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HUMANISTIC NATIONISM:
A LANGUAGE-BASED MODEL OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO POST-COLONIAL NATIONS

by

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A Thesis Submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto

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WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO POST-COLONIAL NATIONS

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Development theories advanced thus far have dealt with only certain aspects of development, as for example, economic, political and institutional development. They have all ignored the principal actor in the development drama, namely, man. The present thesis, therefore, is an attempt to develop a theory of national (and international) development where both the goal and process of such development is the maximization of humanness.

Invoking the (originally Buddhist) notion of multicausality, and applying a Buddhist analysis, human cultivation is considered in the model as the 'seed condition' of development of post-colonial nations (=third world). The 'homogeneous', or the immediately preceding, condition is proposed to be communication. The 'cooperating conditions' for such communication are language and ideology. The thesis, then, constitutes an examination and expansion of these conditions and related aspects.

The organization of the thesis also follows a 'research paradigm' borrowed from Buddhism. Part I is thus called dukkha, or 'the nature of the problem', characterized in terms of three gaps: the 'widenning gap' between nations, the 'social gap' within nations, and a 'value gap' within and between nations. Part II is samudya, or 'the arising of the problem', seen in relation to the colonial history of PGN's (post-colonial nations), and the continuing neocolonialism. Part III is niruddha 'the possibility of solving the problem'. Here, first of all, the notion of 'human cultivation' is developed on the basis of the Buddhist characterization of the ideal human being in terms of the balanced growth of 'compassion' and 'wisdom'. Next, communication, the homo-
geneous condition of development is analyzed as a simultaneous process, conceptual and linguistic-process. As a process, communication calls for a change in the attitudinal-behaviour continuum of a people. The content of the common ideology needed for such a change is argued to be the dyadic concept of 'humanistic decolonization' and 'humanistic incrementalization', the humanistic component being reflective of the goal of maximizing humanness. Decolonization is the reverse of the historical process of colonization, and incrementalization implies 'going forward in small steps'. Language, as part of being human, both conditions and is conditioned by (to use another Buddhist concept) both a people's perception, and the translation of such perceptions; that is, praxis.

Part IV is magga, 'the solution to the problem'. Given the relationship between language, and perception and praxis, a common language is seen as a necessary condition to unite a people in a common perception and praxis, that is, culture. Thus the next three chapters are taken up by an exercise in Language Planning, specifically, on the issue of selecting a single common language: as between the colonizer's language(s) and endogenous languages, from among the endogenous languages, and as between the upper and mass varieties (technically, 'acrolect' and 'basilect' respectively) of a given language. The final step in the language planning process is to enrich and disseminate the selected basilect in relation to all the unselected linguistic varieties, in an attempt to minimize linguistic, and thereby perceptual and praxic differences. Part IV ends with an examination of the process of achieving humanistic nationalism through language and ideology.

The study concludes with suggestions and strategies for achieving a humanistic learning society in FGN's. While the entire thesis is geared towards the FGN's, it is hopefully not without relevance to the developed world.
PREFACE

At the end of this long and arduous exercise of writing a thesis, what thoughts remain in my mind? In the analysis of man contained in this study (see figure 3.3), based on Buddhism, 'wisdom' and 'compassion', the highest co-ideals of being human, can be achieved only in relation to each other. I have, no doubt, 'grown' in the process of this exercise. That is, I have become more knowledgeable about the world I live in. But can I honestly say that the exercise has been conducive to a maximization of compassion and wisdom in me? I believe the answer is a definite no. These are disturbing thoughts. Is this, then, a commentary upon our educational system? Or, upon the world view that guides our education and the larger society?

Despite such questions, I still feel a sense of satisfaction that, in all humility, I have perhaps been able to make a contribution to facilitate the movement of human society towards increased humanization and to make it a little more just. I started out by wanting to work out an educational language plan for Sri Lanka and ended up developing a model of national development, and proposing praxic guidelines for a 'humanistic world order'. Will my contribution make a difference to the world? Only the future can tell.

With these few remarks, I invite the reader to join me in a search for this better world through these pages. But I would like to caution that it is not an easy path that lies ahead. The reader will encounter not only complex conceptualizations, but neologisms and acronyms as well (see Appendix II), intended for conceptual and structural clarity, but perhaps
discomforting at the beginning. I therefore beg the indulgence of the reader:

Although the study is called 'a language-based model', it is indeed a language and ideology-based model. It is intended to be both an attempt at theorizing about development as well as to provide a plan for 'political' action.

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July 1978
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It is time to think of - and thank - all those who have contributed in bringing this study to a successful completion. My first intellectual indebtedness, of course, is to my thesis Chairman, Dr. Joseph Farrell, for his willingness to share with me his vast storehouse of knowledge on development and social sciences in general and constantly challenging me to provide an evidential base for my often intuitively felt 'arguments'. My acting Chairman, who wishes to remain anonymous, has done so much to facilitate my research and bring it to a successful completion. Dr. Fred Rainsberry and Dr. James Draper, the other two members of my committee, were always more than ready to let me tap their resources and time. To all of them I am thankful.

There are always others one goes to in the intellectual pursuit of thesis writing. Dr. Edmund Brent, then at the Modern Language Centre of the Institute, was one such early source of inspiration and guidance, both in his specialized field of Linguistics as well as in the general area of development. Dr. Gerry Caplan of the Department of History and Philosophy, was another rich resource, particularly on developmental issues. Several other professors have helped me in my work: Dr. Roger Gannon of York University, Dr. Edmund Sullivan and Dr. David Hunt of the Department of Applied Psychology of the Institute, Dr. David Livingston of the Sociology Department, and Dr. C. D. C. Priestly of the Sanskrit and Indian Studies Department of the University of Toronto. Dr. Raymond Lamerand of the Franco-Ontarian Centre of the Institute was one who had a continuing interest in me and my work.
The intellectual mentors - those scholars from whose pioneering work the study has benefited - are innumerable and untraceable. Without their background work, the present study might never have been possible.

It is not only the professors and scholars that become meaningful to one's life in graduate work. There are always the innumerable colleagues who have been a constant source of support, intellectually, socially and in very practical ways. A few of them deserve special mention: Dr. C.K. Seshadri of India, Dr. Gerry Richards of Canada, Steve Ituen of Nigeria, Dr. Prapart Buddhiprabha of Thailand, Grace Wright of Jamaica, Craig Chaudron of the US, Alok Mukherjee of India and Dr. Brent Kilbourne of the Department of Curriculum. It was gracious of my long-standing friend, Dr. Lionel Steiman of the University of Manitoba to have taken time out of his Christmas vacation to go through my thesis for editorial comment. I am thankful to his wife Laura for letting it happen.

If not for the financial assistance of the Institute during the early phase of my work, I may never have undertaken this study. For that, I am immensely grateful. And for providing me with a stimulating environment for graduate study, my gratitude goes to the Modern Language Centre of the Institute, and the University of Toronto.

To Sri Lanka, my native land, I have a special word of thanks - not only for nurturing me, but, in its struggle for survival, for leading me, unconsciously but gradually, towards development issues. It was, however, the peasants of Sri Lanka who rekindled in me, as I worked with them, my confidence in their own capacity for growth, self-reliance and development.

None of the hard work entailed in writing a thesis would ever
see the light of day if not for the patient and diligent work of the typists Eka Ituen, Lucia Downs and Heather Brown have thus contributed immeasurably during the varied phases of this study.

Finally, if there were one human being in this world who has shared with me my moments of truth, inspirations and frustrations, it is none other than my dear wife, Swarna. It must be a destiny of the samsaric life cycle that I was fortunate to have such a wonderful person as my life partner. I thank her for all the comforts she has provided me during these last five years to help me bring the present study to a successful completion.

Children are the other proverbial losers in the thesis writing game. My children were no exception. For the things they have had to forego in life, and those very special things that only a father can give that they have missed over the last five years and for their understanding and acceptance of that reality, my heart goes to my son Manuja and daughter Tamara.

May you be well, and live long in the service of humanity!

Suwanda H.J. Sugunanasi
DEDICATION

To my MOTHER, for her inspiring simplicity and rural naivete.

To my FATHER, who taught me, by example, what John Kennedy has since formalized in the statement, "Do not ask what the country can do for you, but what you can do for your country".

To all my TEACHERS, who have helped me come to where I am today.

To my dear wife SWARNA, who has been not only a 'wife-wife', to fall upon a Buddhist distinction, but also a 'mother-wife', a 'sister-wife', a 'friend-wife' and a 'teacher-wife'.

To all those working towards humanizing this world.
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PART I

DUKKHA *

or

The Nature of the Problem

Chapter One: Introduction: the Three Gaps as the Problem

* See 12.2 for this Pali (see footnote 6, this chapter) term, and other terms introducing each part.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE THREE 'GAPS' AS THE PROBLEM.

1.1 Statement of Intent.

As the title indicates, this is a study of national development, with particular reference to Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Oceania (see map). It is also, however, a study of international development, since my attempt is to propose a 'model' of national development that is applicable to any of the countries in the region identified above, and, for that matter, to any country in the world.

The question of national development has been looked at from several points of view, including the economic, the political, the educational, and the administrative. In addition to the fact that each such theory advocates the development of only its own sector, they all assume that such development will eventually lead to the betterment of the human condition.

The model proposed in this study, on the other hand, views national development as resulting from the maximization of the humanness of the individuals and the group. Based on this premise, the model seeks to provide a framework within which humanness can be maximized in a national setting.

This study seeks to specifically answer three questions:

1. What is 'national development'?
2. Is there a relationship between the 'language policy' of a 'nation' (1.21) and its 'development'? 
3. How do we arrive at, in a given nation or nations in general, a language policy that would maximally contribute to such (individual and national) 'development'? 

In order to facilitate this discussion, two preliminary definitions are in order.

1.2 Definitions.

1.21 Nation and Nationism.

In its generally accepted meaning, a 'nation' is a group of people, living in a defined geopolitical space, and having the characteristic of 'independence', which means that the ultimate legal and political authority lies, technically or in reality, within the given geopolitical boundaries. While this is the conventional meaning of the term, dictionary meanings refer to a sociocultural aspect as well. According to them, people within a given geopolitical boundary come to share, over time, certain behaviour patterns and various psychological and sociological traits; in short, a culture. A nation, then, has a geopolitical aspect and a sociocultural aspect.

1. I am using the term 'language policy' in the sense used in the theory of 'language planning'. See figure 7.1 and the discussion.

2. e.g., Webster's (1964); Oxford (1971).
While the geopolitical boundaries of a new 'nation' might be determined at the time of political independence, its various political, legal and administrative institutions will still require development and integration. One of the tasks for a nation at its birth, then, is to develop a "politico-operational" system (Fishman, 1972: 3) that goes beyond the local levels and primordial interests and concerns. This can be called *politico-operational integration*, and the highest level here I shall call the *polity*.

A nation, at its birth, also inherits collectivities of people with different languages, belief systems, behaviour patterns, psychological and sociological traits, and so on. Thus, another task for a nation is to develop a sociocultural system that goes "beyond primarily local self-concepts, concerns and integrative bonds" (ibid.). This can be called, again following Fishman, *sociocultural integration*. The highest level here I shall call *society*.

The two types, 'sociocultural integration' and 'politico-operational integration' can be together called, for purposes of brevity, *sociopolitical integration*. Ideally, then, a 'nation' is an independent geopolitical space that has achieved total sociopolitical integration. But few countries, if any, will ever achieve this ideal. On the other hand, there are no countries that are not integrated politico-operationally and socioculturally to some extent. Thus, a *nation* must be seen as any independent geopolitical space that lies along a continuum, ranging from near zero to total politico-operational and socio-cultural integration. The goal, and outcome, of such sociopolitical integration can be called, to borrow from Fishman (1968a)
again, nationalism. The concept 'national development', then, relates to the 'development' of a 'nation'.

1.22 'Post-Colonial Nations' and 'core nations'.

The countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Oceania are referred to in the sociological literature as 'transitional societies' or 'traditional societies'. But I have used the term 'society' above in relation to the sociocultural aspect of a nation only. Further, the terms 'traditional' and 'transitional' hardly provide 'objective' criteria, since they are relative concepts. Some countries, for example, may be 'more traditional' or 'more transitional' than others. Further, the term 'transitional' implies that a country is bound in a certain direction and that the present state is only temporary.

The more common label that the media uses is 'the Third World'. But this seems to be losing ground among academic circles in favour of three other labels. Of them, 'developing nations' was the earliest to come into vogue. However, in view of the 'widening gap' between these countries and countries of the Western world (see next section), and the slow economic growth of these countries, the term LDC's (i.e., Lesser Developing Countries) has come to be used by institutions such as the World Bank and the Canadian International Development Research Centre. But, based on the view that this term distorts the reality in these countries in that many of them are getting increasingly poorer as the rich countries get richer (1.3), neo-Marxian writers refer to them as 'underdeveloping countries'.

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While the change in nomenclature from 'developing country' to 'lesser developing country' to 'underdeveloping country' reflects an increasing approximation to reality, they all rely on the term 'development'. Needless to say, this term and concept is defined in many different ways. To some, development is primarily an economic process, while to others it includes political, institutional, administrative, and such other aspects as well. If, for example, development is a political process, does 'political development' refer only to the presence of specific political institutions (e.g., a parliament and a party system)? Or is it "media participation" (Lerner, 1958: 43ff.)? Then there is the notion that 'development is cultural' (Ponsioen, 1968: 11). Thus, any label that includes the word 'development' is bound to be highly problematic.

Perhaps in order to overcome such difficulties, Riggs (1964) has suggested the term 'prismatic society'. This label appears to be clearer and more 'objective' than others. But it relates only to limited societal phenomena, namely, the administrative and the institutional. The economic, cultural and political are ignored. Again, it has the term 'society' as part of it.

In view of the above considerations, it is necessary to look for an alternative term. The one feature common to all but two of the countries under discussion is that they were all under European colonial rule, and that they are now in a 'post-colonial paradigm'. The two exceptions are Thailand and Ethiopia. But as the analysis in chapter two will show, even these countries exhibit features that mark countries that have come under colonial rule. Thus, we can include them, by
extension, in our 'post-colonial' category. European colonialism, then, is fundamental to the historical experience of all the countries we are talking about, and thus provides us with an 'objective' criterion. Independence made these countries 'nations', and their common goal is 'nationism' (1.21). On the strength of this, then, I propose to use the label Post-Colonial Nation to refer to these countries. A 'PCN' (Post-Colonial Nation) can then be defined as a nation characterized by features A, B and C below:

A. **Historical**
   
a. Experience of European colonial rule, and political independence after World War II; or
b. Rule by a lengthy despotism of a local oligarchy or despot.

B. **Social: individual characteristics**

The presence of, among others, the following characteristics:

1. More than one language, and/or such language(s) falling closer to the 'folk' end of a 'folk-aristocratic language continuum' (8.31.3) than to the 'aristocratic' end;

2. Ideological dissensus: that is to say, an inability to agree upon developmental or other societal goals;

3. Extensive poverty, as measured in terms of GNP or GDP; or in terms of physical conditions of the people;

4. Political plurality: that is, where different ethnic groups share at least some common institutions;

5. Administrative inefficiency: that is, an inability to implement goals, policies etc., if identified and formulated;

6. Institutional 'prismaticity' (Riggs, op.cit.): that is to say,
a situation where institutions have begun to diverge, but
the process has not been completed.

C. Social: cumulative index

The presence of characteristics such as the above in the
cumulative form of a 'new colonial situation'; that is, a society
where the masses and elites are divided socio-economically
(cf. 'social gap' (1.3)) and in terms of value orientation
(cf. 'value gap' (1.3)), both of which together come to be associated
with a 'widening gap' (1.3) between PCN's and the 'rich' nations.

Features shown under B are, of course, hardly 'absolute' criteria.
Rather they represent a continuum along which a nation 'moves' back and
forth over time. Needless to say, at any given point in time, PCN's
are at different stages along each such continuum, depending on the many
conditioning factors (e.g., cultural tradition, climatic conditions,
natural resources). The difference between PCN's and western
nations, too, then is a matter of degree.

The definition of PCN's in this manner helps to overcome the
difficulty countries like Australia, Canada, Sweden, Yugoslavia and the
US, as countries which were once colonized themselves, pose. They do
not come under the label PCN, because today they are not marked by
features such as above.

Another advantage of the label PCN is that it can serve to constantly
remind us of the colonial past of these countries, and the dialectical
reality of the situation they are in at the present time.
In contrast to PCN's, there are those countries in the world that have been variantly called, 'rich', 'developed', 'industrialized' or 'modernized'. As Wallerstein (1974) points out, such countries are part of the same "world system" of which PCN's constitute the other part. In this "world system", the relationship of these countries to PCN's is such that the latter 'rotate' around the former; or, put another way, the two types of countries are in a 'periphery' to 'core' relationship (ibid.). Thus in order to remind ourselves of this international relationship which has a bearing on the problem of development examined in this study, I would like to use the label core nations to identify those countries that are generally called 'rich nations'.

Having defined two key labels, we are now ready to examine the nature of the problem for which this study seeks a possible 'solution'.

1.3 Statement of the Problem.

As I see it, the problem of national development in PCN's is tied to three interrelated 'gaps': (1) the 'widening gap' between PCN's and core nations, (2) the 'social gap' between the masses and elites in PCN's, and (3) the 'value gap', between masses and elites, between PCN's and core nations and between what Montessori (1949:119) calls "outward civilization" and "human development". In this section, I shall outline these three gaps, as a prelude to a more detailed discussion in chapter two.

The widening gap between the PCN's and core nations is now common knowledge. It can be dramatically demonstrated by comparing the per
capita GNP of the US and Afghanistan at two different points in time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>USA (US$)</th>
<th>Afghanistan (US$)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2577</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>6200</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Harbison & Myers, 1964:36)

(Time, December 22, 1975)

The economist Rosenstein-Rodan shows further how the gap between the poor and the rich countries has widened since the turn of the century:

In 1900 ... people in poor countries had a per capita income of about one-half that of people in rich countries. By 1970 the per capita income in poor countries was about one-twentieth of that in rich countries, measured in 1900 dollars (or one-fortieth in 1970 dollars) (cited in Barnet & Muller, 1974:190).

Frank (1966) dramatizes this continuing impoverishment in the term "underdevelopment" wherein the PCN's become increasingly disadvantaged in the very same process that the core nations become increasingly advantaged.

This is, of course, not to say that there have been no success stories. Pye (1966:342) has correctly observed that "the story is likely to be a very uneven one marked by successes in some areas and failures in others".

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3. The US and Afghanistan represented the richest and the poorest countries respectively in the study by Harbison & Myers whose figures are used here.

4. There is no particular significance of the two dates for which figures are given, except that the Harbison & Myers' study happens to relate to 1950 and that 1975 seems a good year to compare it with, because it is twenty-five years apart.
Some such gains have even led Horyath & Horvath (n.d.:71) to predict a "narrowing of the gap to begin ... by the turn of the century or thereabouts". But even if such hopes were to come true, "the gap is going to widen further" as Horvath & Horvath (ibid.:4) themselves agree for at least over half a century before it "ceases to widen" (italics in original).

The point, then, is that the 'widening gap' is at least a present reality, with no indications of its closing in the near future.

In addition to this 'widening gap', there is also the social gap (Deutsch, 1953) within each PCN. By this is meant the difference that exists between the different segments in society in the spheres of economics, politics, and so on. As is evident from the literature, the conditions in these countries increasingly separate mass from elite and country from town. Furthermore, the elite continues to 'underdevelop' the masses (supra), economically, politically, culturally, and linguistically. The 'social gap', then, relates not just to the question of bread and butter, or better perhaps, of yams and peas. It is better described as a situation wherein many factors are, to introduce a basic Buddhist concept, in a conditioned origination (Pali 6 paticca samuppada).

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5. Among such gains are: the increase in per capita calorie consumption at the bottom of the society in Saudi Arabia (Barnet & Muller, op.-cit.: 209), the increase of the rate of agricultural production exceeding population growth (Pye, op.-cit.:342) and the rise of the average international economic growth rate from the "historical rate" of 4.4 percent to 5.25 in 1960-70 (Chenery & Carter, 1973:461).

6. Pali is the language in which the teaching of the Buddha has been handed down.
(see 1.44 for this graphic representation)) relationship with each other.\(^7\) By 'conditioned origination' is meant both (a) **multicausality** (naːnaːheːtukuːawaːdɔ'), that is, that every event in nature results from the coming together of several 'co-factors', and (b) **circular causality** where an event A, which comes to result from the presence of such co-factors, itself serves as a co-factor, or a **necessary** condition, for event B which had 'originally' served as a 'necessary' condition for A.\(^8\)

Thus, for example, Hinder (1967) talks of several simultaneous crises: "crises of communal identity, of governmental legitimacy, of institutional penetration, of organizational participation, of political integration and distribution of resources". O'Brien (1972:362) refers to a "tendency to moral anarchy in underdevelopment". All these, then, are in a 'conditioned origination' relationship with each other, and reflect, or are aspects of, the 'social gap'.

The 'widening gap' and the 'social gap' are relatively well-known phenomena in the development literature. But there is another which is little recognized. This is what I have referred to as the 'value gap'. Perhaps the first recognition of this gap comes from a field only recently associated with development, namely education.

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8. A 'necessary condition' prevails, as explained in Buddhism and modern Western scholarship (Jayatilleka, 1963:449), when an event A, for example, comes to be present when, and only if, B is present (along with other co-factors). By the same token, the absence of B ensures the absence of A.
In emphasizing the need for "education for peace", Maria Montessori (op.cit.:119), for example, hints at this gap, in the following words:

A characteristic feature of our time is the gap between the high level reached by our outward civilization ... and the low level of human development, which has been raised very little since the earliest days of mankind.

By 'outward civilization' Montessori means all the advances made by man in the fields of knowledge, technology, institutions, etc. But what is 'human development'? I shall give an extended characterization of this later (see 3.31), but, as suggested in the quote from Montessori, it is evident that 'human development' must include some 'inward', or non-material aspect of our life. Let us call it the 'value system'.

Drawing upon philosophy, we can say that a value system consists of all the 'principles' and 'rules' internalized by us, as individuals or collectivities, in dealing with our fellow humans in our day to day social transactions. The difference between the (quality of) advances made by man in his value system and the (quality of) advances made by him in his outward civilization, then, may be called a value gap.

This is the first sense in which the concept 'value gap' is used here. Its second meaning refers to the difference between the value orientations of the (ex-) colonizer on the one hand and that of the (ex-) colonized on the other. Traditional society can be said to be marked by cooperative behaviour. The core nations, by contrast, have

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9. A 'rule' is "a prescribed guide for conduct or action" (Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol.7:231). A 'principle' is a conceptual guide within which a given rule falls.

10. Riggs (op.cit.:82), for example, characterizes African society in
been characterized in terms of a "cultural centrality of possessive individualism" (Arrighi & Saul, 1973:11) (see 2.22.1 for a discussion). This meant that there is a wide difference in value orientation between PCN's and core nations.

A third sense of the term 'value gap' refers to the difference in value orientation between the masses and the elites within a PCN, as the latter came to be 'black-skinned white-masks' (Fanon, 1952).

There are, then, three senses in which the term 'value gap' is used here. The bane of PCN's, and indeed of the whole world are these three gaps, which, working in combination, have resulted in a "war of all against all" -- the poor and the rich nations against each other, the poor nations among themselves (e.g., the Arab nations), the different social forces within the same country "confronting each other nakedly" (Huntingdon, 1968:96), and even members of the same 'clan' or 'family' in conflict with each other, as they are pulled in different

terms of "reciprocity" and "redistribution". Robinson (1975:62-80) characterizes Buddhist Sri Lanka in terms of "systems of cooperative labour" that govern all work relationships. Vreeland et al. (1975:472) refer to the practice of "mutual aid" (gotong rojong) in Islamic Indonesia.

11. Among the better known examples here are Lebanon, Biafra, Bangla Desh and Sri Lanka.

12. Cf., for example, between Lerner's (op.cit.) Chief of Balgat on the one hand and the Grocer of Balgat or the Chief's son on the other,
directions, by conflicting value positions, economic orientations and political sympathies, and even in personal frustrations. 13

Clearly such an antagonistic climate is hardly in the best interests of individuals, individual nations, international relations or of world peace and prosperity.

If the possibility of such personal and individual, national and international conflicts is to be averted, between and among individuals, social classes and nations, it becomes imperative that the gulf be minimized, if in fact it cannot be completely done away with. And if, poverty and social disintegration, moral degradation, etc. are neither necessary nor inevitable, then it becomes the task of those concerned with the problem to work towards making this belief come true. The present study is a step in that direction.

1.4 Explanatory Notes.

1.41 A multidisciplinary approach.

The subject of development has traditionally been the sole preserve of economics and political science. But in this study, I shall draw upon several disciplines including development theory, language planning theory and Buddhism. Economics will have only a minimum contribution to make. While this reflects my own limited background, the present approach is not conditioned by that alone, or even primarily by that. Rather, it reflects a recognition of the narrowness of the approaches to development proposed and applied so far, and of the need for a shift.

13. Note, for example, the cases of mental disorders resulting from the Algerian war of national liberation, reported by Fanon (1963:249ff.).
of emphasis from the 'economic man' and 'political man' to 'man in his totality'.

Theories of development, as well as general scholarship, seem to have, at least until recently, suffered from a myopic-vision. There has been a strange, but perhaps understandable, reluctance on the part of scholars in a given discipline to draw upon or seek out advances in other disciplines. One of the major incentives for, and the goals in originating the present study, then, has been the need for bringing together the disciplines and concepts relevant to the subject of development.

1.42 Terminology.

The application of knowledge from different disciplines, however desirable, brings along its own problems. One such is that while the concepts and terminology of each such discipline may be common knowledge to scholars in the given discipline, they may strike scholars of other discipline as strange, obfuscative, or even turgid. The linguistic term 'morpheme' is a good example. While it is a basic tool of the linguist, the political scientist, for example, cannot be expected to know it. However, it is a term that can hardly be avoided in talking about language. Given the task of building interdisciplinary bridges, however, I have had no choice but to use the accepted terminology of the different disciplines.

The many neologisms introduced in this study may be another source of difficulty for the reader. While they may appear unnecessary, particularly when first introduced, it will gradually become evident that they serve to bring an overall coherence. For example, the neologism 'acropetal orientation' has been used in 2.21.2 in relation
to people (and society). While it may render understanding a little
difficult when first introduced, it will be seen that the label makes
more sense, and renders the concept more coherent, when in 2.3 and 9.3
the label 'acrolect' (originally introduced by the linguist Stewart
(1965) in describing a variety of language), is encountered later,
since the morpheme 'acro-' occurs in both.

1.43 Theory, data and praxis.

As may be evident already, this is a theoretical study. However,
it is not an abstract model of national development unrelated to reality
and which has little or no practical value. Indeed it is an attempt
both to provide a theoretical framework against which available empiri-
cal data can be organized, understood and evaluated, as well as to
provide an alternate and 'praxic' model of national development which
can be applied to real life situations. It is praxic to the extent
that the model itself provides the mechanism through which it can be
applied, that is, in translating thought (read: theory) into action.
To the extent that the model is formulated on the basis of available
empirical evidence and in a manner that helps organize and evaluate
them, the model (outlined in 3.4) can be said to recognize the cyclical
relationship between data and theory.

1.44 Graphic representation of non-English terms.

There are in the study words that are not English and do not belong
to other western languages. These are, primarily, the Pali words
associated with Buddhist concepts employed in the study. There is thus the
question of how best to render such words into graphemic form.
Pali has no script of its own, and western scholars of Buddhism have developed a script using Roman letters and 'diacritical marks' in presenting Pali material to the western reader. This alphabet, which can be called the Pali Text Society Alphabet, or PTSA for short, can be adopted for our study as well. But while the PTSA allows a fairly accurate rendering, it does not allow as accurate a rendering as another, the International Phonetic Alphabet, or IPA, does. Given this, and the international nature of IPA, it would appear reasonable to use the more accurate IPA in transcribing non-western terminology, particularly when one of the incidental goals in the study is the building of inter-disciplinary bridges (supra). For those who are not familiar with the IPA, it is given in the Appendix.

1.5 Summary and Lead-On.

In this chapter, I have sought to introduce the reader to the problem I am concerned with in this study, namely, the problem of national development in PCN's. I have also made use of the chapter to give some initial definitions, and to provide some explanatory notes. We are now ready to examine in more detail some of the issues relating to national and international development. The next chapter is the first step in this further examination.

14. The Pali Text Society is the pioneer British organization responsible for introducing Buddhism to the English reader.

15. For example, in Sinhala, the majority language in Sri Lanka, the difference between the word for 'oyster' and 'neck' lies in the final vowel sound. While the IPA allows this difference to be shown /belːa/ (slant lines indicate a phonemic rendering, i.e., how it is pronounced) versus /belːə/ (respectively), PTSA would render both as /belːə/. As another example, the (retroflex) /w/ in Pali /karuṇā/ 'compassion' (see 3.31 for this concept) is not phonemic, but comes to be rendered as a retroflex in the PTSA.
PART II

SAMUDAYA

or

The Arising of the Problem

Chapter Two: The New Colonial Situation and

Communicative Underdevelopment
CHAPTER TWO

THE NEW COLONIAL SITUATION AND COMMUNICATIVE UNDERDEVELOPMENT

... the Global Corporation has hit upon the "win-win" situation.

-- claim made by the global corporation (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:64).

"'tis fun and frolic', goes the lobster,
swimming in the pot;
'til the firewood catches fire
(and makes the water hot).

-- sixteenth century Sinhalese poet-monk Wewaagama Maitrya, in lowa qe sagarswe.

2.1 Introduction.

What affects sociopolitical integration in Post-Colonial Nations today was seen in 1.3 in terms of the social and value gaps, both of which were in a conditioned origination relationship (1.3) with each other, as well as with the widening gap. We should therefore examine the nature of PCN society today, in more detail than was done in 1.3, in order that we may propose later ways and means of minimizing these gaps. That in essence is my task in this chapter.

2.2 The New Colonial Situation.

To understand the nature of PCN societies, one must examine their colonial history in its relationship to the present. Just as the colonial population, together with the colonial power, formed a system during the colonial period (Balandier, 1951:44), so today the PCN's
and the rest of the world form a "world system" (Wallerstein, op.cit.).

This global situation is directly related to the widening gap between nations discussed above (1.3), as the "ongoing process of a world-economy tends to expand the economic and social gaps [read: the 'widening gap'] among its varying areas in the very process of its development" (ibid., 350). Since the widening gap is in a conditioned origination relationship to the social and the value gaps, the global situation can be said to condition these other gaps as well. The question of national development must therefore be examined in relation to this world-system in its historical development.

As a result of the colonial experience, PCN's developed a new social structure, wherein a minority, made up of a cluster of interest groups, which I shall call the 'composite aristocracy' (2.21), were in a colonial-type relationship with the numerical majority, the masses. This 'internal colonialism' (2.21) is locked in with an 'external colonialism' (2.22) of the core nations and the global corporations. The two - internal and external colonialism - are in a conditioned origination relationship, because PCN's are part of the world system of which the other part are the core nations. Thus, this relationship has resulted in a 'new colonial situation' in PCN's where the features (some, if not all) of a colonized society prevails without the physical presence of the colonizers, who now have been replaced by the composite aristocracy.

2.21 Internal Colonialism and the Emergence of the Composite Aristocracy

In this section, I shall demonstrate how a cluster of interest groups in PCN's have come together to make up the solid 'class', which, for this very reason, I have called the composite aristocracy.
Contrasted with them are the 'masses'. This division can be seen both at the rural and urban levels. The emergence of class divisions will therefore be examined in this section under two headings: 'the rise of rural colonialism' (2.21.1) and 'the rise of urban colonialism' (2.21.2).

The analysis of PCN society here, the reader must be forewarned, will not fit all PCN's in all its aspects. But every aspect of my description will fit at least some of the PCN's. Thus, what I present here is a sort of 'generalized model' of PCN's.

2.21.1 The rise of rural colonialism.

Many changes came about in lands colonized by the western powers, as evidenced from the massive literature on the subject (see 1.3 for some references). Among them were two that are of importance to our present discussion. One was the commercialization of agriculture when cash crop farming was begun, in place of, or in addition to, the traditional subsistence farming. The second was the 'commercialization' of land.

Traditionally, land ownership passed from family to family, and land was not a 'commodity' that could be bought or sold for cash. Neither of these features were, of course, necessarily introduced by the colonizers. In some lands, in fact, the seeds of such commercialization had already been sown. Precolonial lands were at varying levels of sociopolitical integration (see, e.g., Coleman (1960:254-6); Fishman (1966c). The process of commercialization of agriculture and land could thus have emerged and continued to grow in precolonial times, as they progressed in sociopolitical integration beyond the primordial levels. However, there is no doubt that the phenomena gained new pro-
portions under the impact of colonialism, both during and after the colonial period.

Let us take the commercialization of agriculture. Most traditional villages were self-sufficient, and production was for local consumption. At a slightly higher level of sociopolitical integration, there were a few 'imports', but such 'imports' were primarily non-agricultural items (e.g., tools, utensils, ornaments, etc.). Transportation was not easy, and whatever 'commercial' produce there was in a village did not go to 'markets' beyond the nearby centers.

There were changes in this situation during the colonial period. Agricultural produce was no longer for local consumption. Most of it, if not all, was produced for the international market. Colonial policy was consciously geared to this. This meant that extensive amounts of land and large numbers of people came to be involved in commercial agriculture. In precolonial times, those producing items for out of the village knew personally (directly or indirectly) where the produce went. But no longer was it the case. The link between the producer and the consumer was broken, and production for an impersonal market had begun.¹

The broken link between the consumer and producer continued after independence as well. At independence, PCN's inherited the export-economy introduced by the colonizer, and few national governments sought to change this economic structure, and the produce still went to the international market. However, now some of the produce (same or other)

¹. This was encouraged by the fact that the surplus was of little use, to the producers or consumers, unless it could be sold out.
went to the national market as well. This was the produce needed by the new government to feed the people. The colonial government also had the task of feeding the people. Either because the entire country had not come under colonial rule, or because the colonial government as conscious policy, let the 'rurality', that is, the rural areas, feed itself, or because there was a high reliance on imports, the village produce did not end up in the central, or regional, granaries. But now, as one of the avowed responsibilities of the new government, the entire country had to be fed, and more of the village produce ended up in the national impersonal market.

