the year

before is linked to a recent trend to shrink the financial

aid that the L.E.A.'s receive from the D.E.S. Besides, the

Administrative Memorandum no. 15/67 has encouraged the

raising of class fees in 1968. [193] With the D.E.S Circular

no. 14/75, another rise in fees was suggested to be at 30%. [194]

Studying the statistical figures of seventy-four authorities

for November 1975 and 1976, and revising the findings

against statistics collected by a group of H.M. Inspectors,

a remarkable effect of fees raising on enrolment   is found.

The two scholars used data from fifty-one authorities to

examine the relation between fees and student numbers. Their

findings ascertain the existence of a   correlation

between the rise in fees and the number of students as is

shown in Table 8.3

Table 8.3

Fees and Student Numbers 1975-76 to 1976-77 [195]

Percentage rise in Fees	No. of authorities showing rise in students 21+	No of authorities showing fall in students 21+	Student numbers 21+ av. percentage change
33½ and under	14	17	-4:8
40-75	2	15	-13:2
150	-	1	-19:8
200	-	1	-49:6
500	-	1	-71:1

The continuation of the fee-imposing trend can be deduced from a recent D.E.S. Circular (I/77) which recommends further increase in fees. Unless limits are made to curb such a trend, further drop in students will be inevitable and the complaint of adult education marginality will be raised higher as the sector 'will no doubt again find itself suffering cuts which are proportionately much larger than those imposed upon other educational services.'[196]

Planning

In a critical survey published by the 'Council for Educational Advance' (I972) adult education in England is referred to as '. . . the almost forgotten poor relation of the system.'[197] It is true that twenty years after the Ashby Report (I954) the planning for adult education at the national level indicates the persistence of the marginality by which adult education is looked at by policy-makers at the highest level. In the White Paper by the Secretary of State for Education (December I972) entitled: 'Education: a Framework for Expansion' adult education is nowhere in the assumed plan for expansion. For this, the O.E.C.D. report (I975) on 'Educational Development Strategy in England and Wales' sarcastically took the official report to be rather 'A Framework of Expansion for certain pre-selected areas.'[198] As the White Paper states that it is 'designed to provide a framework for future action'[199], it is possible to look in it for a clue to see how adult education has actually been integrated within the national service of education.

and the future prospects in the following years. However,
the Paper arouses frustration for the writer of the present
study. The problems of the areas of education chosen are
dealt with in clear terms, but strikingly enough
adult education is almost omitted on account of confinement
to 'aspects which acquire close attention at the present
time'. (200) It is no convincing justification that adult
education was excluded as the Russell Committee was still
dealing with the area. The rationale of choice is not
convincing to the writer , nor to the O.E.C.D. study,
mentioned above which seems to attack the focus of attention
on certain areas 'without adequate explanation of the
selection criteria and procedure.' (20I)

Likewise, the Russell Report concerned itself mainly with
'opportunities for men and women to continue to develop
knowledge, skills, judgment and creativity throughout adult
life by taking part, from time to time, in learning situations
which have been set up for the purpose .. '(202) The concept
that the Committee seemed to adopt envisages a society in
which the whole lifelong learning needs of all citizens
would be taken as the field with which the national system
is concerned in its planning, structures and expenditure. (2o3)
The adult education strategy that the Committee recommended
is 'a comprehensive and flexible service . . . . broad enough
to meet the whole range of educational needs of the adult..' (204)
But, could the strategy suggested by Russell move further
the principle of a lifelong educational service ?

The Report, taking into account present financial and other difficulties that stand in the way of putting the new strategy into operation, . favours the preservation of the status quo.[205] Stopping at the point of recommending reorganization and going no further, is one defect in the report that has been waited for since the Ashby Report in 1954. Professor Kelly criticizes the 'high sounding phrases' that characterize the report, and hence, concludes that it is not decisive in predicting the future of adult education. To him, 'Cautious realism is the key note, and fancy ideas such as permanent education are relegated to an indefinite future.' [206]While the Russell Report succeeds in arousing the interest of many people in support of continuing education throughout the whole adult life, a plan for the intended reorganization to take place is left unattempted.It is no convincing justification that the nature of the report imposes this, being 'evolutionary' rather than 'revolutionary'. To Woods (1975)[207], it not understandable why no identity is proposed for such an education, nor an organizational structure within which the system of adult education could develop.[208]

Continuation of the unfounded distinction between 'vocational' and 'non-vocational' adult education until present forms another weak point that planning adult education in England has fallen into since the 1919 Report. The false distinction has eversince been preserved, and carried over to the Russell Report. Five decades, and more, have not been enough to reconsider the comprehensiveness of adult education. Kelly, shared by almost

all British eminent adult educationists like Lowe(1970),[209] and Wiltshire (1976),[210] agree to condemn this. The distinction has weakened the Russell Report which assumes itself to be 'A Plan for Development'.[211] The execlusion of 'vocational adult education' from the Committee's terms of reference is unsound. 'Non-vocational adult education'is a phrase that has never been suscptible to precise definition, and nowadays it merges at the one end into leisure activities and at the other into vocational education.'[212] Wiltshire (1976) lucidly echoes the same view of Kelly negating any possibility of taking the two as radically different and that 'since there is an infinite range of shades of green between yellow and blue, yellow and blue must be the same colour.'[213] As it is impossible to locate precisely a position at which the green ends and the blue begins, all distinctions between vocational and non-vocational do not exist, and have hence, to be erased. Confinement of the Russell Report to non-vocational adult education blurrs any attempts at comprehensive planning of that sector. The task could not be undertaken by the Russell Committee, and the dilemma is still unattempted in the 1970's. The only solution that Kelly could think of is 'another report which will deal with all those things which have been left out of the present report- post-experience courses, part-time degree and diploma courses, external degrees, CNAA degrees, the Open University, and so forth - and try to bring the various elements into some sort of sensible relationship with each other.'[214]