The increasing commercialization of agriculture and the ensuing impersonalization of the market meant that in contrast to traditional times, production was increasingly determined by non-local market conditions. Although the trend began with agriculture, it had now spread to other commodities as well. This trend was influenced by another factor, namely, the centrism that went hand in hand with the rise of 'statism', which in turn resulted from the establishment of the new state.

Although precolonial lands were at different levels of sociopolitical integration, only a few of them had reached the higher levels of integration. Colonization, of course, had brought about more intercommunication in some countries, primarily through the introduction of

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2. The Indian sub-continent was one of these few examples, where "the network of relationships, the traditional bases for communication, was amazingly large, given the vastness and diversity of the area. There was a network of trade and commerce. Not only did the villages trade with other nearby villages and towns, but trade caravans brought goods from one part of the sub-continent to another. They were all transported across the country and by sea to other parts of the world" (Weiner, 1960:231).
the railway and the media, so that by independence, there had arisen an "intermediate stage" of communication (Weiner, ibid:232).3 However, there were still large numbers of small communities within any given country. Furthermore, there were people who had come to belong to a given PCN as a result of the arbitrary boundaries drawn at independence. Then there was the divide and rule policy of the colonists. All these contributed to the lack of sociopolitical integration and communication.

While the level of sociopolitical integration and inter-communication in PCN's were such, the PCN's had been, to use Senghor's phrase, "condemned to independence". There was now no choice but to become "one nation ... indivisible"4 and integrate socioculturally the different groups living within the geopolitical unit. This task was taken on almost with a vengeance by the early political elites, i.e., the local political leaders into whose hands fell the reins of government at independence, who had been initiated into the nationalist orientation. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, the French and the Belgians were all very well established as 'nations' by the time they left the colonies. It was this nationalist orientation of the colonists that the early elites inherited at independence. Each PCN, by definition, was a single geopolitical unit, or 'polity', but there was no single sociocultural unit, or 'society' (1.21) that exactly corresponded

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3. Weiner characterizes such a stage as one in which "the society is neither so underdeveloped that the communication network and the network of personal relationships coincide perfectly, nor so developed that everyone gets some information from the mass communication network".

4. The allusion here is to the American pledge of allegiance to "one nation, under God, indivisible".
with this geopolitical reality. Developing a 'society' to correspond to the 'polity', in other words, developing a 'nationism', then, was the avowed, or implied, task of the early political elites.

If nationism was to become a reality, there had to be a mechanism through which it could be achieved. The logical and the only available contender was the Western-type state which had existed in colonial times and had been inherited at Independence. In most countries, there was no other locally developed national-level machinery to meet the challenge. There had never been a need for any. A 'country', if the notion existed, consisted of individual groups, generally speaking, who managed their affairs locally. In countries with a Great Tradition (see, e.g., Fishman, 1968c), there had been a locally developed state machinery in precolonial times, but this had been replaced by the Western model. The king had been replaced by the Governor-General, the local custom-based legal system had been replaced by the highly formalized and codified Roman-Dutch or British or French law, and the local 'Assembly of Chiefs' (e.g., the Panchayat of India) had been replaced by a centralized Parliament. Thus, the task of developing national sociopolitical integration was left to the Western-type state.

Thus, PCN's were, at independence, 'lands' governed by a 'state'. But the passing of the state to the hands of the early political elites soon resulted in an increasing statism, or an almost exclusive centralization of power and authority in the state. The model provided for the early elites, not only by the departing colonizers but by the anti-colonial communist nations as well, called for a strong and central governing structure.
It was this statism and the centrisation, along with the impersonalisation of the market, then, that resulted in production being increasingly conditioned by the non-local market. Not only was food to be distributed centrally, but everything else was to be controlled centrally as well. The hub of activity was the metropolis, and all production came to be geared to meet the needs of the national metropolis, and gradually, of the now expanding middle class.

One result of this was a new outlook, a new attitude of mind, to ignore one's immediate environment, and to focus on the world away from oneself. Such an attitude, I shall call an exopetal orientation. As observed, in precocial times, few, if any, were involved in producing for a non-local market. During the colonial period, the number of people and the amount of land involved in meeting the needs of an impersonal market had increased. It was still a limited phenomenon, however, primarily restricted to those directly engaged in such production. But the new statism required that every part of the country and

5. Some sort of evidence for the presence of such an orientation in a general population comes, at the psychological level, from studies on Kohlberian stages, where an individual at a given stage prefers statements above his own as 'more moral' (Turow, 1966:614). By implication then, this means that he feels 'guilty' about his own level. But this is as far as we can extend this evidence. However, there are enough examples of this orientation in the sociological literature. An example are the Adi tribes of India, whose "educated members are seeking opportunities outside the hill areas" (Shinn et al., 1970:126). The campesinos of Venezuela provide another example: "Because the rural areas are not isolated, all of the image of the good life of the city comes through to the remotest regions and acts as a powerful attraction .... When the score is reckoned as to the facilities available in the village, the campesino feels that he cannot possibly be any worse off in the city... If he cannot buy goods in the city, he can at least see them. If he cannot get the best medical attention in the city, at least he is assured of a minimal service.... With nothing to lose, the campesino comes to the city." (McGinn and Davis, 1969:11)
every segment of the population produce for the national impersonal market. Thus, although the beginnings of the 'exopetal orientation' may have been present as early as the precolonial times, it came to be firmly established during the post-colonial period.

The commercialization of agriculture and of produce in general (whatever period of history it occurred), brought in its wake another development. It put money into the hands of people. Traditionally, the form of exchange was barter, and this did not allow for flexibility for the 'buyer' or the 'seller'. Produce was exchanged for produce, or for a unit of exchange that came to be uniform in the community(ies) involved, such as, for example, cattle. Neither produce nor cattle could be come by easily, and nor could they be easily carried. Such limitations also restricted trade and exchange to the immediate community(ies) and to a few items. Money, by contrast, allowed a 'freedom' that was unavailable before. It could be carried anywhere, and it could be exchanged for anything. Commercialization thus allowed for what might be called a freedom of cash. Again, while this phenomenon may have had its beginnings in the precolonial period, it was only during the colonial period that it became firmly established. The only currency of exchange used at the international market was actual money, (e.g., gold), or 'symbolic money', (e.g., bank drafts). And it was this form of exchange that the colonizers used almost exclusively. The post-colonial state, as being part of the 'world-system', did not see a need to or could not, change the pattern.

While the 'freedom of cash' put money into the rural economy, one particular class of people benefited from it more than others. These were the village traders. They had started out as house-to-house vendors,
taking to the villagers the produce of the village itself, and, as trade with neighbouring communities began, produce from such neighbouring communities. With the increasing freedom of cash, they now began to provide not only the bare necessities, but such 'luxuries' as a hot beverage, something to chew on or sniff at, sweetmeats for children, household articles (e.g., brooms, cooking utensils, oil), ornaments for the women, and so on. He was still meeting the 'felt', or the 'potential' needs of the community. However, with increasing cash flowing into his hands, his eyes were now increasingly cast on non-local products as well. If the exocetal orientation had brought about an attitude of mind to produce for the non-local market, a reverse trend also became part of this orientation. There was an increasing desire, particularly, though not exclusively, among those involved in 'export' production, for products of non-local origin. As an 'entrepreneur', the trader, had, almost by definition, a 'smell' of things to come, and he was fast to exploit the 'niche'\(^6\). The freedom of cash had put money into the hands of some villagers as well, and there was more profit to be made, as the trader came to increasingly realize, in selling imported items.\(^7\)

Gradually, he began to create needs in the community, as his store - which by now had been opened to handle the increasing volume of business - came to stock up items of non-local origin as well. Soon his store was

\(^6\) A 'niche' is a term from biology which means 'the point of entry into a system'.

\(^7\) First of all, only the trader knew the price he paid for the item. Secondly, he could add to his cost any amount he pleased as cost of transportation. Thirdly, it was the wealthier among the villagers who primarily bought his imported items, and were thus willing to pay the price to maintain their social status.
no longer the 'dingy hole' it had been. Its shelves now displayed what Arrighi & Saul (op.cit,:15) call "discretionary" items: more fashionable clothes, radios, watches and so on. The "Grocer of Balgat" (Lerner, op.cit.) had come into existence in full force, all over the country.

The grocer, then, benefited most from the freedom of cash, and the exopetal orientation stemming from the commercialization. And, as the exopetal orientation took firm root in the rurality, the number of grocers increased, in each community and in the country at large, thus giving rise to a merchant class. As a class, they were 'different' from the masses in at least two respects. They were wealthy, and their lives, more than anybody else's in the rurality, were governed by the increasing exopetal orientation.

The rise of a merchant class, then, was the most important outcome of the commercialization of agriculture, and the economy in general.

8. The wristwatch seems to have become a status-symbol all over the world. The middle class, particularly in the urban areas, are seen frantically saving to buy one, even though, as in the traditional PCN societies, it is hardly functional, punctuality being not part of the cultural pattern of behaviour, even among the westernized elites. On the lighter side, it is not uncommon to find, e.g., a Lankan woman-teacher to embarrassingly admit, on being asked for the time, that her watch is not working. (It hasn't been for months.) In People's China, one of the few 'luxuries' that everyone seemed to sport, is a watch (personal observation).

9. The reference here is to a man in the village of Balgat in Turkey where the sociologist Lerner carried out his research on societal change. The Chief of Balgat symbolized everything traditional while the Grocer was the epitome of all that was 'modern', or, in terms of my characterization, of the exopetal orientation.

10. Naturally, there were other factors that contributed to it as well. One such was the diversification of needs, roles etc. in society, and another was the increasing role played by money in society.
Let us now examine the process and outcome of the 'commercialization' of land, the other change that came about under the impact of colonialism (supra).

Traditionally, land belonged to the sovereign, where there was a sovereign (e.g., Sri Lanka), or to the community, collectively (e.g., parts of Africa). Whatever land in the former case that was not owned by the sovereign was owned by the "prebendaries" (Weber), 11 that is, the recipients of land-grants in return for services rendered to the emperor. Land-ownership, whether of the prebendaries or of the community collectively, however, changed hands from family to family, or within the collectivity. Land was not, as observed, a saleable commodity.

This came to be changed drastically under colonialism. The colonizers, as outsiders, had no land in the colony, and had to acquire it, either by force or by tributes to a local ruler. As colonial influence and control came to be extended, the commercialization of land proceeded apace. Land was now available to 'outsiders', and was exchangeable for cash. Again, the practice may have been in vogue in certain countries in precolonial times as well, but certainly nowhere was it widespread to the extent it came to be during the colonial period. Under the impact of colonialism, then, the 'land-for-cash' phenomenon became widespread, as segments of the colonized population also caught on to the idea, either as buyers or sellers.

Among the first to 'get into the act' were the merchants. They were the ones who had the money. Then there were the few farmers who

11. Weber uses this term to mean "office-holders" who have the right to "yield from state or church lands or from other public income" (Wallerstein, op. cit., 57, footnote 158).
had benefited from the commercialization of agriculture and who could spare a little money. There were also the prebendaries who already had some land, but would have liked to own some more in order not to be outdone by the emerging land-owners, or some choice land in lieu of what they presently owned. There was a fourth type, who began buying land: "the resident-agent of the long-distance merchants ... who capitalized on poor communication and hence high disparities of price from one area to another" (Wallerstein, op. cit.:19). A fifth was the middle-man between the tiller and the state, as e.g., the zamindars of India. Finally, there were the money-lenders.

If these were among the potential buyers of land, there were also the potential sellers. There were, first of all, the prebendaries themselves who were selling land, either in order to buy choice land, or because they simply had too much. Then there were the peasants forced to sell off their land, bit by bit, in their struggle for survival.

The land-for-cash trend thus matched well with the newly-found freedom of cash, and this gave rise to another 'class' of people - the land-owning class. Again, as in the case of merchants, they were not a 'class' in terms of an organized segment of the population, but because they were different from the masses. Unlike the masses, they did not have to work in the land. In the first place, they had too much land to work on personally, and secondly, they had enough money to hire wage labour. Another feature of this land-owning class was that they did not have to depend on the land exclusively. They did not have to starve if a crop failed, or if a particular tract of land was not productive. Further, their lives, perhaps next to that of the merchants,
were the most governed by the exopetal orientation - they were the most likely customers for the goods of non-local origin.

By independence, the establishment of a land-owning class was a fait accompli, and the major 'change' that took place in the post-colonial period was that the land-owning class became even more solidly entrenched, as the need for increasing food production arose and the state offered more incentives for such food production.

The outcome of the twin phenomenon of the commercialization of agriculture and the commercialization of land that took place or gathered momentum under the impact of colonialism was thus the rise of two distinct classes: the merchants and the land-owners. Taken together, the two - who were not uncommonly one and the same - constituted what may be called the rural elite. This elite, but particularly the merchant, was gaining in respectability as well. They had overshadowed the village chief (Lerner, op.cit.) and the Grocer's store was the new 'community centre'. People gathered there for a hot beverage or smoke, or for a chat, or to gather the latest gossip, or to 'tune in' to what Lerner (ibid.:52) calls the "mobility multipliers" (the radio, the newspaper) which had now been introduced to the store as a symbol of prosperity, or merely to squat and gaze at the empty sky after a hard day's work (or no work). The grocery store was not only the 'community centre' (replacing the temple, the church, the chief's or the shaman's house), but was also the first, or usually the only, link to the outside world - the psychological resting place for an 'exopetalized' community.

Peasant society was now neatly divided into two distinct socio-economic classes: the 'rural elites' made up of the merchants and the landowners on the one hand, and the masses on the other. The rise of com-
mercialization (of agriculture and of land) had thus led to a further division of PCN society.

There were several outcomes of this class division. One of them was that more and more land was getting into the hands of a few nouveaux riches. In this very same process, more and more peasant masses were losing land. Thus the amount of land available for the peasant masses, for subsistence agriculture or cash crops, was dwindling. With less food produced by themselves, they had to depend on food produced by others. And this needed money. But since they did not have enough land to produce cash crops, they could not earn enough money. Caught in a vicious circle, entire villages, or large numbers of people in a village, ended up working for the few land owners.

The peasant masses were losing out to the 'rural elites' in terms of money as well. Those among the peasantry who still had land often did not have enough money to cultivate it. It was to the rural elites (among whom also had arisen the money-lender) they had to turn. Thus, while the rural elites became increasingly wealthy, the peasants became increasingly poor in the same process.

It was not only people who were affected by this situation. Land, too, was affected. Most of the land-owners had other sources of income as well, and, as such, did not have to depend entirely for their livelihood on the land they owned. The land thus came to be neglected. Further, it was the owning of land that was socially functional, and not necessarily its actual income. Thus, as Weiner (op.cit.:165) points out, their "capital was put to the purchase, and not the development, of land".
Land still owned by the peasant masses suffered as well. This land could not be properly developed because of increasing poverty, the gradual erosion of the rural work force due to the attractions of the city (see 2.21.2 for a discussion), and such other factors.

Both the rural masses and the rurality itself, then, came to be underdeveloped in the very same process of the rise of the rural elite. This is a situation that can be characterized as a rural colonialism. Balandier (op.cit.:54-5) characterizes "the colonial situation" in terms of five "most general" conditions. They are:

1. the domination imposed by a foreign minority, racially (or ethnically) and culturally different, acting in the name of a racial (or ethnic) and cultural superiority dogmatically affirmed, and imposing itself on an indigenous population constituting a numerical majority but inferior to the dominant group from a material point of view;

2. this domination linking radically different civilizations into some form of relationship;

3. a mechanized, industrialized society with a powerful economy, a fast tempo of life, and a Christian background, imposing itself on non-industrialized, "backward" society in which the pace of living is much slower and religious institutions are most definitely "non-Christian";

4. the fundamentally antagonistic character of the relationship between these two societies resulting from the subservient role to which the colonial people are subjected as "instruments" of the colonial power; and

5. the need, in maintaining this domination, not only to resort
to "force", but also to a system of pseudo-justifications and stereotyped behaviours.

Of these conditions, while only condition three is completely inapplicable to the situation we are describing, only a few changes have to be made to make the rest applicable. Taking condition one, for example, while we are not talking of a "foreign" minority, we are certainly talking of a minority. While this minority is not racially or ethnically different, they are different 'culturally'. The increasing wealth and the freedom of cash, the ability to hire wage labour, the lack of exclusive dependence on land and the exopetal orientation all serve to make the rural elite 'culturally' different from the masses. The rural elites can be said to be "imposing itself" on the "numerical majority" in the sense that it is the will of the minority that determines the nature of the relationship between the two segments of population. For example, what the masses produce and for whom they work was not a decision to be made by the masses, but rather by the rural elites on whom their survival depended.

Taking condition two, we see that while the two "civilizations" involved here were not "radically different", they were different enough, as was observed above in relation to culture, to set apart the rural elites from the masses. It was only a matter of time, as we shall see in the next section, before the culture of the rural elites, when compared to that of masses, came to be much more different than at the time under discussion. To take the other component of condition two, there is no question that the masses and the rural elites were "linked" in "some form of relationship". As observed, while the rural elites were 'developing', or growing, economically and politically,
in the very same process, the masses were underdeveloping. It is indeed the same relationship, for example, that Stavenhagen (1968) sees as holding between Latin American countries and the West.

Moving over to the fourth condition, while this relationship was not of a "fundamentally antagonistic character" of the order seen in relation to a foreign colonizer, the relationship was an 'antagonistic' one, psychologically speaking. The attitude of a landless and moneyless peasantry towards the few rich in the rurality could hardly be otherwise. And indeed the masses played only a "subservient role". Finally, coming to condition five, the rural elites can be said to have used "force" in maintaining their domination, in the sense that the masses were kept in economic and 'political' subjugation. The economic subjugation inherent in the situation discussed above is obvious when the entire village ended up working for a few landowners, and became, as the literature shows, increasingly poor. Robinson (op. cit.:108) gives an example of the political subjugation, through political control, of the villagers, by the rural elites in a village in Sri Lanka.

The above discussion, then, shows how well the situation pertaining to the rural elites and the masses in FCN's matches with classical colonialism. It is on the basis of such similarities that we can call the situation discussed in the past few pages a 'rural colonialism'. In this 'colonialism', the household of the rural elites make up the (rural) 'metropolis', while the rest of the village serves as the (rural) 'satellites'.

As we shall see in the next section, this 'rural elite' constitutes one of the components of the 'composite aristocracy', and the 'rural colonialism' constitutes the lowest link in the dependency chain of the
'international metropolis-satellite pyramid' (figure 2.2).

2.21.2 The rise of urban colonialism.

We have so far seen the emergence of the rural elites. Another class that came to be identified in the process of the emergence of the rural elites was the 'early political elites', that is, those into whose hands political power was transferred at independence. Their 'emergence' was almost complete by independence. These early political elites had been either educated in the colonial country, or were part of the colonial political machine (e.g., as local representatives in the parliament), or had the experience of interacting in some way with the colonizers (e.g., as an active national leader campaigning for independence). They were thus familiar with the cultural behaviour patterns of the colonizer by the time they emerged as early political elites.

While they may even have wanted to project a 'nationalist' image, they were too close to the colonial experience not to be oriented towards the very same value system held by the (ex-)colonizers. One of the major sources of inspiration for the colonizer had been his own homeland, its institutions, and its value orientations. While for the colonizer himself this was legitimate and only natural (who doesn't yearn for 'home'), such an appreciation, if not an attachment, on the part of the early political elites produced in them an exophet orientation. The colonial country was not their homeland. And yet they dressed in European fashion, followed the changes in fashion in Europe, and horse-racing became a major sport. They also spoke the language of the colonizer. In the economic sphere, the life of the country was determined in the colonizer's metropolis, and production was geared to an
international impersonal market (2.21.1). The corollary of this was that, as in the case of the rural elite, the early elites yearned for products of non-local origin. However, unlike the rural elites in general, their reach was international. And for this very expopetalism, the more 'distinguished' members of the class were rewarded with imperial honours.

While the membership of the early political elites came from those personally exposed to the colonial experience, as time went by, the base of recruitment came to be expanded in two directions. One was in the direction of those who had been recruited to the political parties led by the early political elites. The other was in the direction of the armed forces, as they came to be expanded and more and more army personnel became politically conscious and desirous of power. This expansion in the base of recruitment can be attributed to, among others, the need for more people and different people to serve as elected representatives, as the political process of electoral representation took firm root in the country.

More people were required because the number of constituencies increased, and different people were required because governments, or potential governments, sought to gain legitimacy and win the confidence of each electorate. One sure way of achieving this, as well as winning the seat for the political party (which had by now emerged), was to put up candidates from within the electorate. And these candidates did not originate from the upper classes from which the early political elites came. They belonged primarily, at least during this first period of change, to two classes of people. One was the emerging rural elites. The other were the 'party supporters', that is, the class of people
which the early political elites had newly recruited in order to stabilize their own and their political party's strength.

The call to enter political eliteness constituted, for those among the rural elites and the 'party supporters', a 'pull' from above. This pull was well matched by two 'push' factors: one existing, another emerging. The existing push factor was the already observed exopetalism. Political power would bestow legitimacy to the rural elite's newly-won respectability. As for party supporters, the exopetalism provided the only possible chance for upward social mobility.

The political elites symbolized at the national level all those things that the rural elites yearned for—simply, a good life. The pull from above also came from the very same political elites. Thus, the exopetalism now had a focus: the upper strata of society to which the political elites belonged. Thus there emerged a new 'push' from within: an attitude of mind to rotate around the upper strata of society. To this extent, this newly emergent attitude can be called an acropetal orientation (from acro—'highest', 'topmost'). It was not only, as the literal meaning suggests, a tendency to rotate around the upper strata of society; it was essentially a frame of mind constantly plagued by an urge to reach at least the very next societal level, always, however, with the eventual goal being the topmost level. Part of this frame of mind was a form of "self-deprecation" (Freire, 1970:49) — a "characteristic of the oppressed which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them." 12 The 'acropetal

12 cf., "Many of us grew up with the feeling that Negroes as a whole aren't good for much" — a black student at Princeton University taking a course in Black History (Gordon, 1971:22).
orientation' encouraged each individual and societal layer to be considered inferior, both by the particular level as well as by every other level above it. Thus, it was not merely a tendency for 'vertical mobility'. It was a tendency 'to be not oneself', but, "to be like" (Freire, op.cit.:33) another, this 'other' being always a member of a societal level higher than one's own.

The tendency was, of course, not new in every society. For example, from the point of view of any one caste in India, "both it and those above it are pure; and all those below ... unpure" (Shinn et al., op.cit.: 155). In Latin America, 'becoming white' is the goal of the mestizos and the Indians, and those 'not white' are looked down upon by both Indians and non-Indians alike. Thus, while in some societies colonialism merely exacerbated an existing acropetalism, in others it was introduced by colonialism.

The acropetal orientation, no doubt, overlaps with the already identified exopetal orientation, but, as the above characterization shows, the two concepts must be kept distinct.

The acropetal orientation, then, served as the second 'push factor' in the expanding base of political recruitment, both for the rural elites and the party supporters, as well as for the service personnel. While this class was now coming to be simply 'political elites' (no longer with the qualifier 'early'), the value orientation of exopetalism, and now of acropetalism as well, persisted, even though they did not all dress in the European fashion or speak the colonial language.

Another 'class' associated with the political elites were the bureaucratic elites. They, too, were a fait accompli by the time of
independence. They had been recruited by the colonizer, either in the hope of continuing the exploitation after their departure, or in preparation for the eventual takeover, or for both. Through religious conversion and western-type education, the colonizers had succeeded in making the membership of this class perhaps even more so than the early political elites, people with black (brown or yellow)skin and white masks (Fanon). And now the early political elites saw in these bureaucratic elites a useful asset in administering the country and maintaining the statism and the centrist (2.21.1). These bureaucratic elites already had the training and experience in administration, something the changing political elites lacked. But they also had the same value system, largely inherited from the colonizer.

While the bureaucratic elites shared many characteristics with the political elites, and were in close truck with them, they must be considered a distinct 'class' by themselves. Their functional role in government, and the country, was different. While 'governments' changed, the bureaucratic elites remained in 'power'. Not only did they thus provide 'continuity', but they also influenced the direction the country was to take. Moreover, their basis of recruitment was different. Such recruitment had to come form the 'schooled' class, unlike the political elites, who may or may not have been so schooled. Finally, they were not answerable to the 'electorate'.

But the bureaucratic elites had the very same exopetal orientation as the political elites had. For example, they followed colonial administrative policies and practices, and yearned for non-local products available at the international impersonal market. They also had the acropetal orientation, as they considered themselves to be the backbone
of 'law and order', and (thus superior) and indispensable.

As with political elites, the base of recruitment to bureaucratic
elitedom also changed over the post-independent years. The increasing
institutional diffraction (Riggs, op.cit.) demanded more manpower, and
recruitment could not be, therefore, restricted to the early black skin-
white mask class. With expanding educational facilities, even the
rurality was able to produce candidates for bureaucratic elitedom.
However, since schooling continued to be the basis of recruitment, and
the school system in most, if not all, PCN's was based on western models,
the new recruits, too, ended up with the exopetal and acropetal orienta-
tions. If the 'pull from above' for new recruitment to the bureaucratic
elitedom was the demand for increasing manpower the 'push from within'
was again, as in the case of the political elites, the acropetal
orientation (and, of course, the exopetal orientation).

If the political elites shared with the bureaucratic elites a com-
mon western education, and a common exopetal and acropetal orientation,
they shared other views as well. Among them was the view, advanced in
both capitalist and communist countries of the west, that 'modernization'
was equitable with industrialization. Eagerly embracing this 'panacea',
the state both began industries on its own, and encouraged the private
sector to open up industries as well, offering them tax incentives, a
national and international market, foreign exchange facilities and so on.

The rural elites had already expanded to the national market. They
were, however, still resident in the rurality. But, 'stung' as they
were by the exopetal orientation, the freedom of cash, and entrepre-
neurship, they were now ready to try out their hands at a more challenging
task. They were making enough money, and had come to be respected
in the rurality. Now they sought to prove, to themselves and to others, that they could hold their own in the city as well. They, too could have the good life now enjoyed by the political and bureaucratic elites. In this pursuit, they were driven by the acropetal orientation as well, which by now had begun to affect the rural elites. Pulled by the challenge of city life and pushed by the exopetal and acropetal orientations, some better-off and daring members of the rural elites made the move to the city, as industrial entrepreneurs. As industry spread, and the new industrialists ran successful businesses, putting to good use their rural commercial expertise, they soon earned the recognition of the political and bureaucratic elites. The political elites found in them a useful political ally who could win votes for them. Through education which they could now 'buy', a number of children of these rural elites could establish themselves, along with the children of the political and bureaucratic elites, in what Ponssoen (op. cit.:76) calls the "free professions exercized for pay". The newcomers had gone through the educational mill and proved themselves to be worthy of admission to bureaucratic and political elitism.

Thus there arose what could be called the industrial elites. These industrial elites were different from the rural elites, for although many of them had rural origins, they now lived in the city. Further, their exopetal reach extended to the international metropolis, compared to the national metropolis of the rural elite. Finally, they were now one step closer to the highest levels of society, and moreover, closer,

13. For example, through donations to school buildings and libraries, bribes to politicians, etc.
if not actually in touch with, the centres of power. The industrial elites were, however, still governed by the acropetal orientation, although they were not yet dressed like the political or the bureaucratic elite, and did not speak the colonial language.

Industry, as well as other government enterprises (e.g., the ports, bus services etc.), was now in need of labour. Word spread, and the wage labour which had arisen with the rise of the land-owning class (2.21.1), were only too eager to leave behind the 'drudgery' and the poverty of village life. The exopetal and the acropetal orientations had already been 'taken' to the rurality by the members of the bureaucratic elites (the government official, the school teacher and so on), the political elites and the industrial elites who still had roots in the rurality. Thus, caught between "the pull of the cities and the push of rural areas" (Coombs, 1968:38), there began the exodus of labour to the cities, or what Van der Sprenkel calls the "countercolonization" (Wallerstein, op.cit.:57), a shift of population out of the rurality. 14

The needs of industry had thus drawn rural wage labour to the city. Some of the labour that went into industry was now getting specialized. Having so specialized, and holding the key to the large profits the industrial entrepreneurs were making on their sweat, they soon began to call the shots. Trade-unionism had been introduced as early as the pre-independent times. 15 Wage labour now had a powerful tool - the strike weapon - to demand higher wages. After initial resistance, industrialists succumbed to the pressure. Thus arose an urban proletariat. They

14. See McGinn & Davies (op.cit.) for a vivid first-hand description of this process in Venezuela.

15. e.g., Burma, Indonesia and Sri Lanka.
were now a socio-economic elite, one that can be characterized as the labour elite. They were indeed an elite in comparison to their earlier status as rural wage-labour, as well as to the masses. For example, just as in the case of other elites, the labour elites were also characterized by an exopetal orientation which had its model in the international metropolis. Although they had succeeded in achieving a social status one step higher than earlier, they were still plagued with the acropetal orientation as well. Then again they were assured of a regular income as well, not having to depend on the vagaries of nature.

The labour elites, the industrial elites, the bureaucratic elites, the political elites, and the rural elites, differentiated as they were in social origin, nevertheless shared common features: their claim to superiority was on the basis of some 'technical' ability: political, administrative, economic and so on. Thus, all of them could be grouped together and called the technical aristocracy.\textsuperscript{16} They were 'aristocratic' in terms of the position they held vis-a-vis the masses in all spheres of life - economic, political and social. They were aristocratic as well in their attitudes towards the masses: only they had the power, and the 'answers' to the problems of the society.

Now this technical aristocracy came to be supported by yet another 'aristocracy', one that I shall call the cultural aristocracy. This was made up of the 'religious elites' and the 'linguistic elites'. Some of them had also been party to the national liberation movement, and had been elevated to the elite level by the emergent nationalism.

\textsuperscript{16} This term is inspired by Arrighi & Saul \textit{(op.cit.:19)} who use the term 'labour aristocracy'.

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Unlike the labour and industrial elites, who essentially emerged in the post-colonial era, the elements that eventually constituted the religious elites had emerged during the colonial and precolonial eras. The colonizers had come with the cross in one hand and the sword in the other. And the colonial enterprise was carried out in the name of God and with the sanction of the (Christian) missionaries. At or by independence, of course, only a few colonial missionaries were left in PCN's. As in the case of political and bureaucratic elites, the colonial missionaries had, however, trained local personnel to continue the missionary work. As representatives of the exogenous religion (of the ex-masters), these local missionaries were only too happy to support, in the post-independent period, the secular representation of the ex-masters, namely, the political and the bureaucratic elites. It was mutual back scratching. It is at this point that the 'exogenously' religious' representatives became a religious elite. Although held in respect, the acropetal orientation had a bearing on them as well, to the extent that they considered themselves the carriers of 'civilization'. Thus they had the same attitude of superiority that the political and bureaucratic elites had towards the masses. Exceptions, like Ivan Illich, have been few and far between. Needless to say, the 'exo-religious' elites shared the exopetal orientation as well with the elites that made up the 'technical aristocracy'. This class, then, could be called the 'exo-religious elites.' In some countries, like Latin America,

17. Latin America provides ample evidence for this, where the many oppressive oligarchies and military dictatorships are backed by the national Christian Church. Another example comes from a Tamil-speaking area in Sri Lanka where 'untouchables' had been barred from a Hindu temple, and attempts by them to enter it were thwarted jointly by the religious elite of the temple and the political elite of the area.
where the exogenous religion had entrenched itself as the only organized and formal religion, the 'exo-religious elites' turned out to be endo-religious elites. But there were other countries (e.g., Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia) where the exo-religious elites remained a distinct class.

In countries where there existed an 'endogenous' religion — folk or formal — there were also their 'endo-religious' leaders. These were the shamans of the folk religions, or the priests or monks of the formalized religions, who already commanded respect from the community, prior to the advent of colonialism. But colonization had, through desecration, withdrawal of support, active suppression, or cultural invasion — that is through the break-up of the traditional value system — weakened, undermined or debased at least some of the endo-religious institutions, and segments of the clergy, in the very process of establishing itself. By independence, they (leaders and institutions) were struggling for survival, and, with the rise of nationalism in the post-colonial period, were even attempting a come-back. In this process, it was 'strategic' for the endo-religious leaders to support and seek favour from the emergent (secular) elites, both in the rurality and in the rest of the country. These elites were, in turn, more than happy to respond, if not to actively court their blessing. The 'technical legitimacy' they had earned had to be supported by a broad 'cultural legitimacy' if the emergent leaders, particularly the political, industrial and rural elites, were to win over the confidence of the masses. Either in order to maintain the image of religios-ity, or out of genuine concern, or both, the emergent (secular) elites, then, came to give lavishly and freely, (particularly) to the endo-religious institutions. In the process of the debasement of the endo-
genous religions during the colonial period, at least a segment of the endo-religious clergy themselves had in general come to be corrupted as well. Thus, it was not difficult for them to support their rich benefactors, first in terms of personal favours, but gradually when it also came to social issues affecting the lives of the poor (see, e.g., footnote 17). It is thus that the endo-religious leaders of the precolonial era turned out to be endo-religious elites during the post-colonial era. All major religions, except Buddhism, in fact, even promoted an elitist attitude in the clergy by granting recognition to them as God's representative.

Separated as they were by their personal belief systems, the endo-religious elites and the exo-religious elites were nevertheless governed by an acropetalism, theologically and socially. Both groups could also be said to be governed by an exopetalism, as at least the debased elements reached out of their own environment to one away from them - the rural (religious) elites, to the national metropolis, and the exo-religious elites (along with the urban elites) to the international metropolis. To the extent that exopetalism and acropetalism governed their life, the religious leaders constituted an elite.

Now, finally, we come to the other element of the cultural aristocracy, the linguistic elites. Here again, they were of two strands: those who spoke the 'endogenous' languages (L-endo), as only, or dominant, language, i.e., L-endo elites, and those who spoke the 'exogenous'

18. e.g., even in Buddhist Sri Lanka, where the monks have always been in the service of the community, the 'Chief Monks' (a recent elitist innovation) have consistently backed conservative elements in government and society.
languages (L-exo), again as only, or dominant, language, i.e., L-exo elites.

The colonial period had forced the endogenous languages, just as the endogenous religions, to a lowly position. However, during the period just prior to independence, and just after, there was an upsurge in 'linguistic nationalism'. It was necessary to revive the 'lost' languages, in order to resurrect the 'glorious past', and in order that the conscience of both colonizers and the 'dormant' colonized people be pierced with needles of periodic demands for, and activities aimed at, linguistic self-determination. Thus, e.g., Kumaratunga Munidasa (1887-1944), in Sri Lanka, tried to revive twelfth century Sinhala which was the vehicle of classical literature. Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines during the transitory period from an American colony to an independent nation (i.e., 1935-46), urged the First National Assembly to establish a "common language based on one of the native dialects" (Sibayan, 1974:223). At an earlier date, Ziya Gokalp in Turkey worked with the "Young Pens of Salonica" to publish poems in "the simple language of the people, to promote adoption by all Turks of their authentic national language" (Gordon, op.cit.:95). Political independence gave such activities a further impetus when the vernaculars came to be used for at least some purposes by the new elites (e.g., to win votes, and in basic education). Linguistic nationalists now made the point that it

19. This refers to Latin America and the Caribbean as well, which had been completely 'converted' to the L-exo by the time of independence. Although, in the Caribbean, for example, English was spoken by everybody, the elites spoke the standard English while the masses spoke a creolized variety, so was the case in Latin America in relation to Spanish.

20. See de Silva (1967) for a discussion.
was necessary, as Ataturk, the linguist-politician of newly independent Turkey, once put it, to "liberate language from the yoke of foreign languages" (Gordon, op.cit.:93).

Whatever were the language policies of the colonizer, and their language usage, the people went about their business through the colonial period, using their own vernaculars. So it was really the 'high functions' of language (2.3 and 10.5) that had been affected by colonial policy. Thus, what had to be revived was a variety of the L-endo that could be used for these higher functions. This linguistic elitism was hardly surprising. The elements leading the linguistic nationalist movement already belonged to some part of the technical aristocracy (supra). They were either scholars, or teachers. Kumaratunga Munidasa was both. Occasionally, as in the case of Ataturk, they were politicians. They were the new masters of the country, and it was deemed necessary to 'maintain their dignity'. After all, the masses weren't "good for much" (see footnote 12), and their language and linguistic usage could not be any more enlightened. So, by promoting the classical variety, the linguistic elites could maintain their elitism, just as the technical aristocracy could maintain theirs by capitalizing on money which the masses did not have; and the religious elites could theirs through claims to the higher spiritual life supposedly available only to them and through them. What the linguistic elites said or wrote in the classical variety would not be understood by the masses, and thus their supremacy and their claimed superior knowledge, and their acropetal orientation, could be maintained.

21. See 8.31.1 for a discussion.
The 'L-endo elites' may not even know the colonial language. But like the Grocer of Balqat, they were close enough to those who did, psychologically if not socially or physically, to turn them into linguistic elites. And they shared the exopetal orientation as well, with other elites.

There was also the 'L-exo elites'. They too, came from among the technical aristocracy, not so much from the 'lower levels' of this class,namely the industrial and labour elites, but from among the political and bureaucratic elites. They would not touch the vernacular with a ten-foot pole, unless they had to. They spoke, wrote letters, published, legislated, and even made love\textsuperscript{22} in the colonial languages. Their exopetal and the acropetal orientations were obvious.

The religious elites and the linguistic elites were both 'aristocratic' in the same sense that the technical aristocracy was aristocratic: the position they held vis-a-vis the masses. But as distinct from the technical aristocracy, their aristocratic nature related to culture. This allows us to group the linguistic and religious both under one category: the cultural aristocracy.

Thus we have the technical aristocracy, ably 'supported' by the 'cultural aristocracy', in a common acropetal and exopetal orientation, pitted against the masses, almost in a conspiracy. There were, no doubt, differences between the different aristocracies, as for example, the Sinhalese linguistic aristocracy in Sri Lanka being opposed to the Catholic religious aristocracy. There were indeed differences within

\textsuperscript{22} For example, anyone in Sri Lanka of the generation of the present writer who knew English would generally correspond and talk in English, even when addressee and addresser spoke Sinhala. This would be even more generalizable in courting situations.
each aristocracy, too, as for example, wage labour being 'out for the blood' of the industrial, political and bureaucratic elites. But the similarities among the many elements within these aristocracies were high enough to put them all under what I call the **composite aristocracy**, or 'CA' for short.

Figure 2.1 shows the make-up of this CA:

![Diagram of the composite aristocracy]

**Figure 2.1 The composition of the 'composite aristocracy'**

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23 The terminology developed here, based on Arrighi & Saul (op.cit.) overcomes, I believe, some of the objections raised by Black (1966: 52) that the "description of the component groups of a society in terms of 'classes' ... has ceased to serve a useful purpose." Instead, Black suggests that the best procedure is "to use more refined conceptions of occupational categories, social strata and interest groups ..." (ibid.:53).
It must be noted that the figure represents an 'ideal type', which means that not all of the features may apply to any particular society.

The members of the CA may live in the city or village, may wield the pen or the hoe, may dress like the colonizer or the colonized, may speak the colonizer's language or the native language; yet, as a class, they all had the same exopetal and acropetal orientations, and were governed by the "cultural centrality of possessive individualism" (Arrighi & Saul, op.cit.:11), 'possessiveness' and 'individualism' being both part and parcel of capitalism and Western culture, and an insatiable "discretionary consumerism" for material goods (see 2.22.1 for a discussion). The effect of this dual orientation, and of the related pattern was to place the CA in a master-servant relationship with the masses. Even though the CA included the rural elites, and segments of the cultural and technical aristocracy itself may have been rural-based, this domination was indeed an urban one, since the dual orientations had made the city the model of the rurality as well. The government, industries, foreign missions, cultural centers, religious leaders, trade unions were all in the city. Thus we can say that the CA-mass relationship was one of urban colonialism, for the same reasons that the relationship between the rural elites and the masses came to be labelled a 'rural colonialism'. It was a 'colonialism' because while the CA as a class underdeveloped the masses, each lower level within the CA, beginning with the rural elites, was underdeveloped by every level higher than itself, in the very process of developing its own level. Since the activities of the CA were located in the city, and the country was not just governed from the city, but in a manner to meet its needs, it was an urban colonialism.
This urban colonialism, then, serves as the 'metropolis-satellite' phenomenon at the national level, and served as the second link in the dependency chain of the 'international metropolis-satellite pyramid'.

The urban colonialism that we have just discussed, and the rural colonialism that was discussed in 2.21.1 both constituted integral parts of PCN's. Since both 'colonizer' and 'colonized' came from within the PCN, it was in internal colonialism.

If the orientations and value systems that had emerged among the CA in PCN's could be understood internally, i.e., in terms of changes within PCN society, one must not fail to see how such changes were conditioned by external factors as well. It is to these factors, then, we shall now turn.

2.22 **External colonialism.**

By 'internal colonialism' was meant the underdevelopment of a numerical majority by the CA. Likewise, by 'external colonialism' is meant the underdevelopment of a numerical majority of PCN's by an international dominant-minority. This dominant-minority was comprised of two elements: the core nations and the global corporations.

2.22.1 **Core colonialism.**

Historical factors have rendered core nations to act as the 'big brother' of PCN's, and thus, the policies they have adopted towards PCN's, and their implementation, have come to affect PCN's. The literature on development is replete with accounts of how such policies of core nations (meaning both government and business) have affected the PCN's. We need consider here only a few of them, and the well-known issue of 'foreign aid' is perhaps a good starting point.
Whether foreign aid related to men, materials or money, and whether they were loans by governments or investments by private interests, the result eventually appeared to be the same: the never-ending indebtedness of PCN's; PCN's serving as providers of raw material, as the market place for finished products and as the 'dumping ground' for excess produce from investments made in PCN's contributing to the shortage of foreign exchange; PCN's maintaining in and for the core nations a booming spare parts industry and employment as the former bought, or sought to buy, spare parts for machinery, also introduced by the core nations; the brain drain; overall economic dependence, and along with it, the moral pressure for towing the political line of the donor nations, and so on. Even more important was the resulting "cultural invasion" (Freire, op.cit.: 150ff). Such outcomes can be shown in relation to ideas, materials, and men.

Consider, for example, the concept of 'modernization'. This has been often equated with 'industrialization'. Indeed a case can be made for a role for industrialization in the development of a PCN. The problem, however, is that industrialization has often come to be equated with what Morgenthau (cited in Scotton, 1975:4) calls "conspicuous industrialization". Unlike the core nations, PCN's rarely possessed the conditions necessary to make big-scale industrialization work. Despite this, they often came to adapt the conspicuous kind of industrialization.

Perhaps the major outcome of this policy was that it undermined agriculture. Nearly ninety percent of PCN populations live on subsistence agriculture. When industrialization came to be equated with modernization (and progress), agriculture came to be, by that very fact,
equated with backwardness and retardation. The obvious result was that agriculture came to be neglected (as, e.g., happened in Nehru's first five year plan for India), and usually not even in the process of actual industrial advancement. PCN's thus lost both ways. Where agriculture was not neglected, it came to be viewed as needing 'modernization', which again usually meant not only the introduction of new seeds and transplanting methods and the use of pesticides, but also the introduction of equipment and concepts (e.g., the tractor (see next page for a discussion)), the emergence of the 'capitalist farmer', and so on.

Another outcome of a policy of industrialization was the rise of urbanization. A big industry attracted people and national attention. The locality became even more attractive as members of the CA came to reside on location and more and more amenities of living became available, and as it became a nodal point of communication and transportation. Again the outcome was the undermining of the rurality in the same process, as discussed in relation to urban colonialism (2.21.2). A third outcome was the enlargement of the CA (the 'composite aristocracy'). As industry grew, there emerged an industrial elite, and the ranks of the labour and bureaucratic elites swelled as well, a process which, as we have seen (2.21.2) undermined the masses and the rurality.

Another outcome was the displacement of the small craftsman — the local smiths, carpenters and potters, as they were thrown out of business and into disarray. Then there was the fact that if a given industry was successful, the price of the finished product became higher. In addition, as was likely to happen when industry functioned at below capacity, a shortage resulted, which gave rise to a black-market whose beneficiaries again were the CA. A PCN society, thus lost in terms of
unemployment, higher prices and shortages.

Finally, there was the tendency to rotate around 'bigness', or what could be called, in keeping with earlier terminology, a maxipetal orientation. The outcome of such an orientation was for PCN's to go for 'big things' (e.g., airports, luxury hotels, four-lane highways, and so on), and for luxury items which came to be equated with 'bigness' (through associating 'bigness' with the core nations). In the process 'bigness' came to be equated with progress, and conversely 'smallness', now associated with tradition and the non-west, with retardation. This also came to be supported by the acropetal orientation (2.21.2) that had already set in.

The point of the above discussion, then, is to show how a concept borrowed from the core nations has served to undermine the social fabric of a PCN society and undermine its social system. The same thing, indeed, can be shown to result from the example of a single piece of equipment.

Hailed universally as a 'magic tool', the tractor has been one of the most common types of material aid that PCN's have asked for, and got. While the tractor could do the work of many humans, and prepare vast tracts of land fast, it also brought with it social consequences. For example, it displaced manpower, available in plenty of PCN's, thereby rendering working hands redundant, and 'problematic'. Displaced hands meant idle hands, and possibly dehumanizing hands, given man's urge to transform thought into action (or his 'praxic nature' (see 3.31)). Idle and dehumanized hands often meant, as is perhaps indicated by the increasing crime rate, delinquency, civil disorder, and so on in PCN's, socially destructive or frustrated or passive hands, and given man's 'psychophysical' nature (see again 3.31).
destructive, frustrated or passive minds. As the inactivated hands and minds sought activity, and were frustrated by the lack of opportunities for such activity and the rejection received at the hands of developmental activity, there remained only one outlet: destructive activity.

A better known outcome of the introduction of the tractor (and, of course, other factors (see 2.21.2) as well), was the 'countercolonization' (2.21.2) - an exodus to the urban centers, with its attendant unemployment, underemployment, urban poverty, crime, shanty towns, and so on.

But there was even a more serious associated outcome of displacing humans. This was the break-up of the social and the cultural fabric of the rurality. Traditionally, work in the field was a joint effort of the family. The men tilled the land, the women reaped the grain, and the children did their little. Every member in the family played not only a functional role but a complementary role as well. Although there were many mouths, there was no overpopulation, and nor were there 'redundant' humans.

Work in the field, was not only a 'family affair' but a venture that called for a cultural sophistication and cooperation. Not only was there reciprocal help at work, but the worktime, mealtime and threshing time, all provided for cultural activity. The men and women 'sang' individually and collectively, as they ploughed, reaped, threshed, spent weary nights up in a tree guarding the fields against animals, transported their produce by night (the jingling of the bulls adding to the music) and so on. Meal-time was a community gathering where all members of all the families gathered in the field. And the threshing
season was a festive occasion.

The displacement of human labour by the tractor, then, meant the permanent disruption of the social and cultural life of the rurality. This would not have mattered (recognizing that change is a condition of life) if there had been a satisfying alternative. But such an alternative was not to be (1.3).

Another consequence—little recognized in the literature—is that the displacement of humans also meant the 'displacement' of perhaps the peasant's most reliable allies in his struggle for existence, namely cattle and such other animals, from the functional roles they have been performing traditionally. Cattle, for example, are tireless workers that don't cost much to maintain, and don't need spare parts. They were an excellent form of transportation.25 They did not pollute, and cost next to nothing to 'run' (compared to the power-run trains and buses); they could also traverse routes not accessible by train or bus. Good 'lawn-mowers', because they grazed on unutilized land, cattle also 'reserviced' land as they dropped their dung as they grazed, making it ready for the next crop. They provided milk and other dairy products, and were used for many other activities as well.26

24. It was surely for this reason that the cow had come to earn 'divine' respect, for example, in India.

25. In India, for example, cattle are said to transport goods equal to that transported by train.

26. I have benefited in this discussion from an Indian colleague, Alok Mukherjee.
If the tractor affected the PCN rurality in such ways, it was also unsuitable for many agricultural situations in PCN's, primarily because small-holdings was the rule in the rurality. Thus, another outcome was that the small-holdings ended up in the hands of a few 'progressive farmers'. A tractor often did damage to the land as well, by digging up more earth than was necessary, something that was avoided through more traditional methods.

This discussion, then, provides an example of how an individual piece of equipment introduced from the West has had a devastating effect on PCN's, if at the same time it served to benefit the donor nations (e.g., the sale of tractors).

People, who come to PCN's as experts, as part of a foreign aid deal, can also be said to contribute to the undermining of PCN society and 'cultural invasion'.

Arrighi & Saul (op.cit.:11) characterize people in core nations as being governed by the "cultural centrality of possessive individualism". The term 'individualism', as defined in The Oxford Dictionary (1971), refers to a mode of life in which the individual (a) "pursues his own ends" or (b) "follows his own ideas". In the Western practice of 'individualism', however, it has become a philosophy of life where an individual "pursues his own ends" exclusively and "follows his own ideas".

25. 'Individualism' is hardly the preserve of Western man. (Atheistic) Buddhism, for example, places the responsibility for personal liberation and for one's action on the individual himself.
without regard to how they might affect others. If we now interpreted the fact of Western man's 'conspicuous consumerism,' meaning a relentless yearning to 'possess' (e.g., clothes, double garages and one-plus cars, swimming pools and so on), we can indeed characterize (post-Renaissance) western man as one marked by 'possessive individualism'.

How shall we characterize 'non-western man' in PCN's? While he is described in the literature on modernization in terms of many negative characteristics (backward, lazy), there seems to be one feature that emerges from discussions of PCN society: cooperative behaviour. Riggs (op.cit.:82), for example, points out that the basis of societal relationships in traditional Africa was "reciprocity" and "redistribution". Robinson (op.cit.:62-80), in relation to Buddhist Sri Lanka, refers to "systems of cooperative labour" that govern all work relationships. Vreeland et al (op.cit.:472), refer to the practice of "mutual aid" (gotojo rojoy) in Islamic Indonesia. Thus there is evidence to suggest that precolonial societies, regardless of geographic, religious and cultural differences, were governed, in general by a cooperative behaviour (see also 5.43 for a related discussion).

26. This, in fact, is reflected in the dictionary, which also equates individualism with "egoism" and "self-centered feeling or conduct" which is "opposed to collectivism". Certain terms and phrases that have come to be associated with Western man or Western life seem to be further supportive of such a view. I have in mind terms such as laissez faire, 'free competition', 'private enterprise', 'profit maximisation', 'capitalism' and indeed 'individualism'.

27. By 'reciprocity' is meant the "reciprocal exchange of values, without price" (as, for example, cattle, Christmas gifts). 'Redistribution' is "the making of contributions or tribute payments to a central organ from which, in turn, allocations are made outwards" (Riggs, op.cit.).

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We can now attempt a characterization of non-western man. He is cooperative, and, by the same token, 'non-possessive'. In contrast to Western man, then, non-Western man (and traditional Western man) is governed by the cultural centrality of non-possessive cooperativism; that is, a cultural behaviour based on reciprocity and non-self love.

Indeed I would like to claim that 'non-possessive cooperativism' is an apt characterization of not just non-Western man and traditional Western man, but the entire peasantry in the world, if we accepted Redfield's notion of peasantry as a "human type". Since we are all individuals-in-environment (3.31), a similar environment as that of a peasantry, is likely to produce, largely speaking, individuals with fairly similar characteristics.

The purpose of this characterization of Western and non-Western man was to suggest how the value system of PCN's came to be affected by that of the core nations. The value system that Western man brought to PCN's, then, was one that produced "half-men" (Lyon, 1971:passim), whose level of "human development" (Montessori) is low. It is, of course, true that non-Western man was not a 'whole-man' either. But, the half that was well developed in them related to the "human development" rather than to the "outward civilization" (Montessori) component. Thus what resulted from an interaction between the core nations and the PCN's was the under-development of the value domain of man in the PCN's. Such underdevelopment took place through a rather indirect process wherein the exopetalized CA (composite aristocracy) adopted the western cultural behaviour, and these values and behaviours were then 'imposed' upon the masses, under ('the auspices of') urban and rural colonialism. The process was one of the CA coming to be 'outwardly' developed, as their 'inward' development came to be
impeded. Then, as 'culture contact' took place between the CA and the masses through physical contact, this value system came to be embraced by the increasingly acropetalized (and exopetalizing) masses.

We have seen above how Western concepts (industrialization) and materials (tractor) introduced to the PCN's have resulted in a change in the social fabric and a resulting change in the value system. We have also seen how the specific value orientations of man in the core nations have come to influence the value system of people in PCN's. Whether, as in Iran, it is by "installing plumbing in the manner in which it was done in the United States" (Amuzegar, 1965:215), or by determining research priorities in medicine, as in Uganda, or by creating and/or promoting national fissions, as in Nigeria, or by deciding for the

28. "A certain type of cancer ... occurs with relatively high frequency in certain areas of Uganda and is found in few other places in the world. Because the cancer appears to be limited by climatic and/or geographic boundaries, case histories of persons with this cancer became the subject of much research. It was thought ... it might be possible to isolate the disease-producing factors. The next step would be to attempt to generalize these findings on the causes of Burkitt's tumor to other types of cancer found elsewhere in the world. Now, concern with cancer as a major cause of death is primarily a Western concern, not an African concern. I am implying that the foreign funds spent on this basic cancer research were so spent at least in large part because of Western priorities. Within the Ugandan context, for example, preventative medicine programs, a non-Western priority item, might have more profitably claimed the funds and manpower which went for the cancer research." (Scotton, op.cit."4).

29. "...after the 1967-70 Civil War, the Nigerian government was resistant to having Americans back in the Eastern Ibo area. This resistance was partly out-and-out resentment because of sympathies of some Americans with the Ibos (Biafra) during the conflict. But perhaps more important, the resistance may have stemmed from a feeling on the part of the national government that there already had been too much Americanization of Eastern Nigeria and that any continuation in this direction would do nothing to seal the fissions in the nation caused by the Civil War. For example, the University of Nigeria at Nsukka (in Iboland) had been set up before the war along American lines; other Nigerian universities, especially Ibadan, had British organisational heritages." (Ibid.:5).
Latin Americans which news items they may be exposed to,\textsuperscript{30} the end result seemed to be the same: the 'imposition' of the Western value system, resulting in, or, in a conditioned origination relationship with, the widening of the social and value gaps within PCN's.

The resultant relationship between the PCN's and the core nations, then, can be said to constitute a 'colonial situation' in the classical sense of the word, because all five conditions outlined by Balandier (2.21.1) apply to the situation. The situation we are discussing constitutes a 'core colonialism' in the sense that the source of influence are the core nations.

This then is the first aspect of 'external colonialism' that underdevelops PCN's. Let us now examine the other aspect of external colonialism.

2.22.2 Corporate colonialism.

The latest arrival on the new colonial scene are the global corporations. They have been sparked, it has been observed by two "fundamental

\textsuperscript{30} "Latin Americans have complained that news of revolutions and national disasters dominate at least US coverage of Latin American news, and thus subjects as education, culture and economic and agricultural developments are largely ignored by the US press. The Associated Press (AP), in an attempt to change this picture, installed in New York Latin Americans as three of its 'gatekeepers' on Latin American news. Hester (Albert L., "The news from Latin America via a world news agency", \textit{Gazette}, vol. 20, 1, 82-89) (1974) ... found, however, that there was agreement among the New York gatekeepers, regardless of national origin, of the kind of Latin American news which should be transmitted to US AP members. Earlier reports of attempts to provide Latin American news of other types have shown that, indeed, US editors will use only mainly news of revolutions and natural disasters. Thus, the New York gatekeepers are correct in the perception that the kind of Latin American news they transmit will be used. But this study shows that the hands are tied of Latin American nations as to the picture which the United States (and indeed the world through the New York office) gets on Latin America." (\textit{Ibid.}:16)."
tenets of modern business faith: the cult of bigness, and the science of centralization" (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:37). The global corporation views the world as "one economic unit". This means that the entire world will constitute a "global market" where, as Lee S. Bickmore, former Chairman of the (US) National Biscuit Company, puts it "the tendency for people all over the world (will be) to adopt the same tastes and same consumption habits" (op.cit.:31), and of which the "brain" will be located in New York, Tokyo or Bonn.

The cult of bigness, or what I have called the 'maxipetal orientation', that governs the global corporation may suit the post-industrial phase of economic development that core nations have approached, or are approaching. But what a maxipetal orientation does to PCN's at the national level has already been discussed in relation to industrialization (supra). It underdevelops PCN's. If 'bigness' undermines PCN's at the national level, at the global 'level', it results in a continuation of the colonial pattern of exploitation of cheap raw materials and labour in PCN's for the benefit of the global corporations. Meeting the needs of a global market requires greatly expanded production, and since the core nations cannot meet the needs of such expansion, the global corporation reaches out to the PCN's, where low wages and other production factors provide an attractive economic environment.

The entry of PCN's into the global arena as suppliers of raw materials also meant an 'opening' of 'branches' of the "global market" in PCN's. While PCN's produce raw material for the global corporations cheaply, they pay high prices for the finished product, as becomes evident from a 1972 study which showed that 122 of the top US-based global corporation had "a higher rate of profits from abroad than from domestic.
operations" (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:16). And, of course, the beneficiaries of such profits are, as in colonial times, not PCN's but the core nations where the "brain" is located.

Let's now take the cult of centrism, the other tenet of the global corporation. Again, we have seen how centrism, at the national level, in the form of statism, has resulted in the exopetal and acropetal orientations in PCN's (2.21). At the international level it means a further enhancement of these two tendencies. Now the exopetalism and the acropetalism extended even beyond core nations, as the expectancy of the CA in PCN's extended to the global corporation level. Some of the outcomes of these two orientations in PCN's are as have been already observed. Another, however, is the 'depersonalization' of individual nations, individual collectivities, and individual persons everywhere in the world, as they all turn out to be robots, as Bickmore and others 'encourage' them to develop identical tastes and consumer habits.

A third 'tenet' of the global corporation is its desire to replace human labour with sophisticated machinery. Such replacements result in social and cultural upheavals similar to those already shown under the impact of the introduction of the tractor in agriculture (2.22.1).

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31. Here are two examples: (1) the selling of a pill that costs 1½ cents to produce at 51¢ in a PCN (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:187); (2) the selling of blood collected in PCN's at a 1000% profit in core nations (Toronto Daily Star, May 17, 1975).

32. They seem to be saying: "Hard work is simply an unautomated task. It is a necessary evil until we get a piece of gear, or a computer large enough or a program checked out well enough to do the job economically. Until then you working stuff can hang around -- but, for the long run, we don't either want you or need you." (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:69).
The greatest threat of the global corporations to PCN development is perhaps its opposition to what has been referred to as "irrelevant nationalism ["nationism"]". We get the mild version of this from a company spokesman for Union Carbide: "It is not proper for an international corporation to put the welfare of any country in which it does business above that of any other" (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:16). The stronger version of it comes from George Ball, the former US Under-Secretary of State, Chairman of Lehman Brothers International. The nation state, he states, "is a very old-fashioned idea and badly adapted to our present complex world" (ibid.:19). Nation-states may be old-fashioned for well integrated core nations approaching a post-industrial phase of economic development which require expanded markets and the freedom to operate freely in order to maximize profits, but certainly not for PCN's who are still struggling to bring the various dissident groups within the country under one flag.

Physically speaking, for example, there are certain tasks, such as the collection and distribution of basic foods, the provision of capital and equipment, and so on, that can be best done at a level higher than the community level. Technologically speaking, the provision of water through the building of reservoirs and canals, the supply of electricity and so on are again perhaps best done on a national scale. Ideologically speaking, the model of national development proposed in this research calls for humanistic nationalism (3.4) which requires the ensuring of the 'development of all' (3.32). Only a national state is capable of handling such a task. Further, a nation needs a common ideology (see 5.3) which must be adopted at the national level as a general framework for the entire country. Psychologically speaking, as Joachim
Marx (1949) observes, "the authority of the state is" for the individual "a reproduction of the authority of the family which he was shaped in his childhood" (cited in Fanon, 1967:143). And finally, a state can serve as an 'agent of modernization' as pointed out by several writers (e.g., Rostow (1959), Staley (1966), Ponsioen (op.cit.:114).

Thus, a state machinery (at the national level) is indeed a necessity in bringing together collectivities who have been traditionally living in proximity but have never come to be "actors-in-intercommunication" (Freire, op.cit.:123).

Thus, if a strong case can be made for (a nation-state) and a nationism (see also my 'model' in 3.4), the global corporation sees it as a threat to its expansionist aspirations. The machinations of the global corporation against the nation states are such that it has worked out systems where individual states absorb all losses, and any profits go to individual capitalists. The danger of the global corporation to PCN's is very real here particularly in view of the conclusion arrived at the Chief Executives' Roundtable Conference in Jamaica to promote nations only to undermine them (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:58-60), and in view of the fact that global corporations' techniques are not always open.

Transnational corporations penetrate the agriculture of an underdeveloped country by the vertical integration of the process of agricultural production. They start off by combining the production of food with the processing of agricultural produce and will end by controlling the retail trade through chain stores and tourism through hotels and restaurants (Jacoby, 1974:7).

While an exhaustive treatment of the global corporation's impact on PCN's would take a book-length treatment, the above is sufficient.

33. See Barnet & Muller (op.cit.) for such a treatment.
to show how PCN's come to be underdeveloped in the process of the global corporation achieving its goals. In terms of Balandier's five defining conditions of the colonial situation (2.21.1), we have here again, a domination of a numerical majority by a minority that is 'culturally' different, mechanized and industrialized, and use 'force' in maintaining the antagonistic relationship. In fact, what we can say is that if each of Balandier's conditions fits the relationship that existed between the colonial powers (of the past) and the colonized lands, the global corporation represents a centralized and globalized version of all the colonial activities executed by colonizing nations individually.

The (envisaged, if not already real) relationship between the global corporation and PCN's can, therefore, be called a corporate colonialism. We can now combine this 'corporate colonialism' with the core colonialism discussed earlier, and call them collectively external colonialism. It is this 'external colonialism' that was contrasted with 'internal colonialism' (2.21) at the beginning of this discussion.

3.23 The international metropolis-satellite pyramid.

The 'dependency/underdevelopment chain' was now complete. The PCN peasant looked up, first, to the rural elites, and eventually to the CA; the rural elites looked up to the PCN urban elites and the outside world, in general, and the CA of PCN's up to the core nations and the global corporations. By the same token, the core nations and corporate aristocracy were in a similar relationship. This indeed constitutes the acropetal and the expetral orientations on a global scale.

The phenomenon discussed thus far can now be shown in the following figure I have labelled the international metropolis-satellite pyramid.
Figure 2.3: The International Metropolis-Satellite Pyramid of New Colonialism, showing the relationship at the three levels: PCN’s, core states and the supranational corporations.
The overall triangle, which represents the "world system" (Wallerstein), is divided into three parts (represented by the two continuous horizontal lines) representing, from bottom to top, the PCN's, the core states and the supranational corporations. The labels on the right indicate the geopolitical boundaries in relation to the 'metropolis-satellite' phenomenon. On the left are shown the corresponding sociocultural groups at each geopolitical level (shown by discontinuous horizontal lines). The vertical discontinuous lines represent the national geopolitical boundaries that mark the different nations.

The large parenthesis to the left of the figure represents the total system that comprises external colonialism. The smaller one relates to levels within PCN's. The parentheses to the right indicate the respective geopolitical levels.

The shape of the figure indicates that the masses of the world constitute, needless to say, the majority of the people in the world, while the elites are only a small part of it. It also implies, however, that the numerical majority increasingly bears the 'weight' of each successively higher dominant minority group.

On the surface of it, the kind of link shown in figure 2.2 seems to have brought about the "win-win situation" the global corporation boasts it can bring about in the world (cited at the beginning of this chapter). When investments are made in PCN's, it is claimed, they "get needed technology, financial capital, taxes, managerial expertise and increased exports", and in the investor countries, "citizens get more jobs, improved balance of payments, and all the other benefits of an integrated, peaceful world" (Barnet & Muller, op.cit.:64-5). Everybody appears to benefit and gain membership in McLuhan's global village.
This feeling of satisfaction and security, however, is only comparable to the glee of the prancing lobster in the water pot, also referred to at the beginning of the chapter. It is unaware of its fate until the water gets hot. The feeling of satisfaction that is generated by the feeling of being in one chain would similarly last until the yawning gaps -- the widening-, social- and value-gaps -- that are ever widened by this dependency chain hit you in the eye, in the form of hunger, suffering, revolution and war in the world.

The real nature of this chain can be seen only when we realize that corresponding to each link in the chain there is also the 'yoke' of the chain which ties each lower level to each upper level and all levels above it. As discussed in this chapter, we see the weight of (b) (in figure 2.2), the rural elites, falling upon the rural masses (a), and the weight of the urban elites (c) upon both (a) and (b). In a similar manner, we can see the 'weight' of each higher level falling upon the immediately lower, and all other successively lower, levels. In the process, then, the masses in PCN's come to be eventually "condemned" to bear the weight of what can only be called a multicolonialism, under which each higher level acts, to borrow a saying from the Buddha, as "brahmins ... who thrust disagreeable food on others and then make them pay for it" (Warder, op.cit.:177). This then is a situation I would like to characterize as a New Colonial Situation; that is, a world situation which continues to maintain the widening gap, the value gap and the social gap.

2.3 The 'Gaps' and Communicative Underdevelopment.

We have seen above how changes in the class structure of colonized lands that may even have originated in precolonial times, came to be
strengthened during the post-colonial period and led to the new colonial situation. How then does this new colonial situation affect the process of achieving nationalism (1.2) and communication in PCW's?

Communities in precolonial societies were not engaged in intercooperation, but merely existed in proximity (Chodak, 1973:306). There was in such societies, very little intercommunication (between collectivities). This was reflected in the presence of a large number of languages, or what sociolinguists would call speech communities, a 'speech community' being any group of people (within the same country or in several countries) who speak a language, or a lect. By the term 'lect' is meant here any variety of language from among the cluster of varieties that make up a language. Gradually, however, there arose what Weiner (op.cit.:232) characterizes as an "intermediate stage" of intercommunication, either by the time of independence, or even earlier (e.g., India and Ethiopia). What this meant in sociolinguistic terms was that some speech communities had become wider, as given languages came to be used more widely. It also meant that the number of speech communities also became less. However, that still

34. Thus, while the United States and Canada constitute the 'North American English speech community', England, Australia, New Zealand, and North America constitute the 'Western English speech community'. All the groups of people in the world who speak some variety of English, including the South Asian English, Black English Vernacular, etc., constitute the larger 'English speech community'.

35. While the term 'lect' proposed here, means somewhat the same as 'variety', it seems to be more appropriate given that the technical terms used for such varieties (e.g., dialect, 'idiolect' (Hockett, 1958:321ff), 'kairolect' (Brent, 1973:269), sociolect) all have the morpheme '-lect'. Further, the word 'variety' is used in the literature to mean both divisions within a language (e.g., registers) as well as different languages.
meant that there remained several other speech communities within the 'geopolitical' boundaries which essentially continued without expanding or shrinking. But whether the speech communities in a given land were small or big, they still belonged to the same larger peasant socioculture, taking, as earlier, peasantry as a "human type"; or, more specifically, for example, to the African, Indian, Islamic or Far Eastern variety of this peasant culture. That is to say that the cultural behaviour was shared by all the members of the larger sociopolitical area to which they belonged, just as much as today, for example, Western European people, speaking German, English, French etc. share the same Judeo-Christian culture. And when it came to each of the speech communities, every member of such speech community also shared the language.

Among the classes that eventually made up the CA, the first to emerge was the rural elite. While the rural elites and the masses both spoke the same language, changes were occurring in the cultural behaviour of the rural elite and in the content of their communication. These changes were largely conditioned by the new economic values that came to govern the lives of the rural elite. However, both masses and rural elites of a given collectivity were still members of the same speech community.

Further changes were, however, taking place in the communicative situation of the urban elite. The exopetal orientation which, in the case of the rural elites, had stopped at the national boundary (with a few exceptions), now took the urban elites, psychologically and increasingly, to the international metropolises. The acropetal orientation.
also took them to the uppermost echelons of society whose lives were
governed in London, Paris and Lisbon, and latterly in New York, Bonn
and Tokyo. Thus, the cultural behaviour of the urban elites was increas-
ingly differentiated from that of the masses. Also, the content of com-
munication between the CA and the masses increasingly diverged. While
the CA would be talking, for example, about 'conspicuous industrializa-
tion', tractors, and competitive behaviour, the masses would be talking
about agriculture and cooperative behaviour. Nevertheless, there was
still a lot in common between the masses and particularly the 'lower CA',
namely the rural elites, labour elites and industrial elites, and seg-
ments of the endo-religious and endo-linguistic elites occupying the
lower stratum (see again fig. 2.1). This class of people still had ties
to the rurality and interacted with it fairly regularly. If we thus
considered only this lower strata of the CA, in relation to the early
post-independent period, we see that while there was beginning to be a
major cultural cleavage between themselves and the masses, they still
belonged to the same speech community, or to all the speech communities,
that the masses belonged to. However, the increasing differences
between the lower CA and the masses were large enough to mark the second
major break in socio-cultural communication.