As for Lowe, he hardly differs with Kelly. He sees as a solution that the continuing education of adults be planned for as an integrative whole comprising vocational, non-vocational, general, formal, informal,.... etc. as constituent parts. (215)

Administration

The 1944 Act/made adult education one component of 'Further Education' the institutions of which are financed and controlled by the local education authorities. Adult education falls under the non-vocational sector sometimes called leisure-related. Within the non-vocational Further Education sector, it is possible to distinguish youth service and adult education service. The former, is addressed mainly to youth of the age 14-20. The latter, which is designed for adults, has no restrictions for age, and accepts students at whatever age above 16. From the administrative point of view, the integration policy advocated by the 1944 Act has tended to form close organic relations both within 'Further Education' components, and between 'Further Education' as an entity and the Ministry of Education (D.E.S.). However, in two aspects, the outcome of the integration policy has not been in accordance with the sought aims:

Firstly, that within the 'Further Education' sector itself, some distinction has grown since 1944 between 'Further' and 'Other Further Education', the latter signifying adult education. The distinction was originally one of vocationally oriented work and non-vocational education. Separation was claimed

by the D.E.S. as purely administrative.[216] H.M. Inspectors, until 1968, were concerned with either of the two types. From hence had grown a complaint of unfounded separation. Educationists, like Lowe (1970), saw that:

> "in an exemplary society all further or post-school education would be both broadly based and liberally concerned. Given the prevailing utiliterian climate, however, it is likely that if there had been a unified administrative structure since last war, the claims of liberal adult education would have been squeezed out altogether."[217]

Now that both 'Further Education' and 'Other Further Education' have been merged together (since 1968) with inspectors undertaking their task for both sectors without differentiation, the problem is solved though only partially. Still there are fears that inspectors who have for long been responsible for Technical, Commercial and Art Work, may well find 'Further Institutes' more satisfying in terms of being better organized together with the merit of receiving more generous financial support.[218] Amidst such a condition, nothing ensures that, even after the amalgamation of 'Further' and 'Other Further' education together, that adult education does not fall into marginality once more. Such fears have given rise to the recommendation by the Russell Committee 'to ensure that H.M. Inspectors are to allocate adequate time to adult education.'[219] Besides, the need has also been expressed to enlarge the H.M. Inspectors to an adequate number who should have substantial knowledge of the adult education characteristics.[220]

Secondly, that the heavy weight by which the D.E.S. would

support adult education service was, nominally, a great

success for the integration of the sector in the national

system of education. Practically, the D.E.S. has remained

reluctant to involve directly under the guise of 'autonomy'

that has to be left to the L.E.A.'s to lead and that voluntary

associations have to be encouraged to continue. This led to

the shrinkage of the D.E.S.'s role to a narrow circle of

granting financial aid, offering advice and, sometimes,

co-ordinating the activities. The responsibility given to the

Secretary of State by the 1944 Act is, indeed, strong. Through

his responsibility, it is possible for him to secure a

reasonable adult education provision in England. (221)

However, the problem is not to give him more responsibility

toward securing better adult education service, but rather

that he has the impulse to use the responsibility already

given to him. Lack of impetus may be indicated by his

reluctance, until present, to give even a rough definition

of how much adult education provision there ought to be

nor has he attempted to specify the particular developments

expected of the local education authorities in so far as

adult education is concerned. (222)

2. Policy of Partnership

Some indicators show partial success of the policy of

partnership between the major adult education providers in

England. The aims behind such a policy have been to create

closer co-ordination and co-operation between them for a more adequate adult education service. If the role of the central authority, represented by the D.E.S., is left aside on account of being mainly financial, which has already been elaborated,[223] it is possible to point out to the success so far achieved in what may be called 'dual' and 'threefold' forms of partnership.

Dual partnership is, in one of its aspects, between universities and the W.E.A. There are 21 W.E.A. districts in England and Wales with a total of 955 branches for the whole country. Partnership between the W.E.A. districts and the universities has contributed to make the whole country covered by districts each working within a university extra-mural area, although, in some cases, one W.E.A. district may work with more than one university. The whole situation is shown in the following figure:

Figure 8. 12

Boundaries of W.E.A. Districts and Universities in Adult
Education Service [224]

Despite variation in the nature of partnership between both

from one area to another, a general rule has, nevertheless,

been reached in the distribution of the types of course

between the universities and the W.E.A. The W.E.A. normally

provides the shorter and less demanding courses leaving

the universities to concentrate on the three-year tutorial

classes, generally the longer and more demanding courses.