This break was compounded by another that had its beginnings in
pre-colonial times. This related to the endo-linguistic elites, and to
a lesser extent, to the endo-religious elites. In all languages, in fact,
the first cleavage in the communicative situation came about as there
emerged what Ferguson (1959:435) characterizes as diglossia, which refers to
a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to
the primary dialects of the language (which may include standard
or regional standards) there is a very divergent, highly codified
(often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle
of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an
earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned
largely by formal education and is used for most written and spoken
purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for
ordinary conversation.

Later scholars, Gumperz (1961, 1966) and Fishman (1964, 1974b) in
particular, however, extended the notion of 'diglossia' to include
the spoken varieties. On the basis of this we could say that there
came to be two or more lects, with one of them coming to be the acrolect
(Stewart, op.cit.:52), or the 'high variety', as the learned, or
'aristocratic', members of the speech community began to use the particular
lect for 'high functions' (Ferguson, op.cit.:431) (e.g., religious
activities, education, literary activities (spoken or written)). The
other lects, then, came to be considered the basilects (Stewart, op.cit.)
and came to be used for the 'low functions' (Ferguson, op.cit.) (e.g.,
addressing subordinates, talking to family members or close friends). As
society came to be even more differentiated, and social class cleavages came
to be more sharply delineated, the learned class may have begun to use the
acrolect even for speaking, in addition to the religious, literary and
educational functions (as, e.g., the use of 'Sanskrit' by the Brahmin class
in ancient India). Such usage might then have even led to the emergence of
the two lects as two different languages (again, as, for example,
Sanskrit and the many 'Prakrits', i.e., languages used by the masses).
Whether or not this last step occurred, as soon as the linguistic and
religious elites began to use a variety of languages different from that
of the masses, there had arisen two 'sub-speech communities', i.e.,
dialects within the same speech community. Of course, there were other
sub-speech communities, or dialects, as well. But while such dialects had no, or very little, social class connotations, the use of the acrolect was directly linked to prestige.

While in traditional times, the elites used the acrolect extensively, they still shared with the masses a common cultural behaviour and a content. As the leaders in society, they just had to, or could not help it, as they came into regular contact with them. During the post-colonial era, however, things changed radically. The L-endo elites (now we have to make this distinction in view of the presence of lexo(s) in PCN's) were now part of the CA, whose life was governed by the exopetal and acropetal orientations. They had already been initiated into an acropetal tendency when they came to use the acrolect (for some functions). And now the economic and cultural acropetal orientation that had begun to govern the lives of the CA came to them easily. They were thus unlike the traditional linguistic elites they had been. Now their cultural behaviour and the content of communication were different as they also belonged (at least partially) to a sub-speech community to which the masses did not belong. There thus appeared even a more serious cleavage leading to the social and value gaps.

Thus we find that the second major break in cultural communication was compounded when the lower CA was 'joined' by the endo-linguistic (and the endo-religious) elites. Although the lower CA and the endo-linguistic and the endo-religious elites still spoke the same language(s) as the masses did, their cultural behaviour rotated more around the exopetalized 'upper elites' than around their traditional roots.

Now if we consider the 'upper elites' - the political elites, the bureaucratic elites, and the upper segments of the linguistic and religious elites (i.e., primarily the exo-religious and exo-linguistic
we can see the final break in national communication. The colonizer had introduced an L-exo, but during the early colonial period, it was generally restricted to the colonizer. Gradually, however, the local 'L-exo speech community' (given that there was a native 'speech community' in the colonizer's country) (see footnote 34) came to be extended. During the first stages of this expansion, the new recruits from among the colonized spoke both their own L-endo and the newly acquired L-exo. But, as those new recruits came into the colonial orbit increasingly, they began to use the L-exo increasingly as well, and often to the neglect of the L-endos. This meant that for the first time there was a class in a given PCN which was different from the rest of the population in terms of all three aspects of communication - in terms of their cultural behaviour, the content of communication and the language. (See 4.4 for this view of communication.) This, then, also completed the cultural invasion. The social gap and the value gap now made the division between the masses and the CA complete.

In sum, while there was, in precolonial times, a lack of intercommunication among the different collectivities that lived in a given geopolitical area, each speech community shared a common cultural behaviour, a common content of communication and a common language. And even the non-intercommunicating speech communities shared a common cultural behaviour, if not a fairly common content as well. This situation at least provided a possible base for intercommunication. By the time of independence, however, the potential base of communication between the masses and the CA had been undermined.

In terms of language and language usage in society, this situation led to "access restriction, range restriction and repertoire compartmentalization" (Fishman, 1974:87). There was 'access restriction' because
not everybody had access to all the (languages or) lects spoken in the country. Because different languages and lects were used for different functions, the range of functions of each local language was restricted. And, as certain languages and lects came to be used exclusively for particular functions, there came to be a rigid compartmentalization of languages and lects.

The outcome of all this was communicative underdevelopment in PCN’s as segments of the CA sought to maintain their sense of security by communicating among themselves. Such ‘communicative underdevelopment’ increased because the exopetal, acropetal and maxipetal orientations of the CA led them to rotate around the prestigious L-exo, and/or the L-endo acrolects. And the social gap and the value gap were widened accordingly. This, in turn, led to the progressive weakening of the PCN’s in all spheres of activity, further widening the gap between the increasingly ‘debilitated’ PCN’s and the correspondingly growing core nations.

2.4 Summary and lead-on.

We have seen in this chapter how there came to exist in PCN’s a CA, and how this development placed the PCN’s in an international dependency chain, and how, in the process, the global corporations, and core nations and the CA in PCN’s came to underdevelop the masses. Then we observed how such underdevelopment also came to result in communicative under-development, and in the three gaps.

Having thus seen the nature of society for the national development of which a model of development has been proposed in this study, let us now go on to see how such development can be brought about.
PART III

NIRODH

or

The Possibility of Solving the Problem

Chapter Three: In Search of National Development

Chapter Four: Communicative Development as the Homogeneous Condition of Humanistic Nationism

Chapter Five: Ideology: One Cooperating Condition of Humanistic Nationism

Chapter Six: Language: Another Cooperating Condition of Humanistic Nationism
CHAPTER THREE
IN SEARCH OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Philosophers have only interpreted the world... the point is to change it.
-- Karl Marx.

For a man to be perfect, there are two qualities that he should develop equally: 'compassion' and 'wisdom'.
-- Buddha (in Rahula, 1959:46)

3.1 Introduction.

The primary task in this chapter is to formulate a 'model' of national development. But before such a task can be undertaken, it is necessary to briefly review the literature on the subject. In 3.22, a particular factor that has come to be increasingly recognized in the literature on development, namely, the role of human qualities, is examined in some detail, since my own model has 'human cultivation' at the center of the process of development. In 3.31, the issue of what constitutes 'humanness' is examined and in 3.32, the discussion is extended to the concept 'human cultivation'. Section 3.4 provides an outline of a proposed model of national development, and section 3.5 is a defence of the proposed approach. The organization of the thesis is presented in 3.6.


What is 'national development'? What are its features? How do we know if 'development' has taken place? These are, of course, the kinds of questions I shall be attempting to answer in the discussions that lie ahead. But first it is necessary to consider what has already been said
on the subject.

3.21 An overview.

Chodak (op. cit.: 10-12) sees theories of development in terms of five 'approaches'. The first he calls 'historiosophic', and deals with those notions that denote "a process of continuous evolution within the socio-culture of mankind in general". The second approach is what he calls the results of development rather than development itself. What results from the changes described in such theories is not so much a higher stage but "a more complex social structure". The third approach attempts to answer the question, "What causes development?" The answer is usually a psychological one. "Such theories tacitly assume that societies develop as a result of the work of exceptional and occasional factors". The fourth approach takes a position diametrically opposed to the historiosophic, evolutionary one. Development, according to such theorists, doesn't just happen, but is "made by developers". These theories are concerned with explanation of how to organize resources for economic, political and other 'aspectual' development. And finally, the fifth approach,

1. Examples are the theories of Marx, Comte (1898), Spencer (1901) and Ward (1903) from the past, and of Steward, (1955), White, (1959; 1969) and Sahlin (1960) as examples of contemporary versions.

2. Included under this approach are the functionalist writings contrasting pattern variables of traditional and modern societies (Parsons and Shils, 1951), Durkheim's (1933) theory on mechanic and organic solidarity, Toennies' (1957) theory on Gemeinschaft and ('community') and Gesellschaft ('society') and Cooley's (1962) theory on primary and secondary groups.


4. The works of Marshall (1870), Schumpeter (1934), Rostow (1959) and Hoselitz (1960) on economic development, and Deutsch (1966), Almond & Coleman, (1960) and Pye (1963) on political development serve as examples.
which is an attempt to incorporate approaches two, three and four, but not one, relates to the theories on 'modernization' -- how to take a country from 'is' to 'ought'.

The most serious shortcoming in Chodak's analysis is the absence of any reference to the 'dependency model', which in a way is a neo-Marxian criticism of approaches 2 to 5. This 'model' takes the position that the result (cf., approach 2) of the intervention by such Western theories and theorists (including the 'westernized' local ones) in PCN's is the continued "underdevelopment" (Frank), of these PCN's, rather than 'development'.

3.22 The role of human qualities in development.

For a long time, 'development' has been equated with economic growth. And the major, or the only measure of such development was the per capita GNP. The argument was that if a country amassed more "reproducible capital" that is, money, relative to its land and man-hours worked, then, over a period of time, the country's "national product" would grow (e.g., Meier & Baldwin, 1957:2). The nation that amassed the most reproducible capital, or had the largest annual increase, was deemed the most developed.

There were at least two major problems with this contention. The first was that the combined amount of land, man-hours worked and the stock of reproducible capital did not account for the total economic growth of

5. Theories advanced by Apter (1965), Eisenstadt (1966), Levy (1966) and Bendix (1964), specifically in relation to PCN's, are examples of this approach.

6. Among representative works of this approach (not given in Chodak) are: the works of Frank (op.cit.), Petras & Zeitlin (ed.) (1968), Arrighi & Saul (op.cit.), Gough & Sharma (1973) and Barnett & Muller (op.cit.). My own chapter two is based on this view. See also Paulston (1975) for a discussion of all approaches.
a nation.

Another part of the 'economic growth' argument was that the abundance and cheapness of reproducible capital meant better and more efficient technology, technical knowledge, more complex structures, and so on, that would in turn contribute to economic growth. But then the question arose as to why some countries have 'underdeveloped' despite increasing reproducible capital, better technology, etc. This again suggested that something more than reproducible capital was involved in economic growth. The Chicago economist Schultz (1961) called this something human capital.

This notion was already implied in the work of Max Weber and Alfred Marshall. On the basis of his studies on the rise (and maintenance) of capitalism in the European context, Weber (op.cit.) had argued that economic development in Western Europe had taken place only when the society became psychologically ripe to produce it. The protestant ethic had instilled in the society certain "mental conditions" (e.g., "ascending rationality") and produced certain personality-types endowed with 'entrepreneurship'. 7 Around the same time, Marshall had pointed to the "human character" and "human freedom" as "determinants" or "forces" that "caused or facilitated economic development" (Youngson, 1956:14).

By the fifties, the notion that certain qualities of human life were needed for economic growth was gaining ground, as evidenced from its inclusion in the growing body of literature on economic growth. Rostow (op.cit.) was perhaps the first to give recognition to it in a formal theory,

7. For a discussion of Weber's critics, see Fiscoff (1944), Chodak (op.cit.:152-8), Weiner (1966a) and Singer, Cohen & Sirinivas (1966).
when he posited among the "preconditions for take-off" certain "attitudes" needed in society. Other writers saw the importance of certain other attitudes: "self-reliance" (McClelland, op. cit.), "self-determinism" (Geertz, 1963), "self-restraint" (Veblen, 1965), "religious attitude" (Weber, op. cit. Bellah, 1957; Geertz, op. cit.).

Then there were still other psychological traits deemed to be important: "tastes" (Meier & Baldwin, op. cit.), "achievement motivation" (McClelland, op. cit.), "intelligence" (ibid.), "security" (Linton, 1945) or "security within insecurity" (Chodak, op. cit.), "guilt" (Devos, 1963), "instinct" (Veblen, op. cit.) and so on.

Modernization theorists also had suggested "that the starting point of any definition of modernization is... in the character of individuals" (Weiner, 1966:4). Lerner (1958) identified this characteristic as "empathy". And the works of Dawson (1967), Doob (1967), Kahl (1968), Schnaiberg (1970), Portes (1973), Inkeles & Smith (1974) and others persuasively argue the existence of "a psychological syndrome of modernity", characterized both by "a mental flexibility in coping with new environments and situations" and "the external behavioural manifestation of those psychological orientations" (anonymous, n.d.:1). Earlier on, Schumpeter (op. cit.), too, had identified a behaviour component in relation to economic development.

A final human quality seen as conducive to economic growth was "skills" (Schultz, op. cit.; Hoselitz, op. cit.; Meier & Baldwin, op. cit.).

Attitudes, psychological traits, skills and behaviour patterns are all then specific human qualities.

Thus, today, 'human capital' is considered an equally, if not more, important factor in economic growth/development as is 'reproducible capital'.
In fact, as Chodak (op.cit. 160) puts it, "the remedy was no longer to seek capital, but to transform people". The argument now was that when characteristics such as the above were present in individuals, segments of people or an entire society, and there were enough of them, economic growth/development was bound to occur.

This discussion, I believe, is sufficient to show the recognition given to the role played by the qualities of human life in the economic sector. The British economist Schumacher (1973) caps it all by sub-titling his work, "Economics as if People Mattered".

As early as the seventeenth century, Comenius (in The Great Didactic, 1632) had wished, in relation to education, that every person should be fully educated to his full humanity. Later in the twentieth century, Dewey echoes the same sentiment when he sets the ultimate goal in education to be the self-actualization of the human potential. In attempting to seek an answer to the "problem of the intellectual half-man", Lyon (op.cit.) comes up with the need to educate the "whole man". Finally, there is an entire 'humanistic education' movement, spearheaded by the 'Third Force psychologists' Abraham Maslow, Alexander Lowen, Carl Rogers, Fredrich Perls and others, which has now culminated in the call for a "mankind school" (Goodlad & Herschfeld, 1974). Article 26 of the UN Declaration reflects these sentiments when it calls for education to be directed toward "the full development of the human personality".

8. See Rogers (1969) for principles, and Lyon (op.cit.) for a discussion of its pioneers, techniques, training, management and evaluation.

9. See also Rich (1971), Weinberg (ed.) (1972), Patterson (1973), Read & Simon (ed.) (1975) for other discussions on 'humanistic education'. Other resources in the area of 'mankind school' are found in Drag's "Annotated Bibliography" in Lyon (op.cit.:149-89).
Indeed, a survey of the pertinent literature from the social and physical sciences supports the conclusion that the qualitative human component is the fundamental and determining factor in the development of human collectivities.

Leaders of PCN's have come to recognize this as well. Nyerere, for example, calls for 'human development' as his country's developmental goal, as different from mere material or economic development. Even the present right-wing United National Party government in Sri Lanka has dedicated itself to "the creation of a New Society, based on human and moral values" (1977 Election Manifesto, reprinted in Sri Lanka News, August 1977:17).

The importance of the quality of human life, however, should not blind us to the complexity, or the multi-dimensionality, of the problem. It was the Buddha who two and a half millennia ago pointed to the phenomenon of multicausality (1.3). In his famous 'parable of the seed', he pointed out the need for water, sunlight, good soil, etc., for a seed to germinate. The climatic and ecological factors, natural resources (extent and variability), population size, historical factors, past and present cultural patterns, educational and functional literacy levels, media dispersion, level of sociopolitical integration, the political system and a host of such other factors thus act as 'combining factors' (1.3), in national development. Nevertheless, the 'seed' or 'ruling condi-

10. The earlier version of this is contained in the Arusha Declaration. Its latest version is contained in the 'Declaration of Dar Es Salaam: "Liberated Man -- the Purpose of Development" (Convergence, IX, 4:1976: 9-17).

11. See Jayasuriya (1963) for a discussion.
A reproduction of development is the maximization of humanness, or what I shall call (in the next section) 'human cultivation'.

3.3 'Human Cultivation' as the Ruling Condition in National Development.

What does 'human cultivation' mean? To answer this question, we need first to know what 'humanness' means.

3.31 What is 'humanness'? -- a Buddhist interpretation.

The nature of being 'human' has been a topic of enquiry for many centuries, both in the East and the West. Since there is neither the space nor the need to examine all of them, I shall merely take one of the viewpoints and present my own interpretation of it.

The viewpoint referred to here is that of the Buddha (566-486 B.C.), or Siddharta Gautama as he was known before his Enlightenment (and 'Buddha' simply means the 'Enlightened One'), a young Indian prince who left the household life in search of the meaning of life. It must be emphasized here, however, that what follows, is merely my own attempt to understand the Buddha's view of man.

The view of man presented in the next few pages is as follows: Man is an entity (or 'system' (see 4.2)) made up of two 'sub-systems': a corporeal one and a psychic one. The two are in a necessary and conditioned origination relationship (1.3). That is to say that the corporeal aspect of a given individual can be present only if his psychic aspect is

12. The 'ruling condition' is the 'decisive cause [that] settles the character of the result' (Stcherbatsky, op.cit.:138), as, for example, the eye in regard to 'visual sensation'. The other 'co-factors' are labelled 'object condition', (e.g., a building the eye sees), the 'homogeneous condition' and the 'cooperating condition'. By 'homogeneous condition' is meant the condition that immediately precedes the ruling condition (for example, being at a given place for the eye to see a particular building). The 'cooperative condition' in our example would be the light that permits the eye to see the building.
present as well, and vice versa. To the extent that the two aspects are so related, a human being is a 'psychophysique'.

The psychic sub-system of this psychophysique has two dimensions to it: 'reflection' and 'cognition'. The corporeal sub-system has but a single dimension: 'action'. Reflection and cognition interrelate with each other, and the two together with action, and vice versa. In the process, the psychic and corporeal sub-systems interrelate more and more, and more effectively. Or, put another way, as man transforms thought into 'praxis', the human individual undergoes qualitative change in his psychic domain, culminating in 'wisdom'. Likewise, as action interrelates with reflection and cognition, the corporeal aspect of man also undergoes qualitative change, culminating in 'compassion'. 'Wisdom' and 'compassion', then, together make the ideal 'psychophysique', or man. The following discussion expands these notions.

The basic teaching of the Buddha on the nature of the human individual is contained in one of his central discourses called the "Conditioned Origination of the Individual", or (Pali) \textit{paticca samuppada} (1.3). The birth of an individual, according to this analysis, represents one station in his \textit{samsaric} sojourn, or the 'life-cycle' (\textit{bhawa cakra}), made up of countless lives.\footnote{Buddhist literature provides the 'life cycle story' of at least one human being, the Buddha. These are the \textit{Jatakas} 'birth stories' (numbering approximately 500). See Chalmers & Rouse (1895) for an English translation, and Wickremasingha (1956) for a comparative analysis in relation to the Russian novel.} The life of an individual (in this birth), then, begins, as a "(bridging) consciousness" (\textit{vinu:ma}),\footnote{This is the 'life energy' that remains flowing somewhere in the universe, at the extinction of the person's earlier life (death), 'waiting' to 'latch on' to a suitable repository, to result in a new life.} unites, at concep-
tion, with the sperm and the ovum, resulting in a 'psychophysique' \(^{15}\) \(\text{naːmaruːpə}\) \(^{16}\). This psychophysique, which appears at conception, is made up of a 'corporeal aggregate' \(^{17}\) \(\text{ruːpakkhandə}\) \(^{18}\) which manifests itself in the six sense organs (including the 'mind organ') \(^{19}\) in a 'necessary relationship' (1.3) with a 'psychic aggregate' \(\text{naːmakkhandə}\) \(^{20}\) which

15. The traditional translation of \(\text{naːmaruːpə}\) is 'name and form' which I find quite unsatisfactory. The term 'psychophysique', as also used by Jayatilleka (1975), sounds more accurate, particularly in view of the meaning the term 'psyche' has come to mean in psychological literature. The term 'physique' is more suggestive of a living being than is the term 'form'.

16. According to the \(\text{paticːosamupːadaː}\) analysis, \(\text{naːmaruːpə}\) arises 'conditioned by' \(\text{bacīyaː, sankhətaː, wimːanaː}\). These two are the third and fourth links respectively of the 'conditioned origination' chain, as divided into past, present and future, as follows: (1) ignorance \(\text{awijːaː}\) and (2) volitional activities \(\text{sankhəːaː}\) of a person's past life gives rise to the present which includes five steps: (3) bridging consciousness \(\text{wimːanaː}\), (4) psychophysique \(\text{naːmaruːpə}\), (5) the six sense organs \(\text{salːaːvataːnaː}\), of which (6) the sense of touch \(\text{phasːaː}\) comes to be activated and gives rise to (7) feelings \(\text{w..<\text{...}}\) In these stages is the individual formed in the present. Then there are five factors which ensure a future life for the individual. Thus, (8) 'desire' \(\text{tanhaː}\) leads to (9) attachment \(\text{upaːdaːnaː}\) which then leads to (10) becoming \(\text{bhavaː}\), (11) birth \(\text{jaːti}\) and eventually to (12) decay \(\text{jarːaː}\) and death \(\text{marɔnaː}\).

17. The term \(\text{khandə}\) in \(\text{ruːpakkhandə}\) (and later, in \(\text{naːmakkhandə}\)) literally means 'bundle' or 'aggregate', and suggests that each such bundle that go to make up \(\text{naːm}^n\) and \(\text{ruːp}^n\) is further divisible into sub-elements. See Jayasuriya (op.cit.179ff.) for a discussion of this 'subatomic' theory in Buddhism.

18. \(\text{Ruːpakkhandə}\) is made up of the 'great aggregates' \(\text{mahaːbhucːaː}\) of water, fire, air and earth, and the combination of all these four elements.

19. The assumption here is that the mind has 'physical' properties, if only in terms of ever-dying-ever-being-born (cf. Buddhism's 'theory of the instantaneous being' (Stcherbatsky, op.cit.:79ff.) electric impulses travelling along neurons and across synapses (Deutsch, 1968). See Jayasuriya (op.cit.:173ff.) for an analysis of the 'Seats of the Minds'.

20. \(\text{Naːmakkhandə}\) is made up of the four 'mental groups' of feeling \(\text{w..<\text{...}}\) perception \(\text{saːmaː}\), mental formations \(\text{sankhəːaː}\) and (survival) consciousness \(\text{saːyvatːoːnikaː, wimːanaː}\).
manifests itself in the six sensory faculties. The 'bridging consciousness' which was thus instrumental in the birth of the psychophysique, is then incorporated at birth, with the very same psychophysique in the form of "survival consciousness" (saṃvatsārika wetu:na). Name:ru:pa then, is the Buddhist metaphysical (i.e., technical) Pali term for the English word 'man' (in the neutral, not masculine, sense). If name relates to man's psychic sub-system as represented by the sense faculties, ru:pa relates to his corporeal sub-system as represented by his sense organs. This then suggests that a human being is (the outcome of) the total integration of the psychic aspect with a corporeal aspect.

The salient features of the 'psychophysique' analysis of man, then, are (a) that man comprises two sub-systems, psychic and corporeal, and (b) that they are in a necessary and conditioned origination relationship.

21. The term wina:na has many a problem of interpretation, since it is said (in the literature) to exist both prior to and after birth (the respective terms being saṃvatsārika wetu:na 'bridging consciousness' and wina:na 'stream of consciousness' respectively, and also as a 'medium' in spiritual progress of an individual (a:laya wina:na). (See P. de Silva, 1973:9-15 for a discussion). But I see no particular problem or contradiction here. I see these three usages as different aspects, or functions, of the same phenomenon. After death, wina:na keeps the 'life energy' (jakti) going, which then serves as a 'bridge' for the next life. Following conception, it serves as the 'life carrier', and also as the medium to those who seek spiritual progress. Then at death, it again continues to serve to preserve the 'life energy' necessary to give rise to a further birth. In this sense, wina:na can be compared to the froth of the ocean. The froth is the 'quintessence' of the wave-life, and has been brought to the present wave by countless earlier waves (read 'lives'). Then the froth becomes part of the given wave, which, on landing (read 'death') leaves the wave and continues its way until it becomes part of another wave.

22. The non-metaphysical (Pali) term is manus:ə.
Thus, any individual can be said to be a system.\textsuperscript{23}

Another basic teaching of the Buddha that helps us understand the concept of man further is called the **Noble Eightfold Path** (āryā: attagiko: mag:go:), 'the Path' hereafter.

This Path, as the name indicates, is analyzed by the Buddha in terms of eight 'steps', and are traditionally listed in the following order:

1. Right Understanding (sam:ta: ditthi)
2. Right Thought (sam:ta: saŋka:pa:)
3. Right Language (sam:ta: waːca:)
4. Right Conduct (sam:ta: kam:anto)

\textsuperscript{23} This analysis of man, then, well matches with the scientific view of man as a system. Schwab (1964:188) explains the notion of system in relation to an animal:

\ldots the character or nature we call "animal" is expressed through a catalogue of capacities and activities \ldots that is, ingestion, digestion, distribution and assimilation, excretion, locomotion, interaction, reproduction and so on. These capacities and activities, in turn, make certain demands. There are conditions that must be held within bounds and needs that must be supplied if they are servants of the whole \ldots However organs, in turn, may be treated as wholes while we investigate, as their parts, the tissues, the variety of cells, even the microstructures \ldots What we have here, then, is a series of sub-systems (e.g., tissues, cells, etc.) forming into a larger system and at the same time constitutes a sub-system of a still larger system [e.g., an organism].

This characterization well applies to man who is considered an animal from the scientific as well as the Buddhist point of view (the word saṭṭa: 'being' (literally /saː-/t/) 'the state of being) used in relation to both animal and man. (An example of the latter usage is the term used to refer to the Buddha before his Enlightenment: boːdhisatːa: 'Enlightenment-bound animal'.

\textsuperscript{24} The traditional rendering of the word waːca: is 'speech'. This translation however, does not capture other aspects of language such as 'implicit speech', i.e., 'thought' (see chapter six for this concept) and writing. It is thus I have translated it as 'language'. As in the case of all other steps, the term 'language' is to be taken in both the general and the specific senses.
5. Right Livelihood (sāma: a:ji:wa)
6. Right Effort (sāma: wa:ya:ma)
7. Right Mindfulness (sāma: sāti), and
8. Right Concentration (sāma: dhi).

According to the teaching of the Path, each step serves as the necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the next. Thus, step 8 leads to step 1, in a conditioned origination relationship. The eight steps of the Path can therefore be seen as a cyclical process as follows:

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**Figure 3.1** The Noble Eightfold Path in Buddhism showing the conditioned origination relationship among its eight steps.
Analyzing this figure (i.e., the Path) in relation to the earlier psychophysique analysis, it can be seen that items 7, 8, 1 and 2 clearly fall in the psychic domain. 'Mindfulness', 'concentration', 'understanding' and 'thought' are all processes that take place 'behind closed doors', so to speak, within the 'psyche'. By contrast, 'language', 'conduct', 'livelihood' and 'effort' fall in the corporeal, or action, domain. They all have an overt manifestation in terms of some physical action. The Path analysis thus confirms the view of man contained in the psychophysique analysis as one made of a psychic sub-system and a corporeal sub-system.

The teaching of the Path, however, not merely confirms the psychophysique analysis of man, but adds a further dimension. Language, conduct, livelihood and effort not only belong to the corporeal domain, but are also the outcome of translating 'thought' into 'action', if the psychic and the corporeal domains could be thought of in terms of 'thought' and 'action'. The Path, as the label indicates, is the way an individual can attain the final deliverance of nibbana (Sanskrit: nirvana). Being 'right', or 'excellent', in mindfulness, concentration, understanding and thought can be of hardly any value to the process of liberation unless one is 'excellent' in language, conduct, livelihood and effort. Thus, the need is for the 'right' kind of mental development to be translated into, or to be manifested in, the 'right' kind of corporeal behaviour. Indeed given the conditioned origination relationship between the psychic and corporeal domains (supra), excellent psychic behaviour cannot be achieved without excellent corporeal behaviour. Thus, the need is to translate 'psychic excellence' to 'corporeal excellence'.

The fact that the Buddha recognized the need for translating thought into action is seen not only by his inclusion in the path of an equal
number of aspects in each of the domains, but also by providing for such
a transfer, by placing 'right language' as the bridge between the two
domains. Language, as Bhartrhari, the fourth century Buddhist philosopher-
grammariam, characterizes it, has two aspects: 'implicit speech' and
'explicit speech' (Matilal, 1971:30). Chomsky (1965:4), the twentieth
century linguist, characterizes language in terms of 'competence' and
'performance'. While obviously the characterization of language by Chomsky
and Bhartrhari are not identical in all its detail, it is clear that both
of them recognize a covert and overt aspect of language. The covert
aspect of, or implicit, language, can be seen as being linked to 'right
thought', the last step in the psychic domain, and explicit language as
being linked to 'right conduct', the second step in the corporeal domain.
Language, then, serves as the bridge between the cognitive and the active
domains. The conceptualization of man in the Path analysis thus recognizes the human organism's essential praxic nature.

Further evidence for such a recognition comes from another analysis
of the Path. The Buddha groups all his teachings under three categories: 
\textit{sīla} 'morality' (but see later for a different rendering), \textit{sama\ddot{d}hi }
'refection' and \textit{pañña} 'wisdom'. Analyzing the Path on the basis of this, scholars group Right Language, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood and
Right Effort under 'morality', Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration
under 'reflection', and Right Understanding and Right Thought under 'wis-
dom'. The importance of 'Right Understanding' is pointed out by Saddha-
tissa (\textit{op.cit.}:69) in terms of the extent to which it is put into practice:

\footnote{25. See also chapter six for a more detailed analysis of language.}
The Dhammapada tells us: "The extent to which one is well versed in the Dhamma [i.e., Buddha's teaching (and, 'Right Understanding' is indeed explained as the understanding of the Dhamma)] is not measured by the amount one talks, but if one heard even a little and really discerns the Dhamma through the mental body (intelligence), one is, indeed, well versed in the Dhamma." The great point is, therefore, that one should understand what one hears or reads of it, and that one should put that into practice (underline added).

Thus, we can say that Right Language, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood and Right Effort are the outcome of translating the psychic processes, or the mental development arising out of such processes, in relation to others. Borrowing a Marxian term, then, we may call the domain to which items 3 to 6 belong (i.e., si:la) not 'morality' but praxis, using the term to mean either (a) translating thought into action, and (b) so translating in relation to others. If such an interpretation is valid, the term 'corporeal domain', used to label steps 3 to 6 collectively, must be modified to read 'praxic domain' - a domain where thought comes to be translated into action.27

The view of man we get from an analysis of the Path, then, is that

26. The Dhammapada is a collection of 423 (Pali) verses, given under 26 chapters, and is part of the Sutta Pitaka, one of the Three Baskets containing the teachings of the Buddha. It is often considered Buddhism's equivalent to the Bible, Koran or the Bhagavad Gita (of the Hindus), although, it must be emphasized, there is no 'holiness' attached to it.

27. The Path is, no doubt a 'prescription' for, or a way to be followed by, man seeking his deliverance. But, it nevertheless reflects a view of man, because a prescription for man that does not take into consideration his nature, can hardly help him alleviate his 'suffering' (dukkha).
man is a system made up of a psychic sub-system and a praxic sub-system.

Under the earlier psychophysique analysis, the psychic and the corporeal domains were seen as being in a necessary or conditioned origination relationship. The Path analysis confirms this as well. Thus, as steps in the same process, steps 7, 8, 1 and 2 on the one hand, and 3 to 6 on the other, can also be said to be in a conditioned origination relationship, since the Path has been explained by the Buddha in terms of being 'right' or 'excellent' in every single aspect of each domain. If there were no such necessary relationship, it would be possible to attain nibbana by being 'excellent' in one or the other domains, or in one or the other aspects within each domain. Indeed the very ordering of the steps is indicative of the necessary relationship between the two domains. As traditionally listed, (aspects of) wisdom comes first, then 'praxis', and finally 'reflection'. As the "dictum ... endorsed by the Buddha" goes, "morality [i.e., praxis] is washed round with wisdom [read: psychic domain], and wisdom with morality [praxis]" (Saddhatissa, op.cit.:46). Rahula (op.cit.:46) identifies the highest level of achievement in each of the two areas, and their relationship, in the following words: "for a man to be perfect, there are two qualities that should develop equally: compassion (Pali: karuna) and wisdom\textsuperscript{28} (pāṇaṇa).

\textsuperscript{28} In most Western views (Freud is an exception), thinking is mentioned first, and 'feeling' only secondly, seemingly suggesting a priority status for the former. But, the order has been turned around here to reflect the Buddhist view.

\textsuperscript{29} An Indian folktale provides a beautiful example of the outcome of the lack of such balance: There was once a monkey who was very attached to his master. One day, as the master lay asleep, a fly settled on him, time after time. Being unsuccessful at keeping it away, the dutiful monkey pulled out the master's sword and whacked at the fly, only to sever the master's head.
As a first approximation, being possessed of 'wisdom' basically means that humans can think, or cognize, better and deeper than any other living creature (that we so far know of). Whether man can cognize better because of a specific physical structure of the brain, or as a result of a specific complex mental process, or both, we do not know for sure, but humans can be said to be able to cognize better. A more complex structure or process, however, is only a necessary first condition. It merely provides certain channels and capacities (in terms of neurons, electric impulses, and so on), to be triggered by internal and/or external stimuli. These stimuli provide us with more and more 'information' to help us cope with our environment. But at this first stage, this information is retained in our short-term and long-term memory as discreet 'data'. But this does not itself constitute a maximization of our brain capacity. The brain must not only (select and) store such information, but must also, at the next level, interrelate such information so as to make us understand, or gain 'knowledge' of, 'reality'. This is well recognized by the Buddha when he uses the (Pali) term *yathābhūtāna*.

30. Let it be emphasized here once again that what follows does not come from any specific teaching of the Buddha. It is at best one that is inspired by Buddhist concepts, as well as, however, by advances in psychology and communications studies, although no attempt is made to identify the sources.

31. See John (1976) for an updated version of the functioning of the mind. See also Jayatilleka (1975:77-89) for a Buddhist analysis, in addition to footnote 19. See Sankaran & Ganeshsundaram (1959) for a linguistic contribution.

32. The genes that an individual carries, the internal thought processes themselves, the language universals inherent in us as humans (see Chomsky (1968), Weinreich (1963), and so on) serve as some internal stimuli. External stimuli are, for example, the millions of bits of information that impinge upon the six senses, and are processed and absorbed from the very beginnings of life.
Dasaγa, literally 'the knowing of the state of being as it is', to mean "knowledge" (Jayatilleka, 1963:423). The information stored, and the understanding of reality gained, through synthesis, then, help us, at the final stage to act in 'wisdom' in the conduct of our lives. Thus far, then, we can view man's psychic sub-system as functioning at three increasingly higher levels: data, knowledge and wisdom, as shown in figure 3.2 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>level</th>
<th>level of organization</th>
<th>source</th>
<th>relationship to praxic domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>step 3: wisdom</td>
<td>highly synthesized</td>
<td>'achieved' internally, privately or exclusively</td>
<td>necessarily related; achieved and used in a 'developmentally profitable' manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step 2: knowledge</td>
<td>lower than at step 3, but higher than at step 1 (below)</td>
<td>'achieved'/ obtained internally and externally</td>
<td>increasingly related, and 'developmentally profitable' in arriving at and using</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>step 1: data</td>
<td>usually discrete</td>
<td>obtained externally and internally</td>
<td>little related; obtained and used with little other-regarding considerations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.2 'Levels' of the psychic domain in the process of arriving at 'wisdom'.
Column two in the figure, 'level of organization', shows the relationship among data, knowledge and wisdom, and refers to what extent the 'content' of information is internalized in the cognitive structure, or has come to be part of the structure of the brain (Hays, 1973:211). At step 1, the information is received, as discrete items, with relatively little attempt made to relate them to other information available to him. Even if one 'bit' of information is related to another, the individual at this level will act as if there is no such relationship. The information at this 'data' level does not go beyond the short term memory, because it has not come to be internalized.

Knowledge, or step 2, on the other hand, means that the different and seemingly unrelated bits of data have been better synthesized, allowing a person to grasp reality in a wider perspective and in its internal relationships. By this stage, the process of internalization has begun, and advanced far, by which is meant simply that "the conversion of one kind of memory (STM) into another (LTM)" (ibid.) is taking place. But still, there are all kinds of bits of information dangling or floating around, not having seen the relationship. And as a person reaches the final step of 'wisdom', there is less and less of such unrelated bits which are not yet 'part of the brain structure'.

33. In the strictest sense, of course, no human (on any other living being) can store information unrelated to all else that is already stored in the brain structure.

34. This statement is made on the basis of the Buddhist view that, in keeping with its 'no-soul' teaching, there is the thought, but no thinker. See Rahula (op.cit.:42) for a discussion.

35. The process involved at this level of organization is not unlike the cognitive processes shown in figure 11.2 in relation to conceptualization.
As the label indicates, 'source' (column three) in the figure refers to the origins of the information which come to be gradually synthesized. At the 'data' level, the material is both received by and determined for the individual primarily from external sources, although they can also be self-discovered or self-determined. There is still a high reliance on external sources, however, since the person at this level does not as yet make use of his own capacities maximally. Perhaps the term 'obtained', rather than 'achieved', better describes the mechanics involved here. As the person moves along towards the next level, the personal capacities are better tapped, and external sources become operative only where internal resources have failed. Thus at step 3, the information can be said to be 'achieved'. At this 'wisdom' level, a person is primarily, although not exclusively, self-reliant. He himself will decide, after conscious deliberation, which data are relevant to his understanding of reality and to his interpersonal relationships. He himself will attempt as much as possible to discover them by himself.

Column four shows to what extent the psychic domain is related to the praxic domain, given the necessary relationship that holds between them (supra). But perhaps this relationship can be better understood once we also know the features of the praxic domain (to be analyzed next). Thus, holding off for later the discussion of column four, a few concluding notes in relation to the discussion so far need to be made.

According to the above analysis, 'data' is the lowest level of development of the psychic sub-system, 'knowledge' the intermediate, and 'wisdom' the highest. The view of 'wisdom' being at the highest level is not far removed from the dictionary meaning of the term 'wise'.

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According to Webster (1964), to be 'wise' is to have "the ability to judge and deal with persons, situations etc. rightly, based on a broad range of knowledge, experience and understanding". In Buddhist terms as well, wisdom can be said to mean that brain quality that enables us to view (and act upon) the environment at the highest level of '(survival) consciousness', or, in more mundane language, 'cognition'. An important notion here is that although knowledge, based on information, serves as a necessary condition for wisdom to prevail, it is not a sufficient condition. In other words, not everyone with knowledge and/or information is wise.

The analysis of the concept 'wisdom' then allows us to see it as the highest level of a three-step process, with each level, as figure 3.2 shows, being marked by its own characteristics. They are, however, not exclusive features. Nor do they respect rigid boundaries (i.e., they overlap), and can be seen as a range rather than a point. The vertical bidirectional arrows in the figure indicate this phenomenon.

While 'wisdom' is the highest level in the psychic domain, it is, as we shall see, only a co-ideal to be achieved in terms of humanization, given that man has a praxic domain as well, in a necessary relationship with the psychic domain (supra).

Humans are differentiable from other living forms, it was pointed out,

36. Under this, then, person who in a given situation brings to bear the best of knowledge available in one particular specialization, to the exclusion of others, is not acting in wisdom. Nor is the person wise who brings to bear more than one relevant dimension, but only at the most rudimentary level, when he is capable of much more.

37. cf. here Fromm (1941:273): "The pathetic superstition ... that by knowing more and more facts, one arrives at knowledge of reality".
because humans can 'cognize' better. Similarly, humans can be said to coin a term, to 'prax' (from praxis)\textsuperscript{38} better, or for translating thought into action, than any non-humans.\textsuperscript{39} This, again, is because of a specific physical structure of the brain/mind, or as a result of a complex mental process, or both (supra). 'Compassion' has been identified above as the highest level in this praxic domain.

As in the psychic domain, the praxic domain can also be seen as being comprised of three increasingly higher levels: concern, empathy and compassion. If we were to develop a scheme for the praxic domain similar to that of figure 3.2, we could say that in terms of the level of organization (column two), every event of praxis at the 'concern' level is a discrete item. Few or no relationships are seen between or among these various events. In terms of the 'source' (column three), thoughts are translated into action at this level in relation to oneself, or those individuals and events directly concerned with one's own welfare. Praxis at this concern level little exceeds animal love, where caring considerations are, generally though not exclusively, in direct relationship to survival needs. If at this first level, the boundaries of praxis are coterminous with oneself or the (nuclear) family, at the next level, the source and object of praxis extends to the larger milieu, beginning with

\textsuperscript{38} The word 'prax' is arrived at through the linguistic process known as 'back-formation'. A well-known example of the process is 'cherry' from the French 'cerise' /sariːs/, which, when anglicized, sounds like the English plural 'cherries'.

\textsuperscript{39} The assumption here is that animals, but not plants, have a 'mind' too. This is implied in Darwin's theory, and in Buddhism (and Hinduism?) which puts humans and animals under one category sat: a, literally, 'the state of the being' (see also footnote 23).
the immediate community to the larger nation. As the source of praxis expands, discrete concerns begin to be 'part of the brain structure', as they see inter-relationships, and there develops a generalized concern, or 'empathy'. At the highest level, the source and object of praxis extends even beyond the community or national boundaries or personal relationships, and feelings are synthesized in a manner that results in a "hospitality of the mind" (Goulet). One's concern, affection and love now extend to "all living beings" (sab:e; sat:a:) (Buddha), including enemies, and animals, and even other living matter. At this level, 'generalized others' comes to be the source and object of praxis.

Compassion, then, is the other co-ideal to be achieved in terms of humanization, along with wisdom.

Having seen the features of the praxic sub-system, we can now examine column 4 of figure 3.2 in relation to both the psychic and the praxic sub-systems. What the column attempts to capture is the extent to which the psychic domain interacts with the praxic domain. At the lowest level, not only are data discrete and unsynthesized, they are also collected (and used) with little reference to the praxic domain. If there is any interest in translating thought into action, it would be in relation to self-regarding considerations, and very little, if any, in relation to others. Thus, at the lowest level, data at best relates to concern. Likewise in the praxic domain. Concern is very little related to data, by which is meant that whatever consideration a person at this level has of oneself, or of others, does not necessarily take into consideration the (discrete) information he has.

40. The phrase in parenthesis is intended to remind ourselves that while wisdom is in the cognitive domain, it also has a praxic component.
As we go to levels two and three, however, there is increasing interaction between the two domains. The information is now sought, obtained and put to use, to apply a Buddhist concept, in a manner increasingly 'profitable developmentally' (atthesanhitam), that is, in a manner that helps maximize humanization, of the self and others, in terms of empathy and, eventually, of compassion. Thus, at the highest level of wisdom, information is 'necessarily related' with the praxic domain.

The same relationship of course, exists from the point of view of the praxic domain, where there is increasing praxis, as the domain increasingly interacts with knowledge, and eventually, with wisdom.

The process discussed so far can be shown diagrammatically as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>level/stage</th>
<th>praxic domain</th>
<th>psychic domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>compassion</td>
<td>wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>empathy</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>concern</td>
<td>data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.3 The inter-relationships between the praxic and psychic domains at the different levels.

41. The concept, as used here, is from the Buddha who classifies statements according to their 'truth-value' (bhutam, taccham), 'moral usefulness' (atthesanhitam) and 'pleasantness' (paresan piya: mana:pa:) (Jayatilleka, 1963:351). It is the 'moral usefulness' dimension we have in mind here. However, in order to relate it to the issue at hand, I have labelled it as 'developmentally profitable.'
The bidirectional (horizontal) arrows in the figure indicate that the two domains interact at each of the three levels. However, the extent of interaction increases as we go higher up. Thus the dotted arrow indicates minimal interaction, and the solid line maximal interaction. The arrows are bidirectional because the two domains are increasingly in a mutual relationship. As each lower level of a given domain interacts with the comparable level of the other domain, and increasingly synthesize (more information and more other-regarding considerations in the two domains respectively) there emerges a qualitative difference, resulting in the next level. This is indicated by the unidirectional upward arrow(s). As compassion and wisdom interact, and are confused with each other, at the final level, a 'good', or better, human being, emerges. As a person reaches the qualitatively higher levels, each lower level is influenced by each higher level, as is shown by the circular downward arrows. Thus 'concern' is influenced by 'empathy', and 'empathy' by 'compassion'. However, concern is also strongly influenced by 'compassion', though not vice versa. In real life terms, what this process means is that as a person increasingly taps his potential for reflection, cognition and praxis (cf. the Path Analysis), his lower level functioning is gradually underdeveloped (in the sense used by Frank (op.cit)) in the wake of the development of the next higher level in a conditioned origination relationship, and there emerges a more compassionate and wiser human being. Within each such higher level, "development begets development", to draw an analogy from the Buddhist treatise, Dhammapada.42

42. The relevant verse from the Dhammapada (see footnote 26) runs as follows: "In this world, hatreds are never appeased by hatred. They are appeased by love alone. This is the eternal nature of things" (Yamakawaggā, verse 5).
3.32 'Human cultivation'.

If compassion and wisdom constitute humanness, how can such humanness be maximized in the national setting of a PCN? In this thesis, it is argued that 'personal cultivation' (or the maximization of humanness in the individual) and 'milieu cultivation' (or the maximization of humanness in the collective) are in a necessary and conditioned origination relationship with each other, and collectively constitute 'human cultivation'. When such 'human cultivation' is achieved in relation to a 'nation', it comes to be called 'national cultivation', with increasing 'social-political integration' being a mark of such cultivation.

Humanness was shown to be comprised of compassion and wisdom. People have some of each, integrated to varying degrees. In talking of people at these different levels, it is cumbersome, for example, to have to refer to 'a given person in whom compassion and wisdom are well-integrated'. Thus I wish to call such a person a cultivated person.

Cultivation is not necessarily related to (formal) education or training. Just as data, even knowledge (figure 3.3), do not make for wisdom (and thus compassion, given the necessary relationship between them), not everyone who is wise and compassionate is 'educated' or 'trained'; that is, has well-organized information in a particular area of specialization -- which is what education or training is. Nor is cultivation necessarily related to age.43

43. This means that it is not always the case that the older the one is, the more cultivated he is. However, this is not to deny that the highest levels of cultivation require certain age-related cognitive structures, just as the Kohlerian post-moral stages cannot be expected before adulthood.
Cultivation implies change as a result of both natural growth and intervention. This notion is perhaps best clarified in relation to a plant and its growth. There are three concepts underlying the term 'natural growth': (1) that each individual, like a plant, has the potential to be full-blown, 44 (2) that this process is 'incremental' or gradual, and (3) that such incremental growth requires the proper environment. Arising from these is (4) that intervention (by a person, machine, a bit of information etc.) in the process (of cultivation) of an individual or collectivity is not only legitimate but indeed necessary. In this sense, 'cultivation' is comparable to the moral development of a child as envisaged by Kohlberg or Piaget, or the attainment of jhanic states under Buddhist guidelines. 45

The 'cultivated person', then, represents the highest level of humanness. Such a person is 'refined' or 'cultured' in the ordinary sense of these words, but also in the sense that compassion and wisdom prevail in him in balance.

Not everyone, however, will even approximate the highest level to the same degree. The cultivated category is thus a range than a point.

At the lowest level of this continuum is the precultivated person. 46

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44. Perhaps the best and the earliest philosophital support for this view is contained in the Buddhist view that not only Buddhas (of whom Siddharta Gautama, the present Buddha is only one), but any one, including women, can attain Buddhahood, and/or nibbana.

45. See Goleman, 1973, for an excellent analysis of the higher states of consciousness and meditation.

46. The term 'precultivated' is used in the same sense as in 'pre-law' or 'pre-med' (students) and in the term 'premature'. It is preferred to 'non-cultivated', because surely there can be no normal human being in whom the psychic and praxic domains are not combined at even the lowest level, however low.
one in whom there is potential for compassion and wisdom, but still functions at the stage of concern and data assimilation. This level, too, is a range.

In this continuum ranging from the precultivated to the cultivated, the mesocultivated person serves as a midpoint. As earlier, this category is also a range, and the extent to which empathy and knowledge function inter-relatedly determines the point at which a person is along the range.

The progression from precultivation to mesocultivation to cultivation, then, can be called personal cultivation, the final result of which is the maximization of humanness in the individual. Similarly, the progression of a society, or milieu, from the precultivated (or mesocultivated) to the cultivated level can be called milieu cultivation. Both personal cultivation and milieu cultivation are in a conditioned origination relationship: that is one serves as the condition for the other.

I depend on my environment for my very existence. I breathe air, and people provide for my psychopraxic (3.31) needs. My dependence on my environment, then, is such that I must be characterized as an individual-in-environment. Likewise, every other member of the milieu is an individual-in-environment. Thus, my personal cultivation, and that of every other individual, is very much a function of "the other", and collectively, of the milieu.

Although cultivation is, in a conditioned origination relationship with milieu cultivation, the individual is still at the center of the process of milieu cultivation. The Buddha points out, for example, that
in order to extend 'loving-kindness' (metta)\(^47\) to others, one must have loving-kindness within oneself.\(^48\) The simple principle behind this teaching is that one cannot give what one does not himself have. After all, 'milieu cultivation' depends on the personal cultivation of everyone in the milieu, and you yourself are one of the milieu. Personal cultivation, or the maximization of humanness of individuals, then, is the necessary condition for milieu cultivation.

But if milieu cultivation must begin with the personal cultivation, it is not a sufficient condition. Cultivation of the self alone is not enough, since 'self-metta' and 'alter-metta'\(^49\) are "conjunctive" (Fromm, 1947:134). There is thus a need to extend alter-metta. This is not merely a philosophical or spiritual argument. As the sociologist Znaniecki (1952:18) observes, it stems from the need and responsibility of each and everyone to recognize and treat well every member in society as a potential future participant.

As we saw in chapter one, what hampers personal cultivation in PCN's is the "moral anarchy" (Huntingdon) and the simultaneous crises (Binder) resulting from the new colonial situation (chapter two). It is obvious that if there is to be personal cultivation in such societies, there is a need for a new paradigm, or, a societal psychological readjustment.

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47. Metta: is the first of the four 'Sublime States of Mental Development' (brahmaviha:ra) in Buddhism. The other three are 'compassion' (karuna:), dispassionate joy (mudita:) and 'equanimity' (upekkha:).

48. See Saddhatissa (op.cit.:90-1) for a discussion of the process of cultivation of metta: through meditation, and Hewage (1974) on the 'benefits of metta'.

49. These two terms are coined on the analogy of the Freudian terms (self-) ego and 'alter-ego'.
As the philosophy of the Sarvodaya movement in Sri Lanka so convincingly argues, PCN's need a new 'psychological infrastructure'. In fact, this is implied (though not with sufficient emphasis) in current western theories of national development as well, wherein there is an increasing call for a 'change in the quality of human life' (3.22). Finally, it was in order to build such a psychological infrastructure that the colonizers had themselves introduced Christianity and a Western type of education to the colonies.

To repeat, then, while personal cultivation is a necessary condition of milieu cultivation, milieu cultivation is a necessary condition for personal cultivation.

Milieu can refer to many groups or environments, but I shall use it with reference to only two levels -- those of community and nation. And extending our earlier terminology, we can speak of community cultivation and national cultivation. Thus we now have not a two-way p(erson) m(ilieu) relationship, but a three-way one as follows:

![Diagram]

**Figure 3.4** The conditioned origination relationship among personal cultivation (p), community cultivation (c) and national cultivation (n) in a national setting.

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50. "Love, in principle, is indivisible as far as the connection between "objects" and one's own self is concerned. Genuine love is an expression of productiveness and implies care, respect, responsibility, and knowledge. It is not an "affect" in the sense of being affected by somebody, but an active striving for the growth and happiness of the loved person, rooted in one's own capacity to love" (Fromm, 1947:134). See his pp. 124-45 for a fuller discussion.
The point of the discussion in this section, then, is that the maximization of humanness of the individual is a function of the maximization of humanness of all; that is, of the entire milieu. What is called for thus is a relationship in which, as Marx once put it, "the free individual [cultivation] of each is the condition for the free [cultivation] of all" (underline added) (cited in Fromm, 1955:223).

The word 'all' above is underlined advisedly. As the Buddha, and Marx, emphasize, the need is for the personal cultivation of all in the milieu; not just the "progressive farmers", "entrepreneurs", "opinion leaders", the composite aristocracy (2.21) or selected segments thereof. The same point is expressed by the French economist Perroux who call for the development of not only of "all of man" (tout l'homme) but of "all men" (tous les hommes). It is in this important sense that the rural developmental-educational movement in Sri Lanka has the name 'sarvodaya' which literally means 'the awakening of all'.

A nation which succeeds in providing an increasing number of individuals and collectivities, that is, allows them to achieve a balanced and well-integrated compassion and wisdom, and self-actualization, can be called the truly cultivated nation. The successful process of becoming such a 'cultivated nation', can be taken to constitute development. Nationism, that is, sociopolitical integration at the national level, then, goes hand in hand with such 'development'. As individuals and communities cultivate themselves in relation to others, there is more 'empathic participation' and communication, and thus, socio-political integration. Thus, national development is the cultivation of individuals

51. The term 'development' occurs in the original.
and collectivities in relation to increasing socio-political integration.

Having outlined what constitutes 'national development', let me now propose a model that can produce an environment that is conducive to the cultivation of individuals and collectivities, and eventually of the nation itself, and, all conditions prevailing, could result in true national development:

3.4 'Humanistic Nationism: Outlines of a Model of National Development.

Personal cultivation, or the maximization of the humanness in individuals, is a function of the unity of compassion and wisdom (3.31). People cultivation is the 'seed condition' in national development (3.22). The growth of the seed is a function of the environment. PCN society, which is the 'environment' in which personal cultivation is to take place, is afflicted by the presence of three gaps: the widening gap, the social gap, and the value gap (1.3). These gaps relate to the colonization of such lands (chapter two).

On the basis of this analysis, then, three categories of inter-relationships emerge as deserving of recognition in any theory of development:

1 (a) the human individual-in-community, and
   (b) the unity of compassion and wisdom within an individual;

2 (a) the community-of-individuals, and
   (b) the socio-political integration of such individuals and communities;

3 the dialectics of development.

Features (1a), (1b) and (2a) need no elaboration in view of the discussion in 3.3. The presence of the three gaps in PCN societies suggest
that the people in such societies are not integrated 'socio-culturally' or 'politicoperationally' (1.3). This then means that people must be integrated in relation to these dimensions. This explains feature (2b). Feature (3) emerges directly from (1) and (2). Both individuals and communities can be understood only in their historical setting.

My argument, then, is as follows: a nation is on its way to development when its citizens are on their way to the maximization of humanness. Such maximization entails a necessary relationship between the psychic and the corporeal domains of the individual person, and following from it, the unity between compassion and wisdom. Given that societies are made of people, society also has psychic and praxic domains, and there must be a need for unity between 'societal wisdom' and 'societal compassion'.

The basis of unity in both cases is communication. Personal cultivation stands in a necessary relationship with milieu cultivation. What is involved here again is communication in the conventional sense. As individuals go about their day to day activities, they are compelled to communicate directly or indirectly with each other, and in the process, personal cultivation ensues. As the number of persons moving towards cultivation increases, there arises milieu cultivation, which in turn provides even a better environment for personal cultivation. Again we see the communicative cycle at work, this time at the interpersonal level.

The role of communication at the individual level was seen in the Path analysis (3.31). The eight steps of the Path are grouped into three categories: wisdom (steps 1 and 2), compassion, or praxis (3 to 6) and reflection (7 and 8). Wisdom is translated into action through steps 3 to 6, and they in turn serve as feedback to reflection. Reflection,
finally, serves as the bridge to wisdom, thus completing the cycle of communication.

As this analysis (and the more detailed one in the next chapter) show, communication is, in essence, the inter- and intra-systemic link, given that individuals and communities are 'systems' (see chapter four). Thus, ascending and qualitatively better communication within, and among, individuals and communities in PCN's, or 'communicative development' (4.4) is the process through which such links can be maximized. This homogeneous condition (see Tootnote 12) immediately precedes the 'ruling condition' of human cultivation.

If communicative development is to bring people together in communication, two cooperating conditions seem to be necessary. By 'cooperating condition' is meant here the factor that helps the homogeneous condition, and eventually the ruling condition, to result in the eventual goal ('humanistic nationalism' (see later) in this case). Here, the two cooperating conditions will be argued to be a common ideology and a common language.

An ideology, as I characterize it in chapter 5, is nothing but a broad 'psychopragmatic framework' that guides a society to reflect, gain wisdom and prax (footnote 38) collectively. Just as a common message binds a speaker and a hearer in a situation of linguistic communication, only a common content can bring in communication the different groups and individuals in a society. A common content can emerge only with a common ideology. What, then, must be the content of this ideology? As observed, individuals and societies are a function of history (feature 3 above).

In PCN's, the most pervading historical factor relates to the "colonial situation" (Balandier). It is this situation that has given rise to the dialectic relationship between the PCN's and the core nations (cf. the
'widening gap' and the 'value gap'). And, it is the 'new colonial situation' (chapter two) that maintains such a conflictual relationship in PCN's today.

A developmental ideology must counter those elements which keep PCN's from developing. It must at the same time serve to humanize individuals and communities. When taken together, this means that the ideology must have a 'humanistic decolonialization' component. But this tendency, towards historical retrojection, must be tempered with a projective 'humanistic incrementalization'.\(^{52}\) By this is meant a tendency towards taking increasing control of one's environment, in steps small enough not to induce a state of anomie (Durkheim) in individuals and collectivities, but which is large enough to make a meaningful change towards humanizing them.

Creating a common language in a PCN is no easy task, given the large number of languages extant there. These languages can be divided broadly into two categories: those that evolved in the country, or endogenous languages (see 8.21 for a fuller definition), and those that were introduced by the colonizer, or exogenous languages. In general, exogenous languages are primarily or exclusively used by the CA (composite aristocracy) (2.21), and the endogenous languages by the masses. If the masses

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\(^{52}\) The term 'incrementalization' is coined here to match the term 'decolonialization', and to replace the more common term 'modernization' which has connotations incompatible with the view contained in my approach.
and the CA are to become 'actors-in-intercommunication', then, there needs to be a common language. While the masses don't speak the exogenous language, or speak it barely, the CA, or segments thereof, usually do understand, and often even speak the endogenous languages. Indeed, the endogenous languages will often be their mother tongue. For this reason alone (see 8.3 for the fuller argument), the basis for a common language just cannot be the exogenous language. Further, the CA uses the L-exo to their advantage (e.g., for the high functions), and thus as an oppressive tool, also underdeveloping the L-endo in the process. My model, therefore, proposes that the common language be chosen from among the endogenous languages.

But which one? We obviously cannot be actors-in-intercommunication with each group speaking its own language. Thus, what we need to identify is a national 'language of cultivation' Where the number of languages and/or socio-cultural groups are in the hundreds (e.g., India, Nigeria), or in more technical terms, when the level of socio-political integration is low, a necessary first step would be to identify several sub-national languages of cultivation that will serve as (re)source languages, and will gradually give way only to be part of the language of cultivation.

Every language is a bundle of lects. While these have various socio-cultural correlatives, what seems most critical in terms of societal communicative development is that of social class. For, not only does differential language usage undermine communication, but the CA also uses this situation to their own benefit by using the acrolect (where the L-exo is not used) for the socially higher functions, and thus as an oppression tool. Thus, a final necessary condition for the maximization of societal participation is the maximal use of the basilects (the 'mass variety')
of the national or sub-national languages of cultivation, for all, or as many as possible, (within-country) functions. This provides a condition for majority, (mass) participation:

But this condition cannot be achieved by merely selecting a basilect. It must be continually enriched from as many linguistic and socio-cultural sources as possible, to enable it to evolve into the (national or sub-national) language of cultivation.

As the basilect of the national and/or the sub-national language of cultivation, comes to be enriched continually, it (they) begins to serve, no doubt after considerable initial resistance and friction, as a necessary condition for increasing communicative development. This is supported by the common ideology (supra) which provides a common basis for communication, and allows for increasing participation, not just by the speakers of the national or sub-national language(s) of development, but by others as well. The increasing humanism encourages the speakers of the selected variety, and the selected language(s), to act with compassion and wisdom. Such an attitude is an open invitation to speakers of unselected varieties and languages to participate in the activities. As the unselected varieties and languages serve as 'resources' for the growth of the national and/or sub-national language(s) of cultivation as well, feelings of rejection, barriers of suspicion and stereotyping come to be minimized. Tensions are likely to be reduced, and the corresponding reduction in anxiety comes to be in a conditioned origination relationship with increasing empathic participation by speakers of unselected varieties and languages. Such increasing participation, in turn, serves as a condition for increasing communication, now between and among speakers of both selected and unselected lects and languages. This stems from the
nature of language itself. Language is an essential ingredient of man (see figure 3.1) and man's main tool of communication (6.2). It not only helps one to 'make sense' of one's 'perceptual world', that is, to 'conceptualize' (6.3), but also socialize (better), as individuals and communities come to share their innermost thoughts and their psychopraphic behaviour (6.4). Thus, language serves as a group symbol.

This process of increasing participation and communication, needless to say, would emerge in a series of stagewise approximations.

The developing and expanding socio-cultural base that results from the increasing communication between the different segments of a PCN, and their empathic participation, serves as a necessary condition to narrow the social and value gaps. This, in turn, serves as a necessary condition for increasing socio-political integration and personal and milieu cultivation, or what I shall call humanistic nationism (HN hereafter). HN, then, is the process, and the outcome of the process of bringing about socio-cultural and politico-operational integration; such that the increasing integration will provide an environment increasingly conducive to individual and milieu, or collectively national, cultivation. To the extent that features of HN in relation to a given nation is determined by the nation's particular cultural patterns, HN is cultural. Thus I shall point to the need to 'nationize' cultivation, much as educators call for the need to 'personalize' education.

As each PCN works towards the achievement of HN, each individual and community in the nation, as well as the nation in its totality, come to self-actualize their potential, according to their own needs and cultural patterns, and not along the lifeways borrowed or copied from another (individual, society or nation), as Lerner (op.cit.) would require. Such
a reliance on 'nationized' cultivation will undermine the exopetal and acropetal orientations, and allow for more active praxis. Such an experience will make the PCN's more mature, flexible and self-reliant. This would render PCN's less vulnerable to the neo-colonial onslaught coming from within the country and without. It will, further, enhance the PCN's ability not only to 'challenge' the core-nations meaningfully, that is, offer viable alternatives to models offered by the West not on a capitalistic, monopolistic and competitive basis, but along humanistic ground rules of compassion and wisdom, but also humanize the core nations in the process. For as Freire (op.cit.) observes, liberation cannot be won alone. With the cultivation of PCN's, the widening gap will begin to cease widening, if not actually begin to narrow down.

The arguments in the foregoing pages, then, is what I expect to establish in this study. Since each of the aspects outlined above will be dealt with sequentially, this 'outline' may be treated as a synopsis at the beginning, and a summary at the end.

3.5 In Defence of the Approach.

The view of national development outlined here might, on first examination, appear to be too philosophical; even utopian and impractical. But the justification for the approach stems first of all, from the failure of existing development theories to deliver the goods. Evidence from the literature shows how the countries in PCN's in general are going from bad to worse (1.3). My own societal analysis in chapter two shows how new colonialism has resulted in the masses being exploited by the membership of the CA at the rural as well as urban level, and how each PCN is underdeveloped by the core nations.
It is not only the poverty-stricken, PCN's that have become the victims of the application of current development theories and models. If the "culture of poverty" (Lewis, 1968) has been brought about by such theories, the 'culture of affulence', to coin a phrase, has not fared much better either. On visiting many countries of the world, Robert Ulbrich, Professor Emeritus in Philosophy of Education at Harvard, for example, raises the question, "Is it not frightening that ... in all nations that enjoy increasing prosperity and a longer period of education, criminality has also increased?" Fromm (1955:19) points out how the countries of Europe and the US, the leaders in industrial prosperity, "show the most severe symptoms of mental disturbance". In fact "more than half of all hospital beds in the United States are used for mental patients" (ibid. :16). Obviously then, we must search for alternative models of development, and these must be based on premises very different from the ones on which the present ones are based.

My second justification, and the relevance, of the present approach stems from the fact that there is an obvious awareness, both in PCN societies as well as in the academic community of the need for an approach to development that recognizes the value dimension. The average person gives expression to this in his common abhorrence of war, suffering and injustice. Nyerere's rejection of exclusive materialism is representative of the recognition of this awareness by at least some PCN leaders. Jenkins' (1970:41) comment that "rarely is there an attempt to distinguish between the quality of human life and the size of the gross national product" is indicative of the concern of scholars in the field of national development. The recognition of the quality of human life in economic theory represents a reluctant thaw in diehard economic materialism.
Ponsioen's (op.cit.24) recognition of the "cultural implications of industrialization" is indicative of a trend towards the value dimension. Education has gone humanistic, or has advanced far towards it, with moral education playing an important role in it. So has psychology, as evidence the emergence of the "Third Force Psychologists" (3.22). Communication theorists emphasize the need for empathy, understanding and concern for successful communication (e.g., Gibb, 1961; Sitaram & Cogdell, 1976).

Four decades ago, Kohler (1938) drew evidence from psychology, biology, quantum physics and axiology (=value theory) to show that science would indeed be impossible without reference to values. Thus, my ideas here represent a small but growing school, and my approach to development in terms of humanism then is merely a long overdue extension of the notion to the all-important question of national development.

A third, and a very practical, justification is that approaches similar to the one advocated here have had a fair degree of success in bringing about a better, and a more dignified, life in societies in which they were attempted. The best known historical example of such a humanistic approach at the national level is that of King Asoka of India (B.C.268 to B.C.237). Referring to Asoka's call for "reverence to men of all sects" (from an Edict of Asoka), Aldous Huxley (1944:199) observes:

53. Asoka was a powerful king of India who had succeeded in capturing large territories and had established a vast empire. His ruthlessness had brought him the acronym Chandasoka 'Asoka the Terrible'. But renouncing all wars on being introduced to Buddhism, he came to be known and respected as 'Asoka the Righteous' (Dharmasoka) and was the founder of a model humanistic state. (See Warder, op.cit.:242-71 for a description). See Warder (ibid.:169-76) and Ling (1973:151-74) for a discussion of the Buddhist Principles of Statehood along the lines of which Asoka ruled.

54. Asoka had many Rock Edicts posted in his kingdom to help his subjects to live a good life (see Warder, ibid.:242-71).
"It would be difficult, alas, to find any edict of a Christian king to match Asoka's. In the West, the good old rule, the simple plan, was glorification of one's own sect, disparagement and even persecution of all others."

Gandhi's 'ahimsa'ic' (non-violent) struggles are credited with not only having brought political independence to India and won some basic rights for Indians and Blacks in Africa, but also helped India to maintain its traditional value system despite the ravages of colonialism lasting a period of nearly 200 years. Martin Luther King (jr.) brought to the blacks and poor in the US at least some dignity, if he was unable to attain much more. Finally, sarvodaya, in Sri Lanka, has been successful in ameliorating the conditions of the poor over the last two decades, based on a philosophy which aims at liberating the latent humanistic and developmental potential in the masses. (See Dana, Special Issue, for principles and applications).

These then are some of the factors that have led me to look for an alternative model of development and which by the same token have led me to the present conceptualization.

It is possible that in this conceptualization, I am merely touching a part of the elephant called 'development', as did each of the proverbial ten blind men. If so, I will have at least contributed to identify an important part of the animal which seems to have escaped the attention of others who have trodden before me this weary path of theorizing about national development. If my approach seems Utopian, I can only plead with Dumont (1974), "Utopia, or else", given the complexity of the issue at hand.

55. This is the title of the English translation of Dumont's L'Utopie ou la Mort (London: Andre Deutsch).
3.6 Thesis Organization.

Perhaps the best way to present the organization of this thesis is to present here the figure of the model of national development that will be proposed in chapter nine. Here, then, is the figure:

![Diagram showing the language and ideology-based national developmental cycle.]