From the technical and administrative points of view, such

distribution is sensible for the promotion of partnership.
It shrinks away from the extremist views which have since
the I950's claimed for the liquidation of W.E.A.'s role
ignoring its place as a national organization of about three
quarters of a century old and with unique experience and ability
for the recruitment of thousands of workers.(225)

The close partnership that has grown between universities
and the W.E.A. has also extended into threefold type as both
the universities and the W.E.A. work more or less closely with
local education authorities in the areas that they serve.
Since I944, favourable waves of change have blown on the
L.E.A.'s attitudes to work in closer collaboration with the
responsible bodies. The extension of years of schooling since
I947 has started to show its effect on an increasing popular
demand for adult education. In response, the L.E.A.'s have
attempted to develop better attitudes toward the activation
of 'varied and comprehensive' adult education service that
they _were called upon by the I944 Act to secure. Such change
in the L.E.A.'s attitudes is seen as 'a lasting one which will
leave them more fully committed to adult education than most
of them ever have been before.' (226)

Though partnership has not yet been investigated on the
national level, the extent has been estimated by Peers (I972)
as 'close'.(227) The picture, is, nevertheless, characterized
by complication. On the one hand, in each area may be found
a number of borough and county authorities, the trace of
partnership among whom may require close examination of each

case separately. On the other hand, one extra-mural
department may serve a number of counties, and hence, extra-
mural boundaries are very often across county boundaries.
In some cases, the reverse happens with one authority
dealing, as Peers has found, with several universities and
W.E.A. districts. (228) The boundaries of the new local
education authorities (after I973) are shown in figure 8.I3

Figure 8.I3

The Boundaries of the New Local Authorities of Education (229)

Positive threefold partnership is found where progressive L.E.A.'s are found. This might be illustrated by the close partnership between various partners. The extended committees that have been established by some L.E.A.'s are such that they include the membership of Further Education sub-committee together with representatives of the universities concerned, W.E.A. as well as voluntary bodies.[230] Another bright outcome of the partnership policy is the rising movement to establish multi-adult education centres in which all types of adult education can find a home, with common-room facilities and provision for light refreshments and accomodation for necessary activities.[231] This is especially found in East Midland counties of Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire where positive partnership between L.E.A.'s and responsible bodies is evident. While the L.E.A. maintains the premises, the teaching costs are shared by responsible bodies. University adult education tutor acts as warden.[232]

However, reflection on what has actually been achieved in co-operation and co-ordination between partners indicates that the outcomes do no fully realize the sought aims. On the one hand, location of areas of functioning for various partners to cover the whole country by adult education service is far from being achieved. Confusion still reigns in so far as the boundaries between the local education authorities, the universities and the Workers' Education Association districts are concerned. Uneven distribution and overlapping boundaries may be deduced from Figure 8. I4.

Figure 8.I4

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Existing Boundaries of Major Providers of Adult Education(233)

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

Such condition has cinvinced Ellwood (I976) that, 'In the case

of the three major providers there is need for re-assessment of

adequacy of provision and spheres of influence. At present there

is patchy development and overlapping of interests which is the

result of accidental growth.' (234)

However, prospects of a better organization in the future

are not lacking. According to the new 1973 local government

organization the number of the L.E.A.'s in England and Wales

is about half their previous number. Also there is a possibility

that in the case of W.E.A. districts and extra-mural departments

which followed county borders before the above-mentioned

re-organization, will possibly adjust with changes. Of the

universities that have 'rationalised their own extra-mural

boundaries' are Manchester and Liverpool, Newcastle and

Durham.[235]

Consultation between the major providing bodies is one aspect

in which partnership has not been fulfilled adequately. For

the financial role towards the responsible bodies, the L.E.A.'s

are actually represented on extra-mural boards. Besides, many

of them have established joint consultative committees for

adult education which comprise in their membership representatives

of university, W.E.A. and voluntary bodies together with

Further Education Sub-committees. Such committees mainly work

for co-ordination. However, three reservations have to be taken

into account:

I. That not all local education authorities have adopted the

consultative machinery mentioned above.

2. That where consultative committees do exist, meetings are

sometimes infrequent and formal.

3. That consultation depends, in the last resort, on personalities

and personal relationships . Hence, it is far from being a rule

objectively observed by all. [236]

Partnership between the L.E.A.'s and the responsible

bodies has not run through the way that was hoped for.

Each side has his suspicions in the intentions of the other

for driving the policy of partnership forward. What is more

important, is that the conflict is illustrative of differences

between the individuals in each sector who have two basically

different modes of thinking.[237] The still existent conflict

between the L.E.A.'s and the reponsible bodies is associated

with three types of difference which have served to prevent

the accomplishment of close partnership between the two:

Firstly, there is the unfounded variation in the financial

arrangements under which workers in each type are treated.

Evening institutes' principals have their stipends and even

reputation considered by the number of students enrolled

and the fees collected. The character of what is provided

is consequently affected as the arrangement serves 'to load

the scales in favour of quantity rather than quality, to reward

those who stick to popular subjects and undemanding tutors

and discourage those who want to develop and maintain minority

interests and high standards of work.'[238] The case on the

other front is widely different. A tutor affiliated to the

responsible bodies may be paid three or four times as much as

the one affiliated to the L.E.A. classes, though Wiltshire

states that the difference is/now 'much narrower' than before.[239]

Financial arrangements that do not treat partners in the same

task with equal measure must be assumed to have their influence

on the policy of evening classes, on the workers in them, and

on the partnership policy between the L.E.A.'s and responsible bodies.

<u>Secondly</u>,there is the difficulty of bringing together two

partners with different patterns of organization. In so far

as the partnership between the L.E.A.'s and the W.E.A. is

concerned, difficulties have been, until present, unsolved.