Figure 3.5 The language and ideology-based national developmental cycle.

Legend

→ serves as a condition for.

→→ in 'a conditioned origination relationship'.
This 'model' is nothing but a visual synopsis of the 'outline' presented in 3.4, and the complex argumentations in the individual chapters. Thus, putting off the discussion of the model itself to chapter eleven - then only will it appear to make sense - the figure will be used here to describe the organization of the chapters. This figure, and the discussion, is also intended, however, as a conceptual road-map of the material that lie ahead.

The thesis has been organized in the 'reverse' order in relation to the steps of the figure. Thus, step 6a (we shall ignore step 7 here to be taken up later), shown as serving to 'undermine the gaps and the new colonial situation', provides the meat for chapters one and two respectively.

Steps 6b, 5a and 5b represent the present chapter, which provides the outlines of a model of national development (3.4) that recognizes both the nature of the problem (chapters 1 and 2) as well as the 'ideal' nature of man (3.31) in his relationship to the environment (3.32). This 'environment', namely society, is viewed in chapter four (step 4) as a system (4.2), and communication is seen as the link among the different parts of a system (4.3). Analyzing the concept of communication as a three-component process, it is examined as a 'people process' (4.5), with 'empathic participation' (step 3a) and a change in the attitude-behaviour continuum (step 3b) facilitating the process.

Skipping the order here, step 1b represents chapter five in which communication is examined as a 'contentual process'. There, the concept...
of ideology is advanced first (5.2) and the need for a new ideology of humanistic nationalism for PCN's is argued out next (5.3). This is followed by an analysis of the content of this new ideology of humanistic nationalism (5.4) in terms of the dyadic concept of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization.

Step 2b represents chapter six which examines communication as a linguistic process. (This, then, is the third and final component of the process of communication.) In this chapter, it is first shown why language can be considered the most human means of communication (6.2). The conditioned origination relationship between and among language, perception and praxis is examined in the next section (6.3), while in the final section it is argued that linguistic communication is made possible by the availability of a shared culture (6.4).

Step 1a represents chapters 7 to 10. Chapter seven presents arguments for the need for a single language of cultivation, while chapter eight examines the question of determining the language of cultivation as between exogenous language(s) and endogenous languages. Having decided in favour of endogenous languages (8.31 and 8.32), chapter nine seeks to provide criteria for determining this language of cultivation and a lect thereof, while chapter 10 examines the process of enriching and disseminating the selected lect of the selected language of L-cultivation in relation to all other languages and lects in a given PCN.

Steps in figure 3.6 thus represent chapters one to ten. There are, however, two more chapters in the thesis.

Chapter eleven seeks to pull together the threads contained in chapters 3 to 10. It presents the 'flow chart' of the model of national
development (i.e., the above figure) proposed in the outline, based on a common language (step 1a) and ideology (step 1b) (11.2). It also examines the psychological process through which the ideal national society envisaged in the model is achieved by way of incrementalization (11.3). The chapter ends with an examination of the psychological process through which such a national society can be achieved (11.4). The final chapter provides a theoretical overview of the thesis (12.2), examines some of its other theoretical aspects (12.3), and provides suggestions for implementing the model envisaged in the study (12.4) as well as suggestions for further research.

3.7 Summary and Lead-on.

In this chapter, I have given an overview of the literature on development, and shown, with evidence, that an aspect receiving increasing recognition as being important for development is the quality of human life. Then, attempting to analyze what constitutes humanness, and identifying it in Buddhist terms, humanness is shown to be the combination of 'compassion' and 'wisdom'. The process of arriving at praxis and wisdom is designated 'cultivation', to imply that the outcome stems partly from the natural flowering of latent individual potential and partly from intervention; that is, providing the suitable environment. Such cultivation relates to individuals ('personal cultivation'), and to the milieu ('milieu cultivation'). Then it is argued that personal and milieu cultivation are in a 'conditioned origination' relationship; that is, one serves as the condition for the other, when other co-factors are also present.

Considering the fact that personal development is the condition for milieu development, and vice versa, a model of national development based on this reciprocity is then developed. The model recognizes two simultan-
eous needs if a PCN is to 'develop'. The first relates to what has been said above - the need to maximize the humanness of individuals and the milieu. The second is, both in order to facilitate this process as well as in its own right, to integrate the different communities in a PCN, or, sociopolitical integration. Combining the two aspects, the model is called 'humanistic nationism'.

This summarizes the chapter. The ground covered thus far in relation to the 'national developmental cycle' is shown below by reproducing the relevant section:

(6a) undermining the 'gaps' and the new colonial situation

(6b) achieving the goal of 'humanistic nationism'

(5b) personal cultivation

(5a) milieu cultivation

The thick line represents the 'lap' of the cycle 'covered' in this chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

COMMUNICATIVE DEVELOPMENT AS THE HOMOGENEOUS CONDITION OF
HUMANISTIC NATIONISM

Nothing single comes from single,
from a totality everything arises.

- Buddha (in Stcherbatsky, op.cit.: 128)

The true is the whole.

- Hegel.

4.1 Introduction.

(Humanistic) Nationism requires that the socio-cultural unit of a
nation coalesce with the geopolitical unit (1.21). Communication is the
mechanism through which this can be achieved (3.4). "Communicative
development" is, therefore, proposed in this chapter as being necessary
for the extension of such communication. In analyzing the concept, (human)
communication is seen as a three-way process: a 'people process', a
'linguistic process' and a 'contexual process'. The present chapter
discusses only the first of these processes.

4.2 Society as a system.

An individual is a system made up of sub-systems (e.g. psychic and
corporeal) (3.31). (See also 4.3 later.) A society is made up of a
number of sub-systems, as well, as the following analysis will show. A
society can therefore be seen as a 'system'.

1. In fact, it was to capture the fact that every phenomenon in the
world is a 'system' that Laszlo (1971) proposed the term (and concept)
"systems philosophy". See also Buckley (1967) for an application of
systems theory to social systems.
Parsons (1951) distinguishes four functional pre-requisites for any social system: (1) the maintenance or reproduction of its own basic patterns; (2) adaptation to the environment and its changes; (3) the attainment of whatever goals the system has accepted or set for itself; and (4) the integration of all the different functions and sub-systems within it into a cohesive and coordinated whole. While each of the above must be served by all sub-systems of the society, Parsons posits a major sub-system of the society as corresponding to each of the four basic functions as follows:

1. Pattern maintenance (P) : households;
2. Adaptation to environment (A) : economy;
3. Goal attainment (G) : polity; and
4. Integration (I) : culture.

There are here (at least) six possible major 'flows of interchange' distributed among four functional sub-systems. This becomes evident if we pictured the four functions as four corners of a square, with two diagonals connecting each of them. This uni-directional flow can be seen in figure 4.1 where each arrow represents one flow:
Figure 4.1 A simplified view of Parsons' 'Interchange model' showing the 'lateral (see 4.3 for this term) relationship' between any two points, allowing for six flows of interchange.

A cursory glance at the figure, however, would show that the number of interchanges involved here must be more than six. If it is true that the households provide labour for the economy (i.e., $P \rightarrow A$), it is equally true that the economy provides wages to the household ($A \rightarrow P$). This would, in fact, be true of any two points in the square. Such a reciprocal relationship ($A \leftrightarrow P$) thus provides for twelve interchanges.

There are, however, further interchanges. The wages earned by the household are turned into consumer spending (another $P \rightarrow A$), and the economy, in turn, provides the household with goods ($A \rightarrow P$) again.
Thus we have a second \( P \rightarrow A \) (reciprocal) relationship. Again this would be true in relation to any two points. Thus, we have among the four main functions, not six, not twelve, but twenty-four flows of exchange.\(^2\) We can therefore modify figure 4.1 to account for such a complex flow of interchanges as follows:

\[\text{Figure 4.2 A more developed version of Parsons' 'Interchange Model', showing (partially) the multiple flows of interchange among the four functions.}\]

\(^2\) This discussion is basically based on Deutsch's (1963:118-9) discussion of Parsons' model.
Each arrow in the figure represents two flows, and only twelve such flows have been labelled. The rest can easily be filled. Even then, needless to say, the figure can show only a limited number of the many possible flows.

This analysis helps us to see, and conceptualize, that a society, like any other phenomenon, is a 'system', since we know that it has its own sub-systems, in the form of language, culture, economic patterns and so on.

A 'nation' was defined earlier (1.21) as made up of a 'society' (which includes the households, economy and culture in Parsons' model) and 'polity'. To the extent that each of them is a sub-system, each of which is in turn made up of further sub-systems, a nation, too, is a system.

4.3 Communication as the Societal Linking Mechanism.

As seen from the discussion above, all systems are made up of interdependent sub-systems. The mechanism that links these sub-systems, as I shall attempt to establish, is communication.

Let us look at the human body as a 'system'. It seems clear that each of its parts (sub-systems) must of necessity 'cooperate', or 'communicate' with every other part, in any given function. We know,

3. This is in the same sense that the different parts of a car must work in coordination (i.e., cooperate or communicate) with each other in order to 'be running on the road. The view of the parts of a body 'cooperating' or 'communicating' with each other, however, is based on the Buddhist view of an individual. Given that an individual has no 'soul' (anatā) to provide 'coordination' for the parts, the parts themselves become the communicator (under the right conditions). This view is contained in the teaching that there is the action, but no actor (Rahula, op.cit.:42).
for example, that a seemingly simple task as moving the hand, needs the coordination of the (organ) hand and the (organ) brain (or, more accurately, the sense and organ called the 'mind'). obviously the hand must 'communicate' with the brain to execute the action. this can be called same-level, or lateral, communication. to move the hand, however, the whole body (or parts thereof) must also be alerted (simultaneously). if, for example, the moving of the hand is to throw a ball, the body must assume a certain posture. here we have 'lower' to 'higher' level, or super-ordinate, communication. while the entire body must be coordinated, other 'lower' level sub-systems, such as the nervous system, the blood-circulatory system (see chapter three, footnote 23), must be alerted as well. here we have sub-ordinate communication. thus, the efficient functioning of the human system can be said to require a three-way communication.

the psychopraxic analysis of man (3.31) supports this view of intra-systemic communication, arrived at from the physico-physiological point of view. the psychic and the praxic domains are in lateral communication, and each of the three levels in either of the domains (e.g., concern, empathy and wisdom) (figure 3.3) can be seen as being in a super-ordinate or sub-ordinate communication in relation to each other.

4. the assumption here is that the brain represents the 'exchange' (cf., a central telephone exchange) of the mind, and as such 'houses' the mind sense that is present in an individual's entire system (see footnote 31, chapter three).

5. language provides another example of a three-way communicative relationship. the basic unit of language is (1) the phoneme (see any standard introductory linguistic text (e.g., hockett, op.cit.; gleason, 1955) for this and other underlined terms here), the combination of which makes up (2) the morpheme, which then combines to, or by itself, make up (3) the lexeme. these lexemes then combine to form
In the two examples above, the term communication has been used in a rather special sense. But communication in its ordinary sense can be said to exist even when we consider (total) man in society. For example, individuals-in-environment communicate with other individuals (lateral communication), individuals with collectivities (super-ordinate) and collectivities with individuals (sub-ordinate).

The arrows in figure 4.2, similarly showed the lateral relationship that exists in a system, with each sub-system's relationship to the total system representing super-ordinate communication and the relationship between a given sub-system to its sub-sub-systems (e.g., the economy to a market system, the form of exchange, etc.) representing sub-ordinate communication.

On the basis of such evidence we can say that it is 'communication' (in the abstract or ordinary sense) that serves as the mechanism that links the sub-systems of a system. Modern research has established that such communication takes place even in a small cell (about one billionth the size of a human!) in transmitting heredity, through DNA. In fact, there is even a "messenger RNA" which actually carries the genetic code.6

(4) a syntagmeme (i.e., sentences, questions, etc.). Such syntagmemes then combine to produce (5) (a longer) discourse. The three-way relationship can be established in this process at any one level. Taking level two, for example, we have the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{morpheme} & \rightarrow \text{phonemes} \quad \text{(sub-ordinate)} \\
& \rightarrow \text{other morphemes} \quad \text{(lateral)} \\
& \rightarrow \text{lexemes} \quad \text{(super-ordinate)}
\end{align*}
\]

Taken in its totality, the relationship can be shown with reference to a specific language in a given society as well, as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{language A} & \rightarrow \text{the sub-systems of language A} \\
& \rightarrow \text{languages B, C, D, etc. in the given society} \\
& \rightarrow \text{the given society and culture}
\end{align*}
\]

6. See Gore (1976) for a fascinating and lucid discussion.
The importance of communication for effective societal functioning is expressly stated and accepted by social scientists, not to mention 'hard' scientists. Norbert Wiener (1955), the first to formalize the concept of communication and control under the name of "cybernetics", for example, observes that "communication is the cement that makes organizations. Communication alone enables a group to think together, to see together, to act together" (cited in Deutsch, 1963:77). Schramm (1963:34) observes that communication is not separate from the rest of the society; it is really society communicating ... Whether in a modern state or a traditional one, ... it handles the cognitive (and of course, other) business of society. It passes back and forth, danger signals, need signals, the opportunity signals or ways to satisfy needs, the decision signals ...

Society, as Deutsch (ibid.:80) sees it, "is a self-modifying communications network", or a "learning net".

In the sense that communication is the mechanism that links a society's functional sub-systems, as well as individuals and collectivities, communication is indeed indispensable to the question of national development with which I am concerned in this study.

In attempting to understand the process of nationalism, Deutsch (1963:87) seeks a conceptual model that will meet three conditions he believes are basic, namely that the concept be "operational", "fruitful" and "critical". He finds this in the notion 'communication'. Chodak (op.cit.:55), in fact, unequivocally links societal development with communication, as does Lerner (op.cit.:335), who perceives communication as the "crux of modernization", modernization being equated by him (and some others) with development.

If 'people development' is the seed (or ruling) condition of development (3.3), one can argue, on the basis of the above argumentation, that
communicative development is the homogeneous (or the immediately preceding) condition (see chapter three, footnote 12) that underlies the maximization of humanness in individuals and collectivities in a national setting.

4.4 Communicative Development and the Structure of Communication.

The label 'communicative development' is used here in two mutually related senses. The one emphasizes the 'communicative' aspect, and the other the 'developmental'. In the former sense, it means the increase in the flow of communication within an individual, between individuals and within an entire society (at the national or community levels). The term 'communicative' in communicative development has been underlined to underscore this aspect.

The mere increase in the flow of information, however, would not contribute to wisdom and compassion (3.31), unless the information is gathered 'in a developmentally profitable' manner, taken in the Buddhist sense referred to earlier (chapter 3, footnote 41). That is to say that there is a need for intrapersonal communication to coalesce with interpersonal or societal, communication in such a way as to increase the humanization of oneself, other individuals, qua individuals, communities and the entire nation, in a conditioned origination relationship; simply, in a way leading to personal and milieu cultivation, or collectively HN (Humanistic Nationism). This, then, is communicative development, with emphasis on the developmental aspect of the notion. Communicative development, taken in both senses, then, means an ascending and developmentally profitable intra- and inter-personal communication. It is in this sense that com-

7. Young (1968) uses the term 'communicative development' in a somewhat similar sense, as a measure of industrial success, in relation to development.
municative development serves as the homogeneous condition for HN, since HN was defined as maximizing the humanness of individuals and of society (3.32).

Given this importance of communicative development in HN, we should try to understand the nature of communication which underlies the concept.

Communication in human society is the outcome of the interplay of three necessary (but not sufficient) elements: people, a message or a content that people want to convey and a language to convey it in. By language is meant the stringing of certain sounds (according to certain rules tacitly agreed upon by a given group of speakers) with certain meanings (see chapter six for an extended discussion). This aspect allows communication to be called a linguistic process. But (this linguistic process of) a given language can be used to express any 'content', be it the weather, the theory of relativity or Buddhist metaphysics. In other words, the content of communication is independent of the linguistic (and semantic) structure of the language. To this extent communication can be said to be a contentual process. However, it is people who 'give life' to the linguistic and the contentual processes; in other words, without people there would be no human communication (a tautology). To this extent, communication is a people process.

In sum, then, communication is a simultaneous people-, linguistic- and contentual process.

The above is only a rough sketch of the complex process of communication. Let us now examine each of the three components more closely. Communication as a contentual process and linguistic process each requires chapter-length treatment. Let us therefore consider communication as a people process in the rest of this chapter.
4.5 Communication as a 'People Process'.

"One way to understand communication", declares Gibb (1961:1), "is to view it as a people process". That means that if we are to make fundamental improvements in communication, (we) must make changes in interpersonal relationships" (ibid). In a similar vein, Smith (1973:100) observes that "... communication involves not only the transfer of information between individuals, but between individuals with personalities" (underline added). Communication, therefore, involves both components of one's personality, namely, attitudes and behaviour, or, the psychic and praxic lives, to go back to my psychopraxique analysis (3.31).

How do we bring about such an attitudinal and behavioural change in a people? There is a running controversy in developmental literature as to whether changes in attitudes or changes in behaviour bring about better interpersonal communication. Pool (1963:249) represents one end of the continuum when he says that "changes in values and attitudes are far more important to modernization than are changes in action." Watzlawick et al. (1967:97) are more careful: "... attitudes become one of the primary determinants of the nature of the event" (underline added). Kelman (1971:33) on the other hand argues that behavioural changes lead to attitudinal change, through a sharing of values. Thus we see, with Rokeach (1971), that "both approaches are now being advocated". Recognizing this, and observing that there exists "a direct concomitant, if not causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour", Smith (op.cit.:97-8), for example, attempts to develop a scheme "to tie together" both approaches.

As outlined earlier (3.31), the Buddha had already 'solved' this chicken and egg problem in his Path analysis (figure 3.1). In this cycle,
one "begins" (see end of paragraph) one's cultivation with Right Understanding and Right Thought, the cognitive components in the psychic domain (cf., attitudes), and this leads one to the behavioural sub-system (in terms of Right Language, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood and Right Effort). This, in turn, leads to Right Mindfulness and Right Concentration, the reflective components of the psychic domain, which again lead back into the cognitive components of the psychic domain with which the cycle 'began'. Thus, in this Path-process, there is no real beginning or end point. 8

Deutsch (1963:174) in modern times observes how a common experience (i.e., behaviour) leads to compatible attitudes, and vice versa. When PCN leaders take the meaning of 'ideology' to mean both a coordinated set of ideas and a commitment to action (see 5.2 for a discussion), they seem to be expressing their belief in the importance of both attitudinal and behavioural changes for development. My own characterization of ideology (5.2) reflects such a reciprocal relationship. However, in some people, attitude change may well begin with behaviour change, while in others,

8. The Buddha's exposition of the Path 'begins' with Right Understanding, only because the 'conditioned origination of an individual' is conditioned by 'ignorance' (avijñā). Any 'path' designed to result in the final termination of such an 'origination' must logically begin with 'understanding' (vijñā or bodhi) as the first condition. The fact that the Buddha begins with 'Right Understanding' only for expository purposes is further evidenced by the fact that elsewhere he says that his teachings are divisible into 'praxis' (sīla), reflection (samaññadhi) and wisdom (panñā). The listing here begins with the praxic domain, and not reflection or wisdom. And under this analysis, the exposition of the Path should begin with Right Speech, the first link in the praxic domain. This, in fact, is the practice Rahula (op. cit.) follows. Thus although the Path 'begins' with Right Understanding in the psychic range, it does not suggest a first cause. And as Rahula (ibid.:46) further emphasizes, although "the eight categories ... (must) be followed and practiced one after the other, ... they are developed more or less simultaneously".

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the reverse may hold.\footnote{9}

In conclusion, we can say that what brings about changes in interpersonal relationships is a change in the attitude $\rightarrow$ behaviour (read: attitude to behaviour and vice versa) continuum. That is to say, both attitudes and behaviour must change together, or almost together. In a given situation, the one (as between attitude and behaviour) which has been able to exploit the psychological niche of an individual first, takes the other in its wake. Each 'cycle' resulting from such a near-simultaneity, leads to a higher cycle, in spiral fashion. This process is shown in figure 4.3:

![Diagram of spiral process](image)

**Figure 4.3** The spiral process resulting from the conditioned origination relationship between attitude (a) and behaviour (b).

\footnote{9}{A personal experience bears evidence for such a position. Sarvodaya, the rural development program in Sri Lanka, attracts people from all walks of life. The attraction to the movement on the part of a few (e.g., the present writer) seems to be based on a personal value system. But for others (and this seems to be by far the majority), participation at a work camp, for example, seems to bring about a change in interpersonal attitudes. Is it then the case that the level of psychological, moral or other maturity, or of formal schooling, has a bearing on what point of the attitude-behaviour continuum serves for an individual as the 'niche', or point of entry to the system?}
This is, of course, not to deny, as pointed out earlier, that the change cycle may begin with a behavioural or an attitudinal change.

Having identified the importance of both attitudes and behaviour, let us now understand each of them individually.

In reporting the results of eight years of work in communication, Gibb (op. cit.:2) lists empathy as one of the "... categories supportive of communication". Making a list of "desirable requirements" of a communications fieldworker, Gardner (1974:254) includes "some knowledge and empathy towards the people to whom the technologies are being directed". Empathy, for Lerner (op. cit.:50) is an "indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings", and is, further, the "inner mechanism which enables such persons to operate efficiently in a changing world" (underline in original). In my own analysis of man, empathy is a state of mind, and is the second level in the compassion domain (figure 3.2).

What indeed is 'empathy'? Lerner (ibid.:50) defines it as "the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's shoes". This definition is in general agreement with Gibb's and Gardner's use of the term. There is, however, one important difference between Lerner and the other two. Lerner believes that empathy is required on the part of the masses so that they may aspire to be like another, and yearn for those very things that the emulated has, or yearns for. It is a mind-set where, as Freire (op. cit.;33) puts it, "to be" has turned out to be "to be like" (underline added). Such an empathy is not only selfish but anti-developmental as well, personally and socially, in the sense that "to be like" then becomes "to be like the oppressor" (ibid.), the 'oppressor' being the one emulated. It is this kind of exopetal and acropetal tendency that we saw in chapter three as resulting in the new colonial situation and cultural invasion by the CA.
Lerner's type of empathy could then be called negative empathy, and this type is hardly conducive to communicative development. Everyone's aspirations would be for upward mobility, and the only ones a person would communicate or want to communicate with are those who would help one achieve such mobility. Since it is usually the CA that have achieved or can help in such mobility, a person's communicative efforts are directed towards the CA only, and never towards those at one's own level. This surely assures the continued master-servant relationship between the CA and masses, and the continuation of the cultural supremacy of 'possessive individualism' (2.22.1).

The kind of empathy that Gardner and Gibb talk of, on the other hand, could be called supportive empathy, because it requires the understanding, not blind imitation, of another in order to relate to him better. It also implies a willingness to be of service to others, and act out of, in philosophical terms, 'other-regarding' considerations. It is this kind of empathy that will result in communicative development, since each 'node' in the communication network will 'go' out of its way to make the communicative links, not just with those socially above oneself, but with equals or even with those below oneself socially. Such contacts can set the ball rolling for attitudinal and behavioural change in spiral fashion, as individuals seek to communicate with more and more people, and develop common sets of psychopraxic behaviour patterns. Moreover, such behavioural and attitude change facilitates the acceptance of developmental change necessary for societal and individual growth towards increased humanization. Supportive empathy thus becomes the real "inner mechanism" for communicative development, and it does not require individuals "to be like" another in order to be in communication. Thus supportive empathy is developmental
in a manner negative empathy is not.

What PCN's then, need (as one condition) for communicative development are not "mobile persons" as Lerner would have it, but "empathic persons" (again not in Lernerian terms), and more of them. And, to emphasize, they will develop supportive empathy not by learning the lifeways evolved in other societies (Lerner, op.cit.:411), but by developing a sense of concern for oneself in relation to others and vice versa, and translating that to praxix. In a society developed along supportive empathic lines there will be more and more individuals with high (supportive) empathic capacity. And the extent of communicative development in a society is a function of the extent of the availability of such empathic individuals and communities in communication. Since communication serves as a necessary condition for breaking down prejudices and fears about each other (Vreeland et al, op.cit.; Gibb, op.cit.; Tambiah (1967)), "defensive communication" (Gibb, ibid.) is likely to be undermined, allowing people to see others as people, minus their societal masks, and as one's potential if not actual equals, or partners, in communication. This provides the necessary condition for that solidarity which Sorel (1941) observes is "the moral basis of society" (cited in Apter, 1964:20).

How, then, can a mind set of supportive empathy be brought about in the first place?

It is difficult to avoid communication when people are physically confronted with each other, or are faced with common problems, even though such communication may not be linguistic. When such 'problems' are identified together, and solved to mutual satisfaction (in terms of material advancement, esthetic satisfaction and so on), people tend to participate in such encounters more often. To use a phrase inspired by the Buddha,
participation begets participation (see chapter three, footnote 42) since participation also serves as its own reward, as suggested by Mowrer’s (1960) autistic theory. Such participation serves as a condition for supportive empathy which in turn serves as a condition for communication, and for communicative development.

Whether in traditional societies, core states or PCN’s, "multi-participation" (McDiarmid, 1975:191) seems to be the dynamic that brings about communication. We have seen that reciprocity marks traditional societies (2.82.1). ‘Modernization’ also implies a widening of participation (Pye, 1963:17; Wriggins, 1966:183). Sarvodaya, the rural development movement in Sri Lanka, uses the technique of ‘compassionate action’ (karuna:) to bring people of one or more villages to another village to work on a developmental project. Mao’s principle of “walking on two legs” (Sugunasiri, 1975:25) is based on the recognition of the need for participation to bring about communication between the masses and intellectuals (to promote “learning from each other”). Finally, as Znaniecki (op.cit:16) observes, “no complex culture can exist without the continuous and active cooperation of the individuals and groups who maintain its existence”.

Based on the above discussion, then, we can say that participation serves as the homogeneous condition for supportive empathy, and is, in turn, based on supportive empathy. Such a reciprocal relationship can be called empathic participation, and its components in relation to the psychic and corporeal domains can be seen as follows:
empathic participation

supportive empathy
attitudes

reciprocal participation
behaviour

psychic sub-system
corporeal sub-system

Figure 4.4 The composition of 'empathic participation' in relation to the psychic and corporeal domains.

In terms of personal cultivation, empathic participation already suggests at least the second level of cultivation (figure 3.3), where knowledge (of others and of the task at hand) comes to be gathered and used in relation to empathy, that is, in a manner developmentally useful. Thus, empathic participation suggests a fairly advanced level of praxis, and can be said to provide an environment for personal, and in turn milieu, cultivation.

To conclude, it is 'empathic participation' that brings together people in communication. In this light, then, communication can be viewed as a people process.

4.6 Summary and Lead-On.

In this chapter, we observed that society is a system. Communication keeps it together. Communicative development is the necessary condition that makes this communicative link(s) secure. Communication, which lies at the base of communicative development, is a three-way process. Of them, the chapter examined communication as a people process.

As earlier, the thick line in the following excerpt of figure 3.5 indicates the ground covered in the chapter:
CHAPTER FIVE

IDEOLOGY: ONE COOPERATING CONDITION OF HUMANISTIC NATIONISM

... if you're not sure where you're going, you are liable to end up someplace else -- and not even know it.

- Ralph Mager in Preparing Instructional Objectives, 1962: vii

5.1 Introduction.

In this chapter, I examine communication as a 'contentual' process, that is, a process which focuses on the content of what is being communicated. Ideology, as I shall show, provides for such a contentual base. Thus, in 5.2 I develop the concept of ideology, and in 5.3 raise the issue as to why PCN's need a new ideology. In 5.4 I discuss the content of such an ideology, which I shall call humanistic nationism, and in 5.5 the need for sub-ideologies in arriving at the goal of humanistic nationism (3.4).

5.2 Ideology: an orchestra with a difference.

An ideology can be compared to an orchestra. In the generally accepted sense of the word, an orchestra refers to a multiplicity of musicians playing different instruments, under the direction of a single conductor. But an orchestra is more than the players, and the unifying and central element in an orchestra is not the conductor, but the musical notes. It is the musical notes that each individual player translates into sounds, guides the conductor in directing the players, and unite the
players with each other and with the conductor. Thus an orchestra can be characterized as the outcome of a relationship between musical notes and musicians. With this initial characterization in mind, let us identify some of the basic features of an orchestra:

a. An orchestra has as its basis musical notes, arranged in a particular order.

b. The orchestra 'comes to life' if it is 'orchestrated to action'; that is, when the 'notes' are translated into 'sounds'.

c. When thus transferred, the orchestra meets the esthetic needs of each of the players, and

d. While the orchestra meets the needs of individual players, it also serves to bring all the players together by serving as a group 'symbol'.

On the basis of these features, then, we can say that an orchestra has three components to it: a content component (a), a praxic component (b), and a psychological or functional component (c) and (d). In simple terms we can say that an orchestra is a coordinated body of notes that brings together a group of musicians in psychological and physical action. 1

Let us examine what an ideology is on the basis of this analogy.

As the leaders in PCN's rightly believe (Sigmund, 1972:3), an ideology must be among others, a "systematic scheme, or coordinated body of ideas about human life and culture", or as Geertz (1964:53) puts.

---

1. We can also, of course, say that an orchestra is a group of musicians brought together in coordinated psychological and physical action by a body of notes. But this would be to put the cart before the horse, for surely while people are important in an orchestra, it is the musical notes that pull all the players together.
it, a "schematic image", just as much as an orchestra is a coordinated body of musical notes. The first aspect of ideology, then, relates to content.

Then there is the psychological aspect. An orchestral piece meets the esthetic needs (which are part of one's psychological needs) of the players. Likewise, the ideological content must meet the sociopsychological needs of its adherents, extending from the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter to the highest needs of self-actualization. An ideology can be said to help them achieve these needs, by bringing about a psychological frame of mind which helps achieve their needs. This is through psychological arousal (compare here esthetic arousal of the orchestra players), making an individual conscious of the possibility of achieving one's needs.

As ideology arouses in individuals the possibility of meeting one's own needs, it also serves as a condition for the reduction of psychological strain, because now there is a potential outlet, so to speak, through which psychological arousal can be transformed into action. Through the reduction of strain, individuals are put in a state of psychological preparedness that can eventually lead to praxis.

We can say that an ideology meets the psychological needs of potential adherents by making available a suitable content, much as the orchestral piece meets the psychological needs of the potential players through the musical notes. These, then, are the aspects of the psychological domains of ideology. There is, finally, the physical, or praxic, aspect of ideology.
An orchestral piece comes to life only if "orchestrated to action"; that is, when transferred to musical sounds, on instruments, through conscious play, in relation to the written music. Similarly, an ideological content is of any use only if translated into "commitment and action", which, as Sigmund, (op.cit.:3) analyzes, is perhaps one of the most important functions of ideology, as recognized by the leaders of PCN's. In the final phase of the psychological domain, then, ideology helps lead individuals, and the collectivities, already psychologically prepared through the reduction of strain, towards 'commitment' or psychological action.

The thrust of the psychological satisfaction thus earned by individuals who seek and gain psychological refuge in ideology is such that this psychological action serves as a condition for physical action. In this manner ideology can be said to lead individuals into "praxis", or the unity of thought and action. In Freirian terms, this can be called "cultural action".

A musical piece not only meets the individual needs, but also serves as a "symbol", bringing all the players together in a common task (d) above). An ideology, too, while leading individuals towards commitment and cultural action, serves an important-solidary function. It serves, as a "culture symbol" (Geertz, op.cit.). Getting back to the psychological domain again, it provides individuals, in a conditioned origination relationship, with a psychological support to hang on to as they seek to trans-

2. Notice that PCN leaders, too, consider ideology as being related to culture (Sigmund, op.cit.:3).
late, individually and collectively, thoughts which originally stemmed
from a "schematic image" provided for potential users, into action orien-
tation and cultural action. As individuals gain more and more satisfac-
tion by relating to the "schematic image of social order" (Geertz, op.cit.:
63), the strain of social living is reduced, and such reduction in ten-
sion leads, in a conditioned origination relationship, to commitment and
cultural action, again through relating to the culture symbol that ide-
ology is. "As a road map transforms mere physical locations into "places"
connected by numbered routes", an ideology thus enables us to find our
way "from where we are to where we want to go" (Geertz, op.cit.:62);
or, in philosophical terms, takes us from 'is' to 'ought'. And the
psychological satisfaction one gains serves as a condition to more satis-
faction, more action and a greater confidence in the ideology.

Now we can define ideology. An ideology is (a) a coordinated body
of ideas which (b) meets the social needs of individuals and collectivi-
ties of a given society, which (c) through psychological Arousal and
psychological preparedness, (d) leads people to psychological and collec-
tive physical action by (e) providing a psychological support in the form
of a culture symbol. This definition underscores the unity of three
domains in a conditioned origination relationship as follows:

3. This definition combines the characterization of ideology by Mannheim
(1936), Sutton et al (1956), Geertz (op.cit.) and leaders of PCN's
(as characterized by Sigmund, op.cit.).
Figure 5.1 The conditioned origination relationship among the contentual, praxic and psychological domains of ideology.

Here the psychological domain mediates between the worlds of thought (content) and action (praxis). Thus, in the final analysis, ideology is a psychopraxic guide.

In this characterization of ideology, then, a person can tag on to an ideology, or allow it to enter his life, at any point in the psychological, praxic and contentual continuum, just as much as a musician can (theoretically) become part of an orchestra at any point of time, from the 'warming up' to actual playing. The conditioned origination relationship of ideology would then lead the individual and/or the collectivity to each of the other components of the continuum, the combination of which would gradually draw the individual/collectivity in question into its orbit.

The extent to which an ideology is able to guide a collectivity or an individual, and for its content to arouse a people and prepare them psychologically, reduce strain and so on, is a function of the extent to which a given ideology is comprehensive in terms of its contentual, psychological and praxic domains, and the extent to which they are integrated. To the extent that different ideologies meet these criteria to different
extents, there can be said to be 'good' ideologies and 'bad' ones. This, of course, is not in any absolute sense. Rather, 'good' and 'bad' must each be seen on a sub-continuum, so that we can say that all ideologies (and sub-ideologies, and sub-sub-ideologies (see later)) fall at a point somewhere along the continuum that ranges from an 'ideal'; or 'typical' good to 'ideal', or 'typical' bad.