The W.E.A. basically differs in its organization from the

L.E.A. in that the former is not only a providing body

but is also an organizing body and a national educational

movement. Its partnership with the L.E.A.'s is conditioned

by settlement of organisational matters like student fees and

allegiance of students which are more difficult than the case

with university. The argument is licidly given by Professor

Wiltshire:

> "It (W.E.A.) cannot be expected to relinquish its claim
> on students' fees without some compensation, for fee
> income is an important part of its budget as a voluntary
> organisation. It cannot be expected to relinquish its
> claim upon the allegiance of students, for it is natural
> and propoer that it should seek to bring class members into
> active participation in the WEA at branch, district and
> national level. Can this allegiance to the WEA be allied
> to allegiance to the local institute?"(240)

If we move to problems of partnership within the responsible

bodies themselves, aims of policy cannot be achieved meanwhile

the seeds of competition between providers have grown since

I944. It is true that consultation between universities and

the W.E.A. has been looked after through the university joint

committee organization. However, in most cases, consultation

has been effective only in so far as the W.E.A.'s demand for

tutorial and other extra-mural classes are concerned. In other

types of courses, consultation is evidently ineffective particularly /for

the ones provided independently by each partner.(24I) Enough studies

on such a point have as yet not been made, but it is significant

to quote what one Director of Extra-mural Department has
reported as regards the effectiveness of consultation in
some regions:

"We have a regional committee, on paper such a committee
is indispensible, joining together the W.E.A., the L.E.A.
and the university. In practice it is absolutely futile,
all such co-ordinating and regional bodies tend to be ruled
by the particularism of the constituent members – each bit
takes care that such a committee will not reduce its autonomy." [242]

This spirit of 'particularism' is giving rise to undesirable
competition in areas where the relationship between the
universities and the W.E.A. is not so close. Indicators do
exist that, whereas many W.E.A. districts are anxious to
maintain their provision jointly with the universities, they
could not resist the sharm of having as much independent
programmes as possible, a trend which Peers attributes partly to
their attempt to justify the grants they receive from the
W.E.A. and partly for prestige. [243] This trend may be
shown from table 8.4.

Table 8.4

Types of Courses Provided by Universities and the W.E.A.
1968-1969 [244]

	Tutorial (incl. 118 2-year	Sessional	Terminal	Shorter (3 meetings to 6+)
Universities	760	2.662	1.702	1.563
W.E.A.	--	1.154	2.240	1.481

The close partnership between the universities and the W.E.A.,
that was envisaged by policies since 1944, has not fully
reached the aspired for aims. This is caused by difficulties
that, so far, could no be overcome on both parts.

On the one hand, a change to the worse is recorded by
some academics in so far as the universities' zeal for
adult education . is concerned.[245]. Their leading role
until the I950's, which was blessed by the Ashby Committee
(I954) seemed to wane afterwards, what Wiltshire expressed
in that 'they no longer feel for adult education the sympathy
and interest which they once did.'[246] Whether this waning
has stemmed from academic changes and the shift throughout
the last fifty years, in British universities, from the
domination of humanities to science and technology; or
to the loss of the strong drive that they had felt before
I944 of their responsibility to do justice to those who were
unfairly denied their rights for education, the matter that
concerns us is that the spirit of partnership has been affected
by these together.It is plausible that 'the sense of obligation
which impelled the Universities into extension and extra-mural
activities between I870 and I945 is weakened or destroyed.'[247]

On the other hand, the W.E.A., after I944, could not
give ample orientation to its scope of work in proportion
with the change in educational opportunities by the I944 Act.
It failed throughout the I950's and until present to agree
on a specific definition of the sectors from which it draws
its clientele. This, in turn, has been associated with its
inability to define the term 'worker'. Change was urged since
I948 when the Shrewbury Branch called upon the annual conference
of the W.E.A. to consider that in the present society, everyone
may be taken as a 'worker' and that by its present areas of
interest, the W.E.A. assumes to foster education among all

sectors of the community irrespective of the way by which
they earned their living.[248] The distinctions made by
Professor Raybould (1948) in interpreting the term 'worker'
included, besides the broad 'universal' definition that
takes 'worker' to signify one who works, two others: the
institutional and the educational. The former defines a worker
in terms of membership to trade unions, co-operative societies
.., etc. The latter which is echoed by the 1948 annual
conference, takes worker as 'educationally underprivileged'.[249]
The types of work that are undertaken by the W.E.A. as a
provider and organiser of 'non-vocational adult education'
give the chance to many, mostly from the university, to
accuse it of stagnation and inability to cope with the spirit
of the age. To Roy Shaw (1959),[250] it tries to justify
its existence by using a variable definition of 'worker' that
best suits circumstances. For assuming allegiance of trade
unionist education, it raises an 'institutional' definition.
When the case is concerned with the education of other people,
it sticks to the 'universal' definition.[251] It is hence
understandable that competition with the universities
is turning into a conflict affecting partnership between
responsible bodies providing adult education. Professor
Cole's warning has to be reflected upon by the W.E.A. if
active partnership is to be driven forward:

"...... The W.E.A. cannot have it both ways. It cannot
be general adult education provider and at the same time
the educational representative of the working-class
movement." (252)

I. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Educational Reconstruction. cmd. 6458. op.cit.

2. Adult education after the War, report of an enquiry made for the British Institute of Adult Education. London: Oxford University Press, 1945.

3. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (Britain), The Organization and Finance of adult education in England and Wales, report of the committee appointed by the Minister of Education in June 1953 (The Ashby Report). London: H.M.S.O., 1954.