An ideology was characterized as 'an orchestra with a difference' (heading of this section). The difference, then, is that while they both share similar features, all orchestras are, generally speaking, 'good'; that is, they meet the psychological needs of all its players well, provide for orchestration into action, and so on, whereas not all ideologies meet the needs of its adherents well and provide for praxis.

When an ideology, as it has been characterized here, comes to govern the lives of a given group of people, they come to be, over time, the "golden assemblage of ancient opinions and rules of life" that Edmund Burke speaks of. At this point an ideology serves as the basis for a paradigm, taken in the Kuhnian (1962) sense. And, as Mager (op.cit.:vii) in relation to education, points out, you will not, then, end up somewhere you don't want to.

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4. According to this characterization of the concept of ideology, all societies and all groups of people have always had an 'ideology'. Surely every social group had certain social norms that guided the behaviour of its members (i.e., prepared psychologically for commitment and action), and every member fell back, or was encouraged or forced to fall back, on these guidelines in their day to day lives, or in times of crisis. Each such ideology could have been 'good' or 'bad', in relation to the extent to which it met the needs of the given society, or 'better' or 'worse' in relation to ideologies of other societies. But there is no question that every society has always had an ideology (or many ideologies if the society was made up of very distinct cultural groups).
In ordinary times, of course, a society does not have to seek recourse in an ideology consciously. In times of crisis, however, a society does seek conscious recourse in it. In such times, the leaders may invoke either of the three domains of ideology (contentual, psychological or praxic), in (partial) isolation or combination, in their attempts to seek a solution to the crisis, in a manner compatible with the ideals, the culture base and the aspirations of the group. This means then that at a given time, be it a crisis or otherwise, one (or more) particular domain(s) or sub-domain (e.g., psychological arousal, psychological preparedness etc.), of an ideology comes to exert more influence than others, depending on the circumstances. Every other (sub-) domain, however, contributes to this sub-domain, which has now become the main one in its overall task. The number of domains involved in a given situation increases with the extent of complexity of the task at hand or the extent of the crisis.

If a given society can thus be said to have an 'ideology', there are also 'branch-ideologies' within each such society. There is, for example, the 'economic branch-ideology', the 'legal branch-ideology', the 'religious branch-ideology', and so on. There are, in fact, to extend the analogy of the branch, 'twig-ideologies'-- lower level 'opinions and rules' that help maintain a given branch-ideology. The actual work-

5. Compare here the functioning of the brain. Each part of the brain has a specific function, and each such part comes to play the dominant role in a given activity (say the left hemisphere in logical reasoning). However, as John's (1976) research shows, every other part of the brain also contributes, however minimally to this activity.

6. As defined here, then, 'cooperativism' (2.22.1) for example, can be taken as the 'ideology' of traditional societies, and 'individualism' as the ideology of Western capitalist societies.
ing of a market-system (e.g., Riggs' "canteen-bazaar model" [op.cit.]), or the dispensing of justice in a rural court of law or in an Indian 'panchayat', are examples.

5.3 PCN's Need for a New Ideology of Humanistic Nationism.

If, as I claim, every society has an 'ideology', why do I also claim (by positing an ideal type as in 3.4) that PCN's need a new ideology in the form of 'humanistic nationism'?

The goal in PCN's was identified in 3.4 as sociopolitical integration in relation to maximizing humanness, or humanistic nationism. But such a process must recognize the existence of different groups of people within a given country. In chapter three, a PCN society was shown to be comprised of basically two groups in a vertical relationship: masses and the CA. But in each such society, there are many other sub-societies or groups that could be identified along a second vertical axis at different 'primordial' or sub-national levels. These are the 'bands', 'clans', 'ethnic groups' and 'nationalities' occupying respectively a 'non-village', a 'sub-village', a 'village' and a 'supra-village' (see figure 5.4). Not all such groups, or levels of social organization, will, of course, be present in all PCN's. Nor will the levels of social organization and sociopolitical integration be identical in all PCN's. But there is no question that there were, by independence, different primordial groups living in PCN's. These different groups had, by definition, their own distinctive 'ideologies' as well. We could call these bandism, clanism, ethnicism and nationalism respectively.

At political independence, such groups, with their own civilizations, were forced, by nationhood, into (physically and psychologically).
'territory. In these independent countries there were now, for example, groups who had not been there prior to colonization: the Asians in Africa, the Chinese in the West Indies, and the Europeans all over. Whether the primary groups had been there prior to colonization or not, they were all faced with a new situation for which there were no tested out and traditional ways of handling. The situation had never existed! Thus there were not only divergent physical pulls, but conceptual pulls as well arising from divergent civilizations. Geertz (op.cit.:54) observes how even in 'stabilized' societies "social friction is as pervasive as mechanical friction". How much more friction would there be in unstabilized and crisis-laden PCN's inhabited by different groups?

The situation I am describing here is in some ways comparable to a tourist in a new city. He needs a new 'road map' to serve as a 'higher level' psychological support to hang on to as he comes to grips with the new situation. Hanging on to this higher level support, the tourist finds it easier to accept, and live through his initial strain, discomfort and disorientation. This can be called, in terms of the characterization of an ideology in 5.2, 'psychological arousal'. The 'psychological preparedness' that results from such psychological arousal serves as a condition for an easier adjustment, which in a circular causation, helps one to adapt oneself even better (or, leads to 'psychological commitment') and increases one's level of acceptance of new ways and behaviours (i.e., 'psychological and physical action). The road map, then, serves the tourist as his (temporary) 'ideology'.

The place of ideology to a 'collectivity', however, is much more
complex than a road map is to the tourist. It is perhaps more comparable
to the situation of an immigrant trying to merge into a new society.

A social group, be it band, clan, ethnic group or nationality, attempting
to integrate with others into a 'society' (see figure 5.4), then, comes to
need an ideology for an important reason. As Geertz (op.cit.:64) observes

It is neither when a society's most general cultural orientations nor its most down-to-earth, "pragmatic" ones suffice any longer to provide an adequate image of political processes that ideologies begin to become crucial as sources of socio-political meanings and attitudes.

If traditional and stabilized societies needed an ideology, then PCN's, marked by instability, need a new ideology all the more. As Mager, in the quote at the beginning of the chapter, reminds, "if you're not sure where you are going, you are liable to end up someplace else -- and not even know about it".

There is another reason why PCN's need a new ideology. If PCN's had undergone a 'natural evolution' as the West European nations, in general, did (despite their constant border shifts, revolutions, nationalist movements and so on), and evolved to the nationist level over a period of time, developing in the process systems, institutions, technologies and strategies of and on their own to meet the gradually developing and evolving needs and aspirations - then perhaps the different ideologies of say, 'bandism' to 'societism' by themselves would have well served the process of achieving national integration. Many a West European nation had indeed developed into nation-states just through such a process, developing gradually a "broader unity" and "stressed authenticity" through the transformation of "ethnocultural integration" (Fishman, 1972: 6-7; 23). But the countries we are talking of did not, or were not
allowed to, go through such a process. Their "historical continuum" was interrupted by colonialism, resulting in the 'new colonial situation' (chapter two). And now, as Sigmund (op.cit. 8) observes, "neither the reformers nor the radicals of these countries wish to wait for organic development to bring their societies into the modern world". Therefore it has become impossible for ideologies from bandism to nationalism to serve, by themselves, as the national ideology.

At least for these two reasons, we have to look for an alternative ideology. What should this be? The first ideologies that must be considered here are obviously the more predominant ones that are already spread over a good part of the globe, namely, 'capitalism' and 'communism'. These are the ones that have been knocking on the doors of PCN's from the time of independence. However, on an examination of the statements made by PCN leaders on the question of a suitable developmental ideology, Sigmund (op.cit.:introduction) concludes that both have been rejected categorically.

Capitalism is rejected on many grounds: for its "intimate involvement in the colonial enterprise", for its "association with the evils of colonialism described in the Leninist theory of imperialism", for its lack of concern for what could be called communal social justice, that is, a concern for the good of the collectivity in terms of basic social delivery systems (free health care, free education, low-cost housing), resulting from its concern for profit, by implication for its emphasis on industrialization, and finally for its materialism (ibid.:12-4). In general, the capitalist West is held in suspicion as is well expressed in the term 'neocolonialism'.

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Communism escapes some of this criticism. However, PCN's have come to the realization that all powerful nations, whatever the politico-economic creed, are potentially, if not in fact, imperialistic. Further, communism, or at least the 'classical' variety as found in the USSR, like capitalism, emphasizes industrialization. Of course, it cannot be charged with a lack of concern for communal social justice, although it allows for little individual social justice; that is, a concern for, say, individual rights. Its forced collectivization is seen as a threat to individual freedom. It is also materialistic, and finally, it believes in a forced and strict statism and a centrism which most PCN's find hard to adopt in toto. A dictatorship of the proletariat remains a dictatorship!

The rejection of both capitalism and communism clearly represents the reluctance on the part of PCN's to be identified with either power block. They do not have the resources, energy or the will-power to be caught between feuding giants.

There is perhaps an even more serious consideration, I believe, which has prompted PCN's to reject capitalism and communism. This relates to the failure, or an inability, on the part of either, to relate effectively to the culture base of the PCN's in general.

Again, capitalism, as a politico-economic creed that has little concern for communal social justice, has no need to understand a particular culture. One does hear of 'national capitalism' as distinguished from 'international capitalism'. But the basis of this distinction is hardly cultural; it is rather a way of identifying the actors in the game – whether the capitalists are endogenous or exogenous. 7

7. This is not to say that if 'capitalism' comes to be 'adopted' by a
Communism, with its concern for communal social justice, has to consider the culture base of a people than does capitalism. Indeed, 'communal justice' can hardly be achieved without reference to the culture base of the community. However, while communism seems to recognize in theory that a relationship must exist between the cultural milieu and the Marxist dogma, there is little evidence, of it in practice. Most Marxist leaders in PCN's, particularly the early ones, as members of the CA, did not understand the national culture base, nor were perhaps any serious attempts made to do so.

PCN, it will not eventually result in a 'nativized' or 'nationized' capitalism that bears the imprint of the ethos of the collectivities and the individuals of the given country. But this will require a long time during which the creed will continue to be the national developmental ideology - something which is often unlikely, given the political instability of PCN's. The emergence of a nationized capitalism in PCN's will even take longer than such emergence in a Western country, given (a) the fact that there is no judeo-Christian tradition in PCN's, which Weber claims to have given rise to capitalism, and (b) the exopetalized orientation of the CA (who will be responsible for 'adopting' and maintaining the creed) who will be constantly trying to imitate the West in order to maintain their supremacy over the masses, and their acropetal orientation. Thus, while 'national capitalism' is a possibility, it would hardly be a reality, also because of capitalism's claim as a creed cutting across national boundaries. Consider, for example, the global corporation's view of the world as "one economic unit" (Wallerstein, op.cit.:31) (see also 2.22.2).

8. One often hears of 'international communism' and rarely of 'national communism', although this is on the increase with any claims to or attempts at 'national communism' (e.g., of Yugoslavia, China, and most recently of Italy) coming to be frowned upon by classical communism. This attitude probably stems from the emphasis in Marxism on internationalism.

9. This is perhaps because they were trained at the feet of Western Marxists (e.g., Harold Laski of the London School of Economics, or lately, in the Soviet Union itself).
The lack of culture relevance to PCN's in capitalism and communism can be explained in another manner as well. They both had origins in the West, and emerged out of a Judeo-Christian tradition. As such, each of them resist adaptation to non-Western societies, culturally, allowing little room for 'nationization'. What we call communism, e.g., is a highly structured and dogmatic body of ideas contained in a series of documents, Das Kapital being only the foremost. Thus whenever the dogma is imported, it is in the form of a 'textbook', which tolerates no deviation. This makes it difficult for culture-relevance. 10

Capitalism, on the other hand, is no such 'dogma'. It is simply the outcome or growth of centuries of a particular economic practice, originating in the West European countries. This tradition had only one creed: individualism (cf., characterization of Western man in terms of 'possessive individualism' (2.22.1). The absence of a well-structured and systematic body of ideas thus allowed each individual to interpret this 'creed' in a manner maximally beneficial to himself alone, with hardly a thought for its social ramifications. To this extent, capitalism in each West European country became 'cultural'.

Since the culture base of PCN's is thus hardly comparable to and compatible with that of West European countries where communism and capitalism originated, each of them, in its totality has turned out to be culturally irrelevant.

10. The emergence of Chinese Communism belies this statement. However, it needed a dramatic and bloody revolution to nationize communism, a step FEW PCN's would likely undertake.
If capitalism and communism may have been rejected also on cultural
grounds, the significance of relating ideology to culture has been empha-
sized by PCN leaders (e.g., Mao, Nyerere, Sukarno, Bandaranayaka). Sigmund (op. cit.: 33) summarizes this need in the following words: "A national
and cultural revival thus precedes a higher and truer internationalism".

Thus rejecting capitalism and communism, the majority of PCN's have
been groping for an alternative, and have come up with many different
ideologies'. An examination of such ideologies shows that they are a
mixed bag, varying from strictly political creeds such as "populism" (see
Saul, 1973, for a discussion), "guided democracy" (Sukarno and Bandaranayaka), "democratic socialist cooperative democracy" (Nasser) etc. to
strictly economic creeds such as, for example, "socialist economy",
"mixed economy" (Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka under Mrs. Bandaranayaka, Egypt
under Nasser), etc., and to politico-economic ones such as "African social-
ism" (Senegor), "ujamaa" (Nyerere), etc. One finds among them even non-
economic and non-political ideologies, ones which could just as well be
identified as 'philosophies'. The range here extends from the non-
vioience (awihimsa) of Gandhi and Nyerere to the militantism of Mao and
Che Guevara, from the secularism of Fanon and Bourguiba to the 'religism'
of Gandhi (Hinduism), Faisal (Islam) Eduardo Frei (Christianity, but par-
ticularly Catholicism) and Bandaranayaka (Buddhism), from nationalism to
regionalism to 'pan-ism' (cf., e.g., the pan-Arab, pan-African, pan-(Latin
American movements), from Nyerere's "self-reliance" to Latin America's
economic regionalism (e.g., the Latin American Common Market, the (1960)
Latin American Free Trade Area Treaty (Teubal, 1968:121), from Senegor's
"negritude" to Nasser's "Arabism", etc. 11

11. See Gordon (op. cit.) for a detailed discussion.
As is evident from this extensive list, the range is extremely wide. It extends from economic ideologies to econo-political ideologies to even philosophic 'approaches'. This variation can be explained in two ways. The first is simply to say that PCN leaders are not clear in their own minds what the role of ideology exactly is, or, if it is clear, what the chosen ideology is supposed to mean. This is perhaps why, with the exception of Tanzania, no country has succeeded in defining its 'ideology' clearly, except to name it. In fact, Nasser, for example, walked a 'two-legged ideology', one economic ('mixed economy') and the other political ('democratic socialist cooperative democracy').

Secondly, it is evident that these leaders seem to understand the concept of 'ideology' very differently from its traditional meaning of a "systematic scheme or coordinated body of ideas about human life or culture". Since PCN's are young in their post-colonial history, there has perhaps been not enough time for such a "coordinated" body of ideas to emerge. If these leaders are, thus, unable to define the content of ideology, the best they can do is to identify its function. This explains why some leaders give ideology an economic function, others a political function, and still others a philosophical one, with a few others combining all or some of them. Sigmund (op.cit. :3) in summarizing these views, maintains that the term 'ideology' has to them come to mean the additional connotations of "commitment" ("both emotional and intellectual") and "action-orientation", in keeping with the common usage.

Beneath this ideological confusion, however, seems to run one common thread. And this is the notion of socialism, as formalized by Stalin in 1931. Although it is true that "the precise meaning of socialism is rarely
defined in detail", as Sigmund (op.cit.:12) observes, it is one which has
been readily adopted by many PCN's as their developmental ideology, in
preference to either capitalism or communism. The fact that the concept
has been adopted by most PCN leaders is a recognition of the fact that it
is considered by them as leading to 'commitment' and 'action'. This is
perhaps the first reason why socialism has been considered to be more
suited to PCN's as an ideology than any others.

Apter (1964:24) suggests that this acceptance may (also) be due to
the fact that socialism is viewed in PCN's as being "more rational than
capitalism because of its emphasis on planning -- more scientific, more
secular and more in keeping with the need to fit together and develop
functionally modern roles". But a more compelling reason, I believe, is
that it allows for culture relevance, both in relation to individual PCN's
as well as to PCN's in general, a feature that was absent in capitalism
and communism. That is to say that its tenets of public good, cooperative
behaviour, equalitarianism, individual freedom, and so on seem close
enough to the traditional value system and the modes of life of the pea-
santry that constitute the majority of the population in PCN's, taking
them collectively, as Redfield (1960:63) proposes, as a "human type".
Recognizing this, Sigmund (op.cit.:17) calls socialism in PCN's not merely
a "humanist socialism", but also a "national socialism" - an ideology
"resembling that of Ataturk more than that of Marx" (ibid.:39). (Ataturk
was, of course, a nationalist and Marx an internationalist.) All this is
to say, then, that "socialism" has been acceptable to the PCN's as an ideo-
logy because it has been seen by them as a potential, if not actual,
"culture symbol" (Geertz). That is to say that while socialism lays down
some guidelines (like communism but unlike capitalism), it also allows for freedom of interpretation and application (like capitalism but unlike communism).

This, however, seems to be its very weakness as an ideology. As Apter (op.cit.:24) observes, the result is that it "breaks down into a number of competing dogmas that have the effects of weakening solidarity and confusing identity". As well, it allows for individual leaders and the composite aristocracy to interpret it as they wish, and not uncommonly to their own benefit. It is such questionable interpretation that has indeed led 'socialism' (the term and concept) to be subjected to ridicule, both within PCN's and by the 'outside' world. 12

We have so far examined the existing ideologies in our search of a developmental ideology and found socialism having the best chance of fulfilling that role. But it is not without problems. However, since 'socialism' has found acceptance in PCN's, there are at this point two options. We can either adopt 'socialism' as the developmental ideology and seek to clarify its characteristic features thus overcoming its most serious drawback, or give the new characterization a new name, thereby symbolizing a breakaway from all existing ideologies and a new beginning. I take, without discussion, the second choice.

If we were to give our 'new' ideology a name, we can call it 'humanistic nationalism'. This has earlier been identified as the goal of PCN's (2.4). Now it emerges as the ideology of PCN's.

12. This was the case, for example, during the Sirimavo Bandaranayaka period, particularly the 1970-7 period, in Sri Lanka.
5.4 Combining 'Humanistic Decolonialization' with 'Humanistic Incrementalization' as the Content of Humanistic Nationism.

One of the components of ideology is content (5.2). If an ideology is to move individuals-in-community and communities-of-individuals into psychological and physical action, it is imperative that the content of such an ideology be such as to meet the felt needs and the real needs (whether felt or not) of those governed by the ideology. In this section I shall argue that two aspects in combination should constitute the content of HN. They are what I shall call 'humanistic decolonialization' and 'humanistic incrementalization'.

5.41 Humanistic Decolonialization.

History is like an ever-flowing river. Just as the course of a river can be changed, the course of the "historical continuum" (Gordon, op.cit.) can also be changed. Given the natural condition of change, there is, of course, nothing wrong in changing the course of a river, on its own or through human intervention. But it does matter when the course is drastically changed so that the river floods vast areas, brings death, misery and suffering to many.13 This indeed was the tragedy of colonization.

The process and outcome of colonization has been characterized by Freire (op.cit.) as "cultural invasion". This entails a change in the

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13. To continue the analogy of the river, such calamities rarely occur if the course of the river changes on its own; for, it is a natural and gradual change which allows both the river and the environment (of land and people) to adjust to each other. This suggests the possibility that colonization would have been more "successful" (from the colonizers' point of view) if greed were not allowed to take the better of reason and, the colonization, and the associated oppression, were introduced gradually.
psychological infrastructure of the colonized people. Internalizing the myth of the 'natural inferiority', perpetrated by the colonizers, they had, in a self-fulfilling prophecy, indeed come to be lazy, inefficient, ignorant and dishonest. In a conditioned origination relationship with this was a loss of confidence - in themselves, in their leaders, in their cultural institutions - a loss of self-reliance, an unquestioning acceptance of the invading culture, a desire to be like the colonizer. The colonized thus gradually succumbed to "objectdom" (Fanon; Freire).

This indeed was a colonial mentality, and could be called a colonization, as contrasted with 'colonization', the physical occupation of lands by the colonizer.

If the post-colonial period were to allow people in PCN's to turn from 'objects' to 'subjects' and "write history" (Gordon, op.cit.:6), the need was for a psychological 'dehabitation', a frame of mind away from 'colonialization'. This we can call decolonialization.

'Decolonialization' entails two aspects: a psychic one and a praxic one. The psychic aspect inheres a call for attitudinal change: to understand the reality of oneself, not as individuals that were inherently lazy, ignorant, inefficient and dishonest, but rather as individuals with potential for growth, and for compassion and wisdom, to recover the lost self-confidence and self-reliance, and to develop a determination to achieve 'subjectdom' (Fanon; Freire).

Attitudinal change is in a conditioned origination relationship with behavioural change (4.5). Thus the attitudinal change called for above must be associated with some action. The praxic aspect of decolonialization, therefore, is a highly conscious and active return to the histori-
ocal personality" (Gordon, op.cit.), or one's tradition, interrupted by the period of colonization. This means attempting to understand the cultural base of one's society, digging out actual examples of past psychopraxic behaviour and extracting general principles of such behaviour that might serve as potential guidelines for the psychological dehabituation. The two processes involved in decolonization, namely attitudinal and behavioural change are, of course, 'conjunctive' (3.31). They are aspects of the same process complementing each other. 14

The relationship between the attitudinal and the praxic aspects of decolonization, and the process in bringing about further attitudinal and behavioural change can be captured in the form of a 'decolonization cycle' below:

1. develop new methods, principles etc.,
2. establish new tradition(s)
apply principles and methods extracted from tradition
attitudinal change

1. return to, and re-examine tradition
2. recover selective aspects of tradition
behavioural change

Figure 5.2 The 'decolonization cycle'.

14. Decolonization is somewhat similar to Freire's (op.cit.) 'conscientization' in that it involves being conscious of the oppressive nature of the situation, of one's own abilities and so on, and being active (see his chapter 3). It is however, different from 'conscientization' in that it emphasizes an active return to the historical tradition, an aspect which is not contained, or emphasized, in the term conscientization.
The cycle begins with a general, overall change in the attitude-behaviour continuum, wherein an individual, or collectivity, has awakened to the need and possibility of change from objectdom to subjectdom, and the potential for humanization. At the next step, such a change leads a people to re-examine the tradition. As they begin to understand it and act upon it, they come to realize that they were (and are) not necessarily ignorant and inefficient, and that there was merit in, and much to learn from, traditional systems. As such understanding enhances the self-confidence with which one began the process of examining the tradition, and infuses a pride in themselves as people belonging to such a heritage, it also leads, at step (c), to attempts at recovering selective aspects of the tradition relevant to the present, and to the goal of maximizing personal and milieu cultivation (3.32). At step (d), the principles and methods extracted from tradition comes to be applied with increasing confidence, leading to increasing self-reliance. This serves as a condition for empathic participation (4.5), as more and more individuals and collectivities come to be involved in the process of examining, understanding and acting upon the tradition humanistically, in relation to each other. There are now more compassionate and wise hands and minds, and this then serves as a condition for the emergence of new insights, methods and principles, which in turn results in new traditions. This, then, leads back to step (a), that is, further attitudinal and behavioural change. This last step both completes one cycle and begins another. The 'decoloniali-

15. Individuals can latch on to the 'cycle' at any point. This means that there is no need for the state to regiment everybody into the cycle. As will be seen in 5.5, the process can, and must, rather be one of 'incrementalism' where individuals gradually come to be part of the
zation cycle' can, then, be seen as an expansion of the attitude-behaviour spiral process shown in figure 4.3, a continuing interaction between the colonized man's psychic and praxic domains, in his search for liberation.

Decolonialization can then be said to be an attitude of mind and a pattern of behaviour that encourages one (an individual or nation) to go back to history in search of those aspects of culture consistent with the present day needs, and eventually of (projected future needs and) HN.

It is important here to draw a distinction between 'tradition' and 'traditionalism'. Weiner (op.cit.:7) describes the difference well:

... a number of scholars have suggested that we distinguish between tradition and traditionalism. Tradition refers to the beliefs and practices handed down from the past; as we reinterpret our past, our traditions change. In contrast, traditionalism glorifies past beliefs and practices as immutable ... This distinction between tradition and traditionalism calls attention to a fundamental issue in development... Here we see the difference between nineteenth century China and Meiji Japan. While the Japanese sought to reinterpret their past so as to make it congruent with their efforts to modernize many Chinese leaders were hostile to innovations that violated previous practices. When people are attached to the past in such a way that they will not adopt new practices that modify past behaviour, we are confronted with an ideology of traditionalism. Traditionalism, by virtue of its hostility to innovation, is clearly antithetical to the development of modernization; traditions, which are constantly subject to reinterpretation and modification, constitute no such barrier.

What I am calling for, then, is not a traditionalism but a return to tradition if only to adopt, adapt, modify or even reject it outright, if found to be counter-cultivational, to see if indeed it could serve as a basis, not for stagnation, but for change.

cycle as and when they become convinced. Since the extent of effectiveness of the cycle is a function of the number of people actively involved at each of the steps, the state will have to take a hand in actively 'selling' the notion to the people in an effort to convince them.
Jung sees history as a 'collective consciousness', and "potential reservoir of wisdom for the individual, because it represents the collective experience of the race" (Funk and Wagnell, col. 20:7296) (underline added), but it must also serve 'wisdom' in the special sense used in this study (as the highest level of the psychic domain - see Figure 3.2). This is not enough either. It must surely serve as a potential reservoir for 'compassion' as well, if the process is to contribute to the maximization of humanness. Thus, what we need is not mere decolonialization, but humanistic decolonialization.

I am, of course, not alone in this call to a return to the past. Gordon (op.cit.:27) analyzes the writers on colonization and development from Albert Memmi and Frantz Fanon to Abdullah Laroui into three types: the "futurist", the "apologist" and the "reconstructionist". The last two believe that "a progressive future can only be based upon an invigorated past". Summarizing the views on nationalism from Herder (1777-1913) to the present day, Fishman (1972:7), likewise, identifies "stressed authenticity" as one of the two "recurring components of nationalism".

"Humanistic decolonialization", then, serves as one ingredient of the content of the ideology of MN. That means that it is by no means a sufficient condition. For indeed there are features of every culture that might have served the past well but not necessarily the present or the future. For example, the different groups that were forced to live together at independence had been in a "non-dialogical" relationship (Freire) with each other, up until the time of independence. There had never been a need for these groups to think of themselves as ones living 'under the same flag' with others. Thus the cultural patterns pertaining to each
such group had developed in a manner that pushed for narrow interests of yet another group. As compared with this, socio-political integration of all such groups living within a PCN was seen as the goal in HN (3.4). It is thus obvious that a return to the past cannot meet all the requirements of this new need for socio-political integration.

This then leads us to seek yet another contextual ingredient of ideology. If humanistic decolonialization can be said to be a 'looking back', we also need a 'looking forward'.

5.42 Humanistic Incrementalization.

The most favoured term in the literature for such a 'looking', or going forward, is 'modernization'. Black (op.cit.:7), for example, defines it as the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment that accompanies the scientific revolution.

The modernization process is seen here as being externally determined, in the sense that the level, extent and/or the nature of the process is determined by industrial and scientific advances elsewhere, namely, in the core nations, the continuing links with which were seen to result in cultural invasion and underdevelopment of PCN's (chapter two).

As contrasted with such a view, I would like to characterize the concept of 'going forward' in a different way. The need is to 'go forward' in a manner not antithetical to humanistic decolonialization as characterized above (as well as in a manner that can lead to HN). And if this is not to engender anomie, and not to result in the loss of security and the sense of rootedness, it must relate to the given individual, community or the nation; and it must also be in small steps. This 'relativity' suggests
that what constitutes 'going forward' for one may not necessarily be so to another. Inayatullah (1967:10) gives an example of what I have in mind: if "a tribe which has traditionally believed rain could be controlled by magic but now has a more realistic explanation of it and is consequently working to divert a stream to irrigate its fields - this tribe is developing". In order to underscore the relative and gradual nature of the process, I shall call it incrementalization. The term 'increment', from which 'incrementalization' is derived, has the meanings of 'increase', 'augmentation', 'growth', 'support', 'nourishment', and in relation to math and physics, the meaning 'small' (Oxford, op. cit.). Incrementalization can thus be defined as an attitude of mind and pattern of behaviour that encourage one (an individual, community or nation) to seek increasing control one's environment in steps small enough to be manageable, but big enough to bring about at least minimal change, and in a manner consistent with the needs of humanistic decolonialization, and eventually of UN.

There are certain advantages to this approach that is not shared by the classical view of 'going forward', or as it is called 'modernization'. In the present view, any change - subject to, or course, the humanization and decolonialization needs - say, making better use of water for farming, an increase in the number of times farming is done a year, using more hands (as opposed to machinery) for better production and for more employment, a more equitable distribution of farm earnings, opening up more land, developing a new implement or improving upon an existing implement, and so on - constitutes 'modernization'. As well, if machinery is to be introduced, it doesn't have to be the most 'up to date' \(^{16}\) or the most

16. China serves as an example, here, where the level of information dissemination was highly increased without necessarily increasing the
sophisticated. Nor does it have to be what Ananda Coomaraswamy, the well-known Lankan scholar, calls a "destroyer of culture", one that does the essentially human part of the work rather than do that part that can be handled by man poorly at best. There is also no need that all industries or all important things centre around the metropolis, attracting everyone to the city. Finally, whatever new things are introduced need not be borrowed from, copied from or inspired by the West; nor need they be the brainchild of the CA!

While industrialization, urbanization or westernization need not be part of 'incrementalization', the advantage of the concept is that it can include them. If, for example, a PCN has arrived at a stage where local resources have been maximally tapped, and the introduction of an imported piece of machinery can make a big difference, then this would not only be allowed by the concept but be required.

Another advantage of the present approach is that the concept allows for local initiative and participation at every step of the process. When modernization means even minimal improvement, then everybody can potentially, if not actually, contribute, since everyone involved in a task has arrived at a certain level of skill which can serve as a basis for further improve-

level of technological sophistication (Yu, 1963:266). Another example of this approach was observed by the present writer in visiting a Chinese ping-pong factory in 1972. Although the factory turned out ping-pong balls for international standards, some machinery parts were tied together with pieces of copper wire!

17. As an example, the introduction of the carpet loom, as a tool, "a contrivance for holding the warp threads at a stretch to the pile to be woven round them by the craftsman's fingers", Coomaraswamy (in Art and Swadesh, Madras:Ganesh & Co.) points out, assists the craftsman, or extends his skill, unlike a power loom which serves as a "destroyer of culture" - it replaces man rather than extends (cited in Schumacher, op.cit.:52).
ment. Since everyone involved has this capacity, each can try and the prospect of failure may seem less threatening. This serves to expand the reservoir of ideas and abilities and encourage empathic participation.

As incrementalization thus allows for increased empathic participation, it allows 'breathing space' for individual PCN's, individual groups and individuals, because they would not be in a race with anybody else—a race wherein the PCN as a late-starter, a weak performer (for historical reasons) and a disadvantaged one (by historical, social or natural factors) is already destined to lose. Pulling out of the 'international race', PCN's and individual citizens can contribute at their own pace and in a manner befitting their needs. The personal involvement of each individual and group in all stages of an activity (policy formulation, decision making, implementation and evaluation) gives each of them (and cumulatively, all) a continuing satisfaction, even in failure. For the failure will have led to newer insights, personal growth, fewer errors and better decisions. Such involvement allows the participants to be, as a true Buddhist would, content with whatever little is achieved and yet strive for the better.

The call for incrementalization is really a call for a minipetalism in development, as contrasted with the maxipetalism of the modernization approach which was seen in chapter two (2.22.1) to be counter-developmen-
tal.

The process of incrementalization proposed here is by no means a conflict-free one, where there are no paradoxes or ironies, or where no hard decisions have to be made. It is as difficult, or complex, a process as any other that involves people made of flesh and blood.
Finally, the concept is flexible, in the sense that what constitutes modernization varies from country to country, group to group, individual to individual and from time to time. It is not determined by external agents but by the participants themselves. Thus, the adoption, modification or even rejection of a piece of equipment, an idea, method, and so on, can constitute modernization. And the outcome of modernization need not be look-alike robots, or PCN's with "black skins and white masks".

When incrementalization was characterized above as 'any' minimal step, a caveat was entered in the form of a phrase 'subject to the need for humanization'. This was to remind ourselves of the need for incrementalization, like decolonialization, to enhance the process of personal and milieu cultivation. Thus, in order to underscore this basic aspect as well, I would like to characterize this component as humanistic incrementalization.

Finally, humanistic incrementalization must also be achieved in relation to the other component of the ideology of HN, namely humanistic decolonialization, if it is not to result in a pull in one direction alone.

5.43 Humanistic Decolonialization and Humanistic Incrementalization: a Dyadic Concept.

Both decolonialization and incrementalization have been characterized above in relation to each other. I am, of course, not alone in such an approach. Roling et al (1974:19), for example, suggest that 'modern' and 'traditional' may well be "dyadic concepts", where "the one is there because
Likewise, Rudolph & Rudolph (1967:10) see a "dialectic relationship between tradition and modernity". Thus, we can say that humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization are in a conjunctive and circular relationship.

This is not, however, merely a theoretical construct. Such a conjunctive, or dyadic, relationship has been established at the national level by Rudolph & Rudolph (ibid.) in relation to India, and by Pitt (1970) in relation to Samoa. Roling et al (op.cit.) establishes it at the community level. Fishman (1968b:495) observes its presence at the individual level in the following words:

The model national today is a bicultural rather than a "metropolitan" or international man. He participates and contributes to national integration on both the authenticity and the efficiency levels and in both the traditional and modern veins. By combining in himself both the "old wisdom" and "new" skills, he can (in popular belief, at least) help defend the former and civilize (or humanize) the latter.

Let us now examine with a few examples how, for example, tradition

18. The following comment may also be relevant here:

The fact that one finds laggards and progressives with very much the same characteristics as traditional and modern people also in developed nations may mean that research on modernity has used an incorrect paradigm namely,

"Traditional \rightarrow modern".

The new paradigm may read as follows:

\[\text{traditional} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{modern} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{traditionalist}\]

(Roling et al, ibid.)