4. Adult education after the War. op.cit. p. I
see also DENT, H. C. A new order in English education. London: University Press Ltd., October 1942. p. 70.

5. WILTSHIRE, H. 'The great tradition in university adult education', in A. Rogers (ed.), The spirit and the form, essays in adult education by and in honour of Professor Harold Wlitshire. Nottingham, at the University, Department of Adult Education, 1976.

6. ibid. p. 33.

7. SHEARMAN, H. C. Adult education for democracy. London: W.E.A., 1944. p. 56.

8. see KELLY, T. A history of adult education in Great Britain. 2nd edition. Liverpool, at the University Press, 1970. p. 361. also The Ashby Report, op.cit., p. 35, para. 84.

9. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Teachers and Youth Leaders, report of the committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education to consider the supply, recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders. (The McNair Report). London: H.M.S.O. 1944.

IO. The Percy Report, op.cit. p. 5, para. 2.

II. The Barlow Report, op.cit., pp. 3-IO, particularly p. 6, para.I5.

I2. The Percy Report, op.cit., p. 5, para. 2.
                                                              Education
I3. HOLMES, B. 'The reform of English education under the I944/Act', in Year Book of Education, 1956. London: London University and Teachers' College, Columbia by Evans Brothers, 1956. p. 229.

I4. DENT. H. C. A new order ...., op.cit. pp. 70-7I.

I5. LIVINGSTONE, Sir R. The future in education. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1942. p. 2.

I6. ibid.

I7. HALSEY, A. H. SHEEHAN, J. and VAIZEY, J. 'Schools', in A. H. Halsey (ed.) Trends in British society since 1900: a guide to the changing social structure of Britain. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1972. Table 6.I, p. I36.

18. Oxford and Working-Class Education, report of a joint committee of University and working class representatives on the relation of the university to the higher education of workpeople. 2nd edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1909.
see also PASHLEY, B. W. University extension reconsidered. Leicester, University of Leicester, Department of Adult Education, 1968. pp. 4- 38.
19. DENT, H. C. Education in transition: a sociological study of the impact of war on English education 1939-1943. 5th edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1948. p. 145.
20. ibid.
21. ibid.
22. LIVINGSTONE, R. The future in education, op.cit., p. 40.
23. Adult education after the war, op.cit., p. 2.
24. ibid.
25. see LIVINGSTONE, R. The future in education, op.cit., Chapter I, pp. 1-32.
also LIVINGSTONE, R. Education for a world adrift, op.cit. Chapter I. pp 1-27.
26. READ, H. The politics of the unpolitical. Quoted by H. C. Dent, Education in transition, op.cit., p. 154.
27. LIVINGSTONE, R. 'Adult education', in R. W. Moore (ed.), Education: today and tomorrow. London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1945. p. 170.
28. Adult education after the war, op.cit., p. 6.
29. BRUCE, M. The coming of the welfare state. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1961. p. 262.
30. Let us face the future, op.cit.
31. ibid. p. 1.
32. A rebel for the right reasons: a selection of speeches and writings by Hugh Fraser. Stafford: C. G. Hodgkinson, September 1975. p. 13.
33. ibid. p. 15.
34. Quoted by DENT, H. C. Education in transition. op.cit., p. 170.
35. Quoted by LANE, P. A history of post-war Britain. London: Macdonald & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 1971. p. 99.
36. Quoted by DENT, H. C. Education in transition, op.cit., p. 182.
37. The Beveridge Report. op.cit.
38. BAIN, G. S. et al. 'The labour force', in A. H. Halsey (ed.), op.cit. Table 4.9, p. 120.
39. Further Education (Pamphlet No. 8), op.cit., p. 5.
40. DENT, H. C. A new order ...., op.cit., p. 73.
41. ibid. p. 14.
42. SHEARMAN, H. C. op.cit., p. 6.

43. Adult education after the war, op.cit., p. 6.

44. ibid.

45. LIVINGSTONE, R. The future in education, op.cit., p. 40.

46. SHEARMAN, H. C. op.cit., p. 8.

47. see LANE, P. op.cit., p. 99.

48. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Educational Reconstruction, op.cit.

49. Quoted by the Asbhby Report, op.cit. Appendix 8, p. 66.

50. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales: a critical survey. London: Michael Joseph Limited, 1970. p. 34.

51. DENT, H. C. A new order ..., op.cit., p. 73.

52. LIVINGSTONE, R. The future in education, op.cit. p. 85, also preface pp. vii-viii.

53. ibid. preface, p. vii.

54. see pp. 360 - 432.

55. ELLWOOD, C. Adult learning today: a new role for the universities?. Sage Studies in Social and Educational Change. London: Sage Publications, 1976. p. 89.

56. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., p. 36.

57. DENT, H. C. The Education Act 1944. 12th edition. London: at the University Press, 1968. p. 12.

58. Quoted by PEERS, R. Fact and possibility in English education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963. p. 39

59. HOUSE OF COMMONS, 1924, 174, p. 1435.

60. BOARD OF EDUCATION, The Education of the Adolescent, report of the Consultative Committee. London: H.M.S.O., 1926.

61. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools. (The Spens Report). London: H.M.S.O., 1939. p. 311, para. 19.
In dealing with the 'school leaving age', the report saw that it was inadequate. Hence, it recommended secondary education to be continued from the age of 11 to the age of 16. Quoting the report:

> "The advance in the school-leaving age will, however, in our judgment, receive even greater impetus from the general recognition of the parity of secondary schools. The adoption of a minimum leaving-age of 16 years may not be immediately attainable, but in our judgment must even now be envisaged as inevitable."

62. DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON JUVENILE EDUCATION IN RELATION TO EMPLOYMENT AFTER THE WAR, Final Report, Vol. I. London: H.M.S.O., 1917. p. 12, para. 21.
The report came to judge 'compulsory continuation classes' to be:

> "the remedy to which educational and social reformers look with the greatest confidence as a step towards the final solution of the juvenile problems. There are, of course, no substitution for a sound early education, but such education, when it terminates at 14, or even at 15 leaves the child with intellect and character still unformed

at perhaps the most critical stage of his development, when
both his mental and physical life are at the maximum of
instability."

63. MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION (Britain), The 1919 report on adult
education, op.cit.

64. ibid. p. 5.

65. The 1944 Act, Sections 41-47.

66. DENT, H. C. A new order ...., op.cit. p. 70.

67. Learning to live ...., op.cit., p. 35.

68. The 1944 Act, Section 44.

69. NUFFIELD COLLEGE, The future of men and women: a task of the 1944 Act.
London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

70. ibid. p. 3.

71. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Educational Reconstruction, op.cit.

72. ibid. pp. 19-20.

73. JEPSON, N. A. 'The local authorities and adult education',
in S. G. Raybould (ed.), Trends in English adult education. London:
Heinemann Ltd., 1959. p. 96.
Jepson also quotes Dr. Venables' words before one adult education
conference that, "although some. links exist between the technical
colleges and adult education organizations they are tenuous and
there is really no active partnership at the present time."

74. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., p. 281.

75. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Educational Reconstruction, op.cit.

76. ROYAL COMMISSION ON SECONDARY EDUCATION, Report of the commissioners.
London: Eyre and Spootiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1895.

77. ibid. Vol. I, pp. 256-273.

78. The 1899 Act (Board of Education Act). (Ch. 33 - Vict. 62 & 63).
Article 2-(I) states that the Board of Education shall take the
place of the Education Department (including the Department of
Science and Art).
Article 3- (I) The Board of Education may, by their officers, or
after taking the advice of the Consultative Committee....., by any
University or other organisation, inspect any school supplying secondary
education and desiring it to be inspected .....
Article 3- (2) The council of any county or county borough may, out
of any money applicable for the purposes of technical education, pay
or contribute to the expenses of inspecting under this section any
school within their county or borough.

79. ibid., article 3-(I).

80. The 1944 Act. op.cit., Part I, para. I.

8I. ibid. Section 99.

see also BURGESS, T. A guide to English schools. 3rd edition. Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd., 1972. p. 25.

82. ibid. Section 68.

83. SMITH, W. O. L. 'Education: an introductory survey. 2nd edition. Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1966. p. I37.

84. The 1944 Act. op.cit. Section 4.

85. SMITH, W. O. L. op.cit. pp. I48-I49.

86. Education Act, I902: an act to make further provision with respect to education in England and Wales, I8 December, I902. (Ch. 42 - 2 EDW). Article 2- (I) of the Act reads as follows:

"The local education authority will consider the educational needs of their area and take such steps as seem to them desirable , after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid to supply of education other than elementary, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education, and for that purpose shall apply all or so much as they deem necessary of the risidue under section one of the Local Taxation Act I890".

87. MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, The 1919 report on Adult Education, op.cit. p. I70.

88. The I92I Act. Section 86.

89. JEPSON, N. A. op.cit., p. 83.

90. The Ashby Report, op.cit. p. 34, para. 83.

9I. JEPSON, N. A. p. 84.

92. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., p. 43.

93. Adult education after the war. op.cit. pp. 4I-42.

94. ibid. p. 4I.

95. The 1944 Act. Section 4I.

96. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Educational Reconstruction, op.cit. p. 23.

97. Quoted by LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., p. 273.

98. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, Further Education (Pamphlet No.8). op.cit., p. 32, para. 77.

99. ibid. p. I2, para. 20.

I00. ibid. p. 8, para. I0.

I0I. Adult education after the war. op.cit., p. 2

It is noteworthy that an influential figure on the educational policy of those times, like Livingstone, uses terms like the 'untouched' and 'untouchable' in almost the same sense above.

see LIVINGSTONE, R. The future in education. op.cit. pp. 40-4I.

I02. BOARD OF EDUCATION, Educational Reconstruction, op.cit.

I03. Adult education after the war. op.cit. p. 43.

I04. ibid. p. 57.

105. MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, Further Education ...., op.cit. p. 32.

106. ibid. p. 6.

107. Adult education after the war, op.cit., p. 37.

108. SHEARMAN, H. C. op.cit., p. 56.

109. The Ashby Report, op.cit. p. 35, para. 85.

110. ibid. p. 35, para. 86.

111. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE. Adult education: a plan
for development (The Russell Report) - report by a committee of
inquiry appointed by the Secretary of State for Education and Science
under the chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell.
London: H.M.S.O., 1973. p. xi.

112. PEERS, R. Adult education, a comparative study. 3rd edition.
London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972.

113. ibid. p. 112.

114. ibid. p. 117.

115. The Ashby Report. op.cit., p. 17, para. 40.

116. Quoted by the Ashby Report, ibid., p. 9, para. 23.

117. The Ashby Report, ibid. p. 10, para. 24.
also see PEERS, R. op.cit. pp. 97-102 and 119.

118. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., p. 38.