19. "If tradition and modernity are seen as continuous rather than separated by an abyss, if they are dialectically rather than dichotomously related and if internal variations are attended to and taken seriously, then those sectors of traditional society that contain or express potentialities for change from dominant norms and structure become critical for understanding the nature and process of modernization."
can serve as a basis for modernity.

The 'modernization' goal in PCN's is nationalism (=sociopolitical integration) (in relation to humanization) (thus HN). This calls for the different collectivities in a PCN to go beyond their traditional confines, physically, politically, socially, and even more importantly, psychologically. However, if they are told that this must be done because it is a modernization need ("it's good for the future of the country"), the chances of its acceptance are low. But if the concept is presented in relation to features or concepts that are already a part of their cultural tradition, the chances of acceptance can be expected to be much higher. For example, in an African country, or in Africa in general, the masses could be more readily won over to nationalism by relating it to their own tradition of reciprocity and redistribution (Riggs, op. cit.) and their "rather egalitarian past" (Roling et al, op. cit.:3), and by extending these notions towards sharing the economic, social and cultural pie, the same way they have developed the cooperative movement (Widstrand, 1972).

If we accept Redfield's (op. cit.) notion of the peasantry as a 'human type', then it is likely that not just the African society, but other traditional societies as well were based on similar cooperative principles. The majority of the people in precolonial Buddhist Burma, for example, appear to have been "secure in their economic and social status", thanks to "an egalitarian outlook on life" (Roberts et al, 1968:678).  

20. A manifestation of this egalitarianism is the practice of "equal" amounts of land being owned collectively, another being "... the unusually high status accorded women" where "women enjoy approximately the same office as men except in matters related to religion" (Roberts et al, ibid.:5). Another manifestation of the equality of partners in Burma is marriage: "Ideally, marriage, including the raising of a family,
In Sri Lanka, it is manifested in its "systems of cooperative labour" (Robinson, op.cit.:62-80), attam, nikan and muttettu. 21 (See also two paragraphs later.) The same spirit is manifested in Islamic Indonesia's tradition of goton rojog (literally 'mutual aid'); or "willingness to reconcile differences for community welfare" (Vreeland et al, op.cit.:472).

The point then is that a concept like 'reciprocity and redistribution' can be used to extend the notion of sociopolitical integration in PCN's in general. In fact, the examples from Sri Lanka and Indonesia provide traditional techniques which could well be used for such incrementalization purposes.

Another example of a way to fuse tradition with modernity comes from Sri Lanka. Sociopolitical integration is based on communication (4.3) and communication is a 'people process' (4.5). The need therefore is to bring the people together in a psychopraxic relationship. The practice of attam (prevalent in parts of country even today) provides an excellent basis for this. Robert Knox (1881), a British captive in Sri Lanka, describes the 

is a partnership of a man and a woman based on compassionate mutual respect" (ibid.:82).

21. See next paragraph for a description of attam. Nikan is a system of cooperative labour restricted to the circle of relatives: "Close relations are said to help one another nikan, literally, 'for no special reason' or 'for nothing; i.e., free' with nothing expected in return. Ego would be helped nikan by all his first-degree relatives ... Kinsmen ... may choose not to offer their help to ego, but if they do help him, it must be aid given nikan, not attam" (Robinson, op.cit.:64). Muttettu is the system of cooperative labour used only in certain special circumstances. Under this system, "work is repaid by feasting and also by certain 'intangibles', not with labour (ibid.:68). "And in the case of sick or absent people, the muttettu is a type of insurance whereby everyone knows that if he should fall ill, some year, his paddy fields would be worked" (ibid.:69).
attam concept still:

When they till their grounds, or reap their corn, they do it by whole towns generally, all helping each other for attam ... that is, that they may help as much, or as many days ... in their fields ... for all fall in together in reaping one man's field, so the next until every man's corn be down ...

Attam relationship then entails everybody coming into a working relationship with everybody else in a given unit, "even if they are enemies" (Robinson, op.cit.:69-70). The norm of helping 'even enemies' provides a basis for bringing together a whole community, and a nation, because the participation comes from a social obligation rather than from a narrow, self-centered interest (of receiving help in return personally). This indeed is a technique successfully used by Sarvodaya in Sri Lanka, where whole villages come out to help the development activities of other villages, even though they may be politically opposed to each other. Robinson's analysis of attam participants in a given village years apart similarly shows how political opponents work for each other (see her Appendix).

The Indonesian tradition of musjawarat 'discussion' and mupolat 'consensus' is another tradition that can be appealed to in bringing people in Indonesia (but not exclusively) together in communication. This tradi-

22. "A case cited with approval was the time that Heenbada a villager ... went to work attam at Kalubanda's ... harvest, even though Heenbada had a case pending against Kalubanda in court, and the two men were not speaking" (Robinson, op.cit.:70). Another example is the attam participation of individuals of opposing political affiliations (ibid: 331-41), in a country where political affiliation is very strong and emotional.

23. As noted in footnote 22, political loyalty, it may be noted, runs deep in Sri Lanka, as I suppose in many traditional societies who have been initiated into party politics by the local elite as a continuation of the political system of the British. The extent of political involvement in Sri Lanka, for example, can be seen in the turn over of over 90% at all elections.
tion, practised even today, does not allow "opposition to crystallize by voting" (Vreeland et al., op. cit.:46), unlike the Western model of political discussion where the 'duty' of the opposition party is to 'oppose' the government party.

Traditional institutional structures can serve as basis for incrementalization purposes as well. For example, "caste in India has helped India's peasant society make a success of representative democracy and fostered growth of equality by making Indians less separate and more alike" (Rudolph & Rudolph, op. cit.:11). In an attempt to show how traditional social institutions play an important role in generating economic development, Pitt (op. cit.:9) observes, in relation to Samoa, how "The flexibility of fa asamoa 'values and institutions of people' is clearly seen in the adaptation of key traditional institutions to the new socio-economic context", where "chiefs (matai) become managers, kin groups (aiga) become cooperatives while kinship or friendship becomes the basis for associations in the towns or abroad". The "rotating credit union" which Geertz (1966) identifies as a "middle level economic institution" is a final example of a traditional institution which can be used for incremental modernization: It is an institution which can be used for meeting increasing financial needs but without getting into deeper and deeper debt as in the Western banking system. 24

Let me conclude this part of the discussion with a more specific proposal of how tradition can be used for modernization purposes. One of the frequent complaints one hears as being in the way of development relates

24. See also Convergence, 1977 (Vol. x:2) for actual current examples of the fusion of tradition and modernity in the development process.
to the work-habits of people in PCN's. One problem, especially among the peasants in the employ of others, is that they seem to work just enough to earn sufficient money for their immediate needs, and as soon as they earn this, they keep off work and are unavailable until they are in need of money again. The important thing, however, is that as long as they are at work, they do a good job. The problem is somewhat different with white collar workers in PCN's. They come to work with some regularity, but don't work enough. Now the peasant is known to be leisure-loving. The farmer or the fisherman wakes up early and is at work almost before day-break. By noon his work is done. Having completed his day's work, he spends the rest of the day leisurely. Now this is a principle that can be adopted to increase the work efficiency of both peasants and urbanites alike in PCN's.

Urbanites in PCN's are today required to work, say from nine to five, a practice adopted from the West. So their minds are habituated to be physically present at the work-place, whether or not they work. They feel little responsibility for their work. But if on the other hand, they are held accountable for their work, say on a (daily, weekly or monthly) quota basis, as peasants have been doing traditionally, it becomes impossible for them to come to work merely to kill time. Thus, the traditional principle could be adopted: "The responsibility is yours. Whatever periods of time you put in is your business. You could work six to six one day and not at all on another. But the important thing is that the work be completed by such and such a day/time." This way, the employees can both have the benefit of being assured of a regular income as well as being able to adjust the working hours to suit their own predilections and life habits. The development effort is also not hampered, and
more importantly, participation is more, and can be expected more reliably. 25

As such a system gathers momentum, there will be a more satisfied labour
force, greater output, better empathic participation, more communication
and an overall better outcome.

The same technique can be used in regard to the peasant work force
as well. This way they can maintain their traditional life of leisure,
but also be not deprived of a livelihood. There will be no reason for com-
plaint on the part of the employer either. 26

These are, then, ways in which the needs of incrementalization can be
met without doing violence to tradition, or more positively, through re-
course to tradition. Given the possibility of the presence of a 'general folk
personality' (Redfield, op. cit.:63), a search into the traditions of any given
society will assuredly bring up enough principles and practices that are
suitable for this purpose (see footnote 24). Naturally, only those that
are seen to be conducive to HN, or personal, milieu and national cultiva-
tion will be made use of, others being kept out as constituting 'tradition-
alism'.

In summary, then, I have argued that the content of the ideology of
HN must be made up of two components, humanistic decolonization and

25: Naturally, other arrangements will have to be made, such as, working
out a timetable where there will always be some employees to serve
the public, keeping the buildings open, compulsory off periods so the
health will not be adversely affected, ensuring the presence of employ-
es in sufficient numbers for given tasks (e.g., collective work) at
given times, and so on.

26: What is proposed here is not very different from a similar practice
adopted in the West of hiring a private company to do a piece of work.
Here the company may hire as many or as little as it wants. The res-
ponsibility thus rests on the company.
humanistic incrementalization, and that the two constitute but a single dyadic concept: one exists because of the other. This challenges the view of modernization theorists who equate development with modernization, and modernization with industrialization, urbanization and/or westernization.

The ideology of HN, made up of decolonialization and incrementalization, then, provides the conceptual framework for the process of communication and serves as the sufficient contextual condition for communicative development.

5.5 Need for Sub-ideologies in Arriving at Communicative Development.

If a PCN were to achieve socio-cultural unity at the highest 'society' level and politico-operational unity at the 'polity' level (see 1.21, and figure below), a single national level ideology would serve the cause of communicative development and HN. But PCN's, by definition (1.22), lack such a high level of socio-political integration, i.e., nationism, as can be shown in figure 5.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>'society'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ethnic group</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>band</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| sociocultural (or behavioural) dimension | politico-operational (or territorial) dimension |

Figure 5.3 The levels of sociocultural and politico-operational organization in a given PCN (after Fishman, 1968a:42).
Likewise, PCN's, like every other society, are yet to achieve the highest levels of 'humanism', characterized in terms of concern-empathy-compassion in the praxic domain and data-knowledge-wisdom in the psychic domain (3.31).

Given the level PCN's are at along the nationistic and humanistic dimensions, it is highly unlikely that every individual and collectivity can relate, or relate directly, to the national ideology. An individual maintains his membership at any of the levels shown on the left column of figure 5.4 by virtue of the consistency of his psychological and praxic behaviour with the rest of the membership. And a band, for example, is a band because it does not share the psychopraxic behaviour of, for example, a clan. Thus, it would be hardly surprising that a band, clan, ethnic group or nationality were unable to function at the nationistic level. What this suggests is the need for sub-ideologies relating to their own level, to serve as linkages and stepping stones to the national ideology. These are shown in figure 5.4:

27. The finding in moral development studies that an individual can understand and relate to only one level higher than his own (Turiel, op.cit) seem to provide some suggestive evidence for this position. (See 11.4 for the fuller argument). What this suggests is that it would be necessary for every individual, and by extension every group, to function at the 'nationality' level before being able to function at the 'societal', i.e., nationistic level.
This figure is an expansion of figure 5.3. It attempts to show the integrative role played by the sub-ideologies at each level of socio-political integration. Here, 'humanistic bandism', for example, means the process through which individual members of the different bands (attempt to) come together sociopolitically (indicated by the upwardly diagonal arrow) in a manner conducive to personal and milieu cultivation (3.32). It is the sub-goal that will eventually help individuals, and the collectivity itself, to achieve communicative development and HN. Once this sub-goal is achieved, it serves as a 'higher psychological support' (5.2) that facilitates progress towards the very next step, 'humanistic clanism' (see 11.4 for this psychological process). All other sub-ideologies can be characterized in a similar manner.

What, then, is the content of these sub-ideologies? Given the historical realities and needs of eventual HN, they are the same as that of the
national ideology, namely humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization.

I have argued that communicative development and HN cannot be realized without reference to sub-ideologies. It must similarly be emphasized that the sub-ideologies by themselves cannot help a nation to realize HN either. First of all, it is possible and indeed likely, that the ethnocentrism at a particular level can lead to a sort of inertia or 'arrestation' (see 11.4). It is only the carrot of the possibility of national participation (which from the individuals or individual group's point of view means personal or the group's advance) that may encourage a 'given level to move along. Secondly, given that 'conflict' is the major source of societal change (see 11.4 again), the ultimate source of such conflict is the pull of the national ideology. Finally, the national ideology alone provides the tone, content, goal, spirit and guidelines for the sub-ideologies.

Perhaps the relationship between the national and sub-ideologies can be characterized in relation to a transit system. The local service will pick you up at any local point, but it can take you no further than the furthest reaches of the local area. It is the national service that will pick you up from these 'farthest local points', and take you to the non-local points. The point of reference of the national transit system is the entire nation, while that of the local system is the immediate locality. Each of the services, of course, feeds upon the other, to serve those who wish to manoeuvre both locally and nationally.

In summary, then, we can say that inasmuch as the national ideology of HN cannot be by itself the sufficient condition for communicative
development, the sub-ideologies, by themselves, cannot either. They must be in a reciprocal relationship. Further, communicative development and HN can be achieved only in a series of stagewise approximations (see 11.4), based on sub-ideologies, and that in this process, the national ideology of HN must interact with these sub-ideologies.

5.6 Summary and Lead-On.

In this chapter, I have compared an ideology to an orchestra which satisfies the psychopraxic needs of a people, and claimed that every PCN needs such a new psychopraxic guide, because each of them is faced with the task of bringing the entirety of its citizenry into a common fold. Suggesting that HN would well serve this need, in preference to capitalism, communism and socialism, the content of HN is characterized in terms of a combination of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization. The chapter concludes by emphasizing the need for a 'stagewise approximation' in arriving at the goal of HN.

In 4.5, communication was seen as a 'people process'. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to view it as a 'contontual process'. In terms of the model, the ground covered so far is shown, as earlier, by reproducing the relevant section of figure 3.4, with the thick line indicating the lap covered in this chapter:
In the next chapter, we shall examine communication as a linguistic process.

Background

(5a) milieu cultivation
(5b) personal cultivation

(4a) societal communicative development
(4b) personal communicative development

(3a) somatic participation
(3b) attitudinal change
(3c) group participation

(2a) increasing shared symbolic behavior
(2b) increasing shared self-identity

(1a) ideology of humanism

(6a) underlining the 'gap' and the new colonial situation
(6b) achieving the goal of humanistic nationism.
CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE: ANOTHER COOPERATING CONDITION
OF HUMANISTIC NATIONISM

Which was first: the language patterns or the cultural norms? In main they have grown up together, constantly influencing each other.

-- Whorf, op cit.:156

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, communication will be examined as a linguistic process. In 6.2, I shall argue that language is the most human of all the forms of human communication, and in 6.3 establish the relationship between language, i.e., one aspect of culture, on the one hand, and perception and praxis, two other aspects of culture, on the other. Arising from this, I shall argue, in 6.4, that a common psychopragmatic base is the necessary condition for linguistic communication.

6.2 Language as the most human means of communication

Communication is not a uniquely human phenomenon. Bees are well-known for their highly developed communication patterns, and even the female worm is known to communicate with its potential mate through the spray of a fragrance. Animal communication can even be said to be made up of the same three processes human communication is made up of. There are the agents, a content and a medium. But what makes human communication unique, however, is the fact that its medium is essentially linguistic.\(^1\) This is, of course, not to say that all human communication

\(^1\) This is in the sense that human language can be analyzed in terms of a complex structure: in terms of phonemes, morphemes, lexemes and syntagmemes (see Chapter 4, footnote 5 for these terms) at the
is linguistic, or that human communication cannot be without recourse to language.

Indeed people communicate non-linguistically. Weiner (1960:157), for example, observes how one can communicate with another by simply observing and learning. Some tribes in Africa and elsewhere communicate with the drum-beat (Herzog, 1964; Doob, 1961; Vetter, 1969). Then there are other ways of communicating non-linguistically -- through spatial relations, gestures and eye contact. Ancient Indian dramatists used mudra, literally "symbolic gestures", in communicating the nine-fold emotions (nāma, nālu ras).

While these are all forms of communication, none of them, even potentially, allow for the expression of the range of ideas allowed by language. They are all restricted in terms of range, function, person and situation. Observing and learning, and the mudras, for example, are all forms of one-way communication. Proxemic, kinesic and oculesic (footnote 2) behaviour can communicate psychological relationships, but when it comes to content, they are all very limited. For example, while the distance one maintains in communicating with another can indicate that one either likes or dislikes the other person, it cannot convey the notion, for example, that he is carrying a message from another.

All of these forms of communication are restrictive in another sense: they work only in situations of face to face interaction. Drums can carry

grammatical level, in terms of "semantic features" (E. Clark, 1973) at the semantic level, and in terms of phonological features (i.e. open-close, back-front, voiced-voicelessness, nasality-vocality, etc.) at the phonological levels (see any standard text on phonetics for these dimensions).

2. The study of these have come to be known as proxemics, kinesics and oculesics respectively.
a message further, but no further than a few miles. As a form of 
communication, however, drums can at best be only cumbersome (Vetter, 
ibid.:248).

If the non-linguistic forms of communication are thus restrictive, 
they are all marked by one common feature. They are based on, or are 
complementary to, language. Mudras, as used in drama, help the actor to 
highlight the emotion befitting the dialogue and/or the dramatic situation 
which itself is very much language-based. Vetter (ibid.:246) observes 
the direct linguistic base of drums in the following words: "What the 
Drums transmit is an abstraction [read: extraction] from the total 
speech utterance and not usually a code or cipher." Special forms of 
communication for the handicapped, such as Braille, some forms of deaf 
language and Blissymbolics are, equally, language-based. It has already 
been noted that proxemic, kinesic and oculic behaviour can express 
"content" only poorly; what they do is merely complement the total dis-
course to make the communication more effective.

While then all non-linguistic forms of communication are either com-
plementary media or language-based media, they are not as efficient for 

3. For example, the sentence (or notion) "The missionary is coming up 
the river to our village tomorrow; bring water and firewood to his 
house" when translated to drum language reads as follows:
   White man spirit from the forest of the leaf used for roofs 
comes up river, comes up river, when tomorrow has risen on 
high in the sky to the town and village of us. Come, come, 
come, bring water of (a specific type) vine, bring sticks of 
firewood to the house with shingles high up above of the white 
man spirit from the forest of the leaf used for roofs (Doob) 

4. It may be noted that, to the dancer, as contrasted with the actor, 
mudras are not language-based. However, they were perhaps not de-
veloped originally unrelated to language. For example, each of the 
mudras has a linguistic label as well.

5. Blissymbolics is the language designed to help the paraplegics to develop 
language-related skills. It takes the name after its designer, Bliss.
human communication either, as ordinary, natural language is.  

The point then is not that non-linguistic communication is impossible, but that only language (meaning both speech and writing) allows for a maximization of human communication. Of all the modes of communication, in fact, language alone allows for all of the following features:

a. two-way communication;
b. communication over distance;
c. communication over time;
d. "flexibility", and
e. "extendability".

The first three need no elaboration. By "flexibility" is meant that language, more than any other form of communication, potentially allows every human to express almost any idea, or a wide range of ideas that need to be expressed. 7 By "extendability" is meant that language serves as the base of man's advancing technology. Hockett (1948:568) gives an example from the sphere of economics:

In economic behaviour, the role of language, and of secondary sign-systems derived from or made possible by language, is essential. The special (though not universal) feature of commodity exchange among humans (for example) is the equating, for purposes of exchange of varying quantities of different commodities, an operation possible in any elaborate form only because of language.

It is features such as these that distinguish language from other modes of communication, and make it the most "efficient" medium of human communication.

6. The relative inefficiency of symbolic language becomes clear if we can imagine a driver of a vehicle moving at 60 m.p.h. on the highway trying to express to another driver going in the same direction, non-verbally, that the latter's wheel-base is coming out!

7. Here I am talking about the potential of the human race in general rather than the actualization of it by a particular individual in a given culture. For indeed there are some concepts that cannot be easily expressed at a particular point in time of a given culture by
This efficiency of language is by no means accidental. There is reason to surmise that it results from the fact that earliest "language" (that is, both the potential and its actualization) and man emerged into existence in the same process, just as man's developing brain capacity evolved as man evolved from the apes. That is to say, the neurons that allowed for complex thoughts and behaviour, and for sound production, an upright gait which allowed for the emission of sounds, an ability to move the tongue in specific but limited ways, and so on, all emerged in a conditioned-origination relationship, in an adaptive process, along with particular phonemic sounds in particular combinations to express certain notions required for a given group's social behaviour. Each of them served as one of the conditions for the emergence of every other, and came into existence in a given shape when other conditions came to be present.

The Buddha recognized this inalienable relationship between language and man when, in his Path analysis (figure 3.1), he placed language between man's psychic and praxic domains. Bhartrhari, the fourth century A.D. Buddhist scholar, has helped us understand the role of language in relation to man's psychic and praxic domains better in recognizing two types of "speech": an "implicit speech element", in addition to "overt speech" (Matilal, op cit.: 30-1).^8 The view of language one derives from this distinction can be seen in the following figure. (The terms "speech" and "speech element" are replaced by the word "language" for reasons of consistency!):

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particular persons (e.g., an African tribesman about an aspect of lunar flights, or a Western scholar about an aspect of African agriculture). See also later for the view that some languages are less/more flexible than others (8.31.3).

^8 Chomsky's (1965) distinction between "competence" and "performance", though not identical to Bhartrhari's, seems to be a recognition of the two levels of language.
Figure 6.1 The two dimensions of language in relation to the psychic and praxic domains of man (after the fourth century A.D. Buddhist scholar, Bhartrhari).

This figure shows the relationship between the internal and external aspects of language, and the perception and praxis of man in general—in the abstract. Given that the goal in the model of development proposed in this study is the maximization of humanness of individuals and the collectivity in a given society (country), the purpose of the discussion in this chapter is to show the role played by language in achieving this (i.e., in relation to a given society). To that extent, then, I shall attempt to establish, in the following section, the relationship between language on the one hand, and perception and praxis on the other.

Before proceeding to the argument, however, let it be pointed out that the terms "perception" and "praxis" are used here to replace the more familiar terms "thought" and "behaviour" found in the literature. The term "thought" seems to be too restrictive in that it allows us to recognize only one of man's six faculties, namely, the mind. As the analysis in 3.31 showed, man has five other faculties. Given the necessary relationship among all faculties, one could hardly limit a discussion on language—another necessary ingredient of man (supra)—to just the mind. The term

"perception" (borrowed from modern, and Buddhist, scholarship), therefore, accommodates the concept needed here better.

In general, the literature on the relationship between language and thought do not consider the behavioural dimension. But, given the analysis of man in terms of a "psychopraxique" (3.31), and the cyclical relationship between attitude ("thought") and behaviour (4.5), one could hardly ignore this from a discussion of language and man. The term "praxis" is used here in preference to "behaviour" in view of the emphasis placed in this study on praxis—the translation of thought into behaviour.

6.3 The conditioned origination relationship between language, perception and praxis.

The structure of the argument to follow in the next few pages is roughly as follows: language, as a subset of man, comes to condition man's perception and praxis, two other subsets. By the term "condition" is meant that, given the multicausal reality (passim), language serves as one of the factors influencing man's psychopraxic behaviour. As people in a given speech community continue to use a given language, the perception and the praxis that come (continue) to be conditioned by that language, come (continue) to condition, in turn, the very language which "originally" came to condition it.

This kind of argument leads to what may be called the "conditioned origination hypothesis". It simply claims that language, an aspect of culture, on the one hand, and perception and praxis, two other aspects of culture, on the other, condition each other.10

10. While the same thing can be said in relation to each of perception and praxis (as was seen in 3.31), we shall not pursue it here, since all we are interested in is the relationship between language on the one hand and perception and praxis taken together on the other.
In establishing the argument, I shall examine the language to perception and praxis relationship and the perception and praxis to language relationship separately, before proposing a synthetic view. In each case, arguments will be advanced first in relation to the general and then to the specific.

First, then, the language to perception and praxis relationship.

Despite the essential relationship shown in figure 6.1 to exist between language, perception and praxis, there is no doubt that there are all kinds of human perceptions and praxcs that are not language-mediated. Take, for example, a man running along a footpath. His "cognition" of the grass and pebbles that his foot comes into contact with could be said to be at the "pure sensation" level\(^{11}\) where no language is involved at all.\(^{12}\) However, it may still be argued that it may involve "implicit language" (supra), that is, "thought", and is therefore "linguistic". But there are the thinkers and philosophers whose perceptions and conceptualizations are so unique that a given language has not yet developed the labels, or the capacity, to express them. Or, there are the mathematicians, musicians, choreographers, and even creative carpenters, whose perceptions and conceptualizations are iconic, symbolic or relational, and as such need no language, save to express them. Then there are even "creative" farmers and fishermen whose perceptions are not necessarily language-based. There are also the pre-linguistic children, who, by definition, do not as yet have the capacity for either explicit or implicit

\(^{11}\) Sensation is cognitive in character, as the Buddhist analysis shows, given that it is the first step in the process of a stimulus culminating in (survival) consciousness (3.31).

\(^{12}\) As other examples of this, there are the states such as ananda, "the intellectual pleasure Hindus and Buddhists derive when they experience "self-realization and knowing the Absolute Truth" (Sitaram & Cogdell, op cit.:77) / nibhāna (nirvana), the highest goal in
language, but who cannot be said not to "think" (Vygotsky, op cit.; Sinclair-de-Zwart, 1969; Machamara, n.d.).

If, then, non-linguistic perception is possible, the same thing holds for behaviour as well. Certainly there are all kinds of behaviour and, by extension, praxis, which do not need language for overt expression, or are not language-based.

What, then, is the bearing of language on perception and praxis? The linguist Taulli (1968:20) points out that "the categorization of the world of the ordinary man depends on language" (emphasis added). Whorf (1941:156) strikes a similar note when he says that "language ... represents the mass mind" (emphasis added). Such statements, then, seem to suggest that language has a bearing on the "world-view" of some members of a speech community, and not others.

While terms such as "ordinary man" and "mass mind" may appear to suggest here social class implications, the fact that "ordinary men" seem to be "influenced", in whatever sense of the word, by language can be interpreted in a different manner. It was observed earlier that philosophers, mathematicians, musicians, choreographers, "creative" carpenters and fishermen, and pre-linguistic children are all capable of non-language-mediated perception and praxis. Indeed what we are talking about in all these cases is a situation that can be called "creative". In the traditional sense of the word, philosophers, by definition, come up with new ideas, or new interpretations of old ones. Mathematicians, again in the restricted sense as used here, are those who come up with novel explanations of spatial or number relationships. "Creative carpenters" are, again by definition, creative. What can therefore be said is that such people are not influenced

Buddhism and which can only be experienced (wəːdɪtəbːə), or even such a mundane state as expressed in the Sanskrit word sukhā, "sexual bliss", all of which defy verbalization.
by language (or language has no bearing on their "world-view") only in such "creative situations". A "creative situation" may arise in the day to day affairs of an individual, or as a result of change (e.g., social mobility, geographic mobility, novel experience, etc.). Since ordinary men in general are rarely faced with such "creative situations", their world-view seems to be generally influenced by language, just as much as the world-view of philosophers, mathematicians are influenced by language when they are not involved in "creative situations".

The anthropologist Kroeber (1948:223) seems to express somewhat the same idea when he observes that, "it is difficult to imagine any generalized thinking taking place without words or symbols derived from words" (emphasis added).

What we can then say is that a language "conditions" (in the sense of being one of a multiplicity of factors) the perception and praxis of the person in a non-creative situation. Since all of us are "non-creative" (that is, "conformist") most of the time -- or else, our world would be a place of universal turmoil -- this means that the perception and praxis of every member of a speech community, and collectively, of the community, are conditioned by language most of the time. Given individual differences, the extent of such conditioning, of course, would be variable.

At this point, it is perhaps instructive to move from the general to the specific, both in order to be able to substantiate the above argument further, as well as to expand upon it.

Perhaps the best-known and the most controversial statement of this relationship at the specific level is what can be called the "Bhartrhari - Sapir - Whorf - Korzybski hypothesis".\footnote{13} Sapir (1949:162) expresses the

\footnote{13. Although the view was originally implicit in the works of Sapir (1921: 207-220), it was up to Whorf (1941) to propose it formally. However,}
view in the following words:

'Human beings ... are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society ... the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group ... the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same worlds, with different labels attached. We see and hear, and otherwise experience largely as we do because the language habits of our community pre-dispose certain choices of interpretation (emphasis mine).

As the underlined sentence emphasizes, Sapir's contention is that the language of a given community has a direct and important bearing on the way members of that speech community perceive and prax. To that extent, each speech community lives in a "distinctive world" and are "at the mercy of the particular language". This would seem to imply that there is a one to one correspondence between language and culture, and that one cannot perceive or prax without being guided, or influenced by language. We, of course, know this to be otherwise (supra). Indeed, Whorf, after whose name the hypothesis has come to be labelled (see footnote 13), would himself agree. He emphasizes that he "should be the last person to pretend that there is anything so definite as a 'correlation' between culture and language" (Whorf, op cit.:138-9). And it is also important to note that Sapir's statement above does not claim that a speech community's perception and praxis (= "the real world") are exclusively "built upon" language. It is so built only "to a large extent", or "largely", or "very much". This then confirms the view that a language conditions the perception and praxis of only some speakers; and, for arguments advanced above, of most of us.

If a language conditions the perceptions and praxes of most of the members of that speech community, is it the case that all of language so

the view also came to be promoted by the European-based neo-Humboldtian school of thought, whose leading spokesman was Korzybski (House, 1971:44). The same notion, of course, had been advanced by Bhartrhari earlier (see Matilal, op.cit.:29 ff. for a discussion).
conditions? It might be instructive to note that Kroeber, Taulli and Sapir refer to "words", "vocabulary" and "labels" respectively as conditioning perception and praxis. This seems to suggest that not all aspects of a language may play a conditioning role. Given that the phonological and grammatical rules of a language allow much less choice to the user than does vocabulary, it would appear that the vocabulary level conditions a speaker's perception and praxis more than do the phonological and grammatical levels. But even here, it may not be the case that each sub-category of the vocabulary has an equal bearing (compare, for example, the functors with other aspects of vocabulary, such as nouns and verbs). It thus appears that not all of a language conditions, or is reflected in, the perception and praxis of the speakers of that given language.

Synthesizing the arguments advanced above, at the general and specific levels, it may now be hypothesized that:

a. Some aspects of a language are likely to condition
b. the "non-creative" perception and praxis -- which means, most of it --
c. of all "persons in a non-creative situation" -- that is, all members of the speech community,
d. the extent of such conditioning being a function of the person upon whom the language acts, and the situation (e.g., the characteristics of the addressee, the social setting, etc.).

14. For example, while a speaker of a language is "free", in producing an utterance, to pick and choose his words in expressing an idea, he has no choice but to use the limited number of phonemes (in their allophonic variations) in particular ways, determined for him by the "rules" of the language.

15. "Functors" are words or morphemes that get their meaning from the grammatical function they perform. Examples are: all, it, and,
This obviously means that the speakers of a given language are not "prisoners of their language" (Whorf), or are "at the mercy of the particular language" (Sapir). Nor are such speakers "victims to their native tongue" as Weisgerber (in House, op.cit.:42) makes us believe.

Members of a speech community do have a choice in the matter of perceiving and praxing not conditioned by their language. However, it is also true that, as these individuals are born into a culture, made up of a particular language, perceptions and praxes, and continue to live in that culture, the language they have destined to inherit and use, does in some ways, or perhaps even often, play an important role in the way they perceive the world and prax. It is not that every time they open their mouth or "open up" their brain to think, or lift their hand, that they are conditioned by their language, but that, over time, the perception and praxis of an individual in that collectivity, and of the collectivity itself, will tend to be conditioned by the given language, "incrementally", that is, in small steps (see 5.4 for this concept).

To the extent that the language was there prior to any individual member of the speech community, or the entirety of the speech community, at any given point of time, we can say that it is the "historical language" that conditions the perception and praxes. To that extent, then, this may be called the historical correlation hypothesis.

Having thus examined the nature and extent to which a language conditions the perception and praxis of a people, let us now examine the reverse relationship: that is, how, and to what extent, perception and praxis condition language; or, how such perception and praxis serve as a guide in linguistic communication. Again, I shall examine this, first, at the plural suffix -s, past suffix -ed, and so on. See Hockett, 1938:264.
general level, and then at the specific level, synthesizing the two approaches at the end.

Man and language, it was pointed out in 6.2, emerged in the same evolutionary process. Language can thus be said to have come to be born as, man, "the maker of culture", "names the world" (Freire, op.cit.:76) in his attempt to make sense of his environment, transcend it and transform it. The world to be named is already there. Thus, the "naming" of the world presupposes a particular view of this real world held by the namers. It is this view, then, that comes to be reflected in the namings, just as much as the name given a child reflects the cultural view of the parents and the particular society.

Now if we consider these "namings" to be (a) made up of the sounds man is (was) able to make (b) arranged in a particular order (c) to mean something, and (d) produced in a particular way and (e) in a given social interactional setting, then, another name for "namings" is "language". To the extent that the world was there prior to this language, we could say that the language reflects, or is an expression of, the historical view of this world. To the extent that language comes to be born as an outcome of this world view, it can be said that man's historical view conditions language, using the term "conditions" in the same sense as used throughout this study -- that is, serving as one of the necessary factors. If we consider the "view of the world" as meaning not only what man thinks, i.e.,

16. Such a view seems to be suggested by the rationalist philosophers and linguists of that school as well. While arguing that there exists a common cognitive core behind all human language, scholars of the school (e.g., Chomsky, 1968; Bierwisch, 1967, 1970; H. Clarke, 1973; Greenberg, 1961) have searched for certain universals of language (e.g., negativity, questions).

17. For example, naming a child "Paul" in a Christian society is obviously not unrelated to the fact that Paul happens to be an apostle.
perceives through the mind's eye, but also perceptions through other faculties as well, we can say that man's perceptions condition language.

It is, however, not only the perceptions that are reflected in language. The human world, as contrasted with the "world of nature" "out there" (whether knowable by man or not), is made up of not only the perception of the world, but also of behaviour, or rather, the transfer of such perceptions into behaviour, i.e., praxis. To