119. The Ashby Report, op.cit., p. 39, para. 97.

120. LOWE, J. Adult Education in England and Wales. op.cit., pp.43-44.
also MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, Circular 61, Revised regulations for
Further Education, August 1945.

121. LOWE, J. ibid. p. 44.   122. ibid.

123. MINISTRY OF RECONSTRUCTION, The 1919 report on Adult Education,
op.cit. p. 110.

124. The Russell Report, op.cit., p. 81, para. 242.
also The Ashby Report, op.cit., pp. 39-40, para. 98-100.
In line with such argument, the Ashby Committee recommended that:
"Local education authorities should be encouraged to aid adult
education by contributing toward the administrative costs of
responsible bodies and by providing accomodation free of charge,
in addition to the direct provision they themselves make."
(Summary and Recommendations, p. 48, para. 120)
also Further Education (Pamphlet No. 8), op.cit., p. 40, para. 93.

125. Further Education (Pamphlet No. 8), ibid.

126. ELLWOOD, C. op.cit., p. 42.

127. Adult education after the war, op.cit., p. 48.

128. ibid. pp. 48-49.

129. Further Education (Pamphlet No. 8), op.cit., p. 32, para. 76.

130. ibid. p. 40, para. 93.

131. ibid. p. 42, para. 99.

132. The Ashby Report, op.cit., p. 37, para. 92.

133. ibid.

134. ibid. p. 16, para. 38.

135. ibid. pp. 13-14, para. 38.

136. ibid. p. 13, para. 30.

137. Adult education after the war, op.cit., p. 49.

138. Further Education (Pamphlet No. 8), op.cit., p. 43, para. 100.

139. ibid.

140. The Ashby Report, op.cit., p. 35, para. 84-86.

also The Russell Report, op.cit., pp. 49-51, para. 149-154.

The Russell Report states:

> "We consider the traditional partnership between statutory and
> voluntary agencies to be a valuable feature of social organisation
> in this country and particularly appropriate to adult education."
>
> (Russell, p. 50, para.153)

141. The 1944 Act. op.cit., Section 41.

142. ibid. Section 42/4.

143. ibid.

144. Further Education (Pamphlet No. 8). op.cit., p. 12, para. 18.

145. ibid., para. 19.

146. see PEERS, R. Adult education, a comparative study. op.cit., p. III.

147. ibid.

148. The Ashby Report. op.cit., p. 17, para. 39.

149. ibid. p. 12, para. 28.

150. see KELLY, T. op.cit., p. 370.

151. UNIVERSITIES COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION. University adult education
in the later twentieth century. London: U.C.A.E., 1970. p. 23.

152. ibid.

153. KELLY, T. op.cit., p. 344.

154. ibid.

155. The Russell Report. op.cit., p. I.

156. ibid.

157. ROGERS, J. and GROOMBRIDGE, B. op.cit.

158. ibid. p. 19.

159. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., pp. 27-28.

160. TOYNBEE, B. 'Relations between adult education-providing bodies
in England', in A. Rogers (ed.), op.cit. p. 85.

161. The 1899 Act, op.cit., article I- (I).

162. HARDIE, J. L. Education and the community: the State and the school.
London: Art and Educational Publishers, January 1947. p. 8.

163. LOWNDES, G. A. N. op.cit., (Graph 'B'), p. 33.

164. ibid. (Graph 'C'), p. 34.

165. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales. op.cit., pp. 23-29.

166. ELWOOD, C. op.cit.

167. ibid. p. 65.

168. ibid. p. 66.

169. TOYNBEE, B. op.cit., p. 86.

170. WILTSHIRE, H. 'Towards co-operation: responsible bodies and the L.E.A.', in A. Rogers, (ed.) op.cit., p. 91.

171. The Russell Report, op.cit. List of recommendations, p. xi. also p. 53, para. 159.

172. ibid. p. 27, para. 81.

173. ibid. pp. 31-32, para. 92.

174. CLYNE, P. The disadvantaged adult: education and social needs of minority groups. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1972. p. 7.

175. ibid.

176. ibid. p. 6.

177. LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales. op.cit. p. 27.

178. RUDDOCK, R. "A time for attack", Adult Education (Britain), Vol. 46, No. 6, March 1974. pp. 372-376.

179. ROGERS, J. and GROOMBRIDGE, B. op.cit., pp. 19-20.

180. Churchil's reply to the resolution sent by Trades Union Congress in February 1953. Quoted by the Asby Report, op.cit. Appendix 8, p. 66.

181. It is reported in some references that Lord Eccles, former Minister of Education, admitted that 'while he appreciated the value of programmes (of adult education) being arranged, he looked upon them as a luxury for which the people should be prepared to pay the economic price.' see LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales, op.cit., p. 35. This has also been ascertained in a more recent study by Rogers and Groombridge, referred to earlier. Amidst their attempt to show the marginality of adult education to British governments, they state that:

> "Lord Eccles was recently big enough to confess, after all these years, that when he was Minister of Education he ought to have done more about adult education. There is no sign as yet that any of his successors recognize that." (Rogers and Groombridge, op.cit.,p. 13)

182. see KELLY, T. op.cit., p. 342.

183. An initial target in the prospects of the Russell Report (1973) is to raise the present number of adult students attending classes from the present level of 2 millions to the double within five or seven years.(The Russell Report. op.cit., pp. x-xi, para. 4-6)

184. TOYNBEE, B. op.cit. p. 86. In this way, Toynbee is recalling Professor Wiltshire's view. see the argument in ROGERS (ed.), op.cit. pp. 99-114.

185. The Russell Report. op.cit., p. x, para. 4.

186. ibid.

187. KELLY, T. A history of adult education ..... op.cit., Figure 2, p. 351.

188. ibid. Figure 3, p. 352.

189. ibid. Figure 9, p. 358.

190. The Russell Report. op.cit., p. 28, para. 83.

also LOWE, J. Adult education in England and Wales. op.cit., p. 44.

also KELLY, T. ibid. p. 343.

191. The statistics of the Russell Report stopped at 1968/1969 due to the difficulty of getting statistics at the national level. The inadequacy of available statistics was hence, condemned although the report recognized sympathetically 'the Department's difficulties in obtaining reliable statistics for a field of education in which categories of institutions, of students and classes and of staff overlap in so many ways'. (The Russell Report, op.cit., p. 138, para. 418, and p. xxii, para. 114).

192. WILTSHIRE, H. and MEE, G. Structure and performance in adult education, London: Longman Group Limited, 1978.

193. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, Circular No. 15/67.

194. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, Circular No. 14/75.

195. WILTSHIRE, H. and MEE, G. op.cit. Table 10.3, p. 100.

196. ibid. p. 101.

197. CORBETT, A. Much to do about education: a critical survey of the fate of the major educational reports. 2nd edition. London: Council for Educational Advance, 1969. p. 1.

198. O. E. C. D. Reviews of National Policies for Education, Educational development strategy in England and Wales. Paris: O.E.C.D., 1975. p. 34.

199. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, Education: a framework for expansion. Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, December 1972. cmd. 5174. London: H.M.S.O. p. 2.

200. ibid. p. 1.

201. O. E. C. D. Educational development strategy ...., op.cit. p. 34.

202. The Russell Report, op.cit., pp. 2-3, para. 8.

203. ibid. p. 16, para. 50.

204. ibid. p. 1, para. 3.

205. ibid. p. 20, para. 61.

206. KELLY, T. "Two reports: 1919 and 1973", Studies in Adult Education (Britain), Vol. 5, No. 2, October 1973. p. 116.

207. WOODS, N. "A framework for co-operative ventures in continuing education", <u>Adult Education</u> (Britain), Vol. 48, No. 3, September 1975. pp. 162-169.

208. ibid.

209. LOWE, J. <u>Adult education in England and Wales</u>. op.cit. pp. 23-29.

210. WILTSHIRE, H. : 'A future of non-vocational adult education', in A. Rogers (ed.), op.cit., p. 100.

211. KELLY, T. "Two reports: 1919 and 1973", op.cit. p. 121. Kelly takes the failure of the Russell Report to deal comprehensively with the field of adult education as contradictory to its being 'a plan for the development of adult education'. He takes this as 'The most serious defect of the Russell Report'.

212. ibid.

213. WILTSHIRE, H. 'A future of non-vocational adult education', in A. Rogers (ed.), op.cit. p. 100.

214. KELLY, T. "<u>Two reports: 1919 and 1973</u>", op.cit., p. 121.

215. LOWE, J. <u>Adult education in England and Wales</u>, op.cit. p. 25.

216. see ibid. p. 39.

217. ibid.

218. ibid. p. 40.

219. <u>The Russell Report</u>, op.cit. p. xi.

220. ibid. pp. 53-54, para. 160.3.

221. Vide supra, pp. 368-371

222. LOWE, J. <u>Adult education in England and Wales</u>. op.cit., p. 41.

223. see vide supra, pp. 380-385

224. PEERS, R. <u>Adult education, a comparative study</u>. op.cit., p. 109.

225. <u>The Ashby Report</u>. pp. 22-23, para. 45-49.

226. WILTSHIRE, H. 'Towards co-operation: responsible bodies and L.E.A.'s', in A. Rogers (ed.), op.cit., p. 92.

227. PEERS, R. <u>Adult education, a comparative study</u>, op.cit., p. 107.

228. ibid.

229. ELWOOD, C. op.cit. p. 93.

230. PEERS, R. <u>Adult education, a comparative study</u>, op.cit. p. 107.

231. ibid. p. 111.

232. ibid.

233. ELWOOD, C. op.cit., p. 92.

234. ibid. p. 91.

235. ibid.

236. PEERS, R. <u>Adult education, a comparative study</u>, op.cit. p. 118.

237. WILTSHIRE, H. 'Towards co-operation: responsible bodies and the L.E.A.'s', in A. Rogers (ed.), op.cit., pp. 92-93.

238. ibid. p. 93.

239. ibid.

240. ibid.

24I. PEERS, R. Adult education, a comparative study. op.cit., pp. II4-II5.

242. Quoted by ELLWOOD, C. op.cit., p. 9I.

243. PEERS, R. Adult education , a comparative study, op.cit., pp.II4-II5.

244. ibid. p. II5.

245. WILTSHIRE, H. 'A future for non-vocational adult education',
in A. Rogers (ed.), op.cit., p. IO3.

246. ibid.

247. ibid. p. IO4.

248. see SHAW, R. 'Controversies', in S. G. Raybould (ed.) Trends in
English adult education, op.cit. p. I85.

249. ibid. p. I86.

250. ibid.

25I. ibid.

252. Quoted by SHAW, R. ibid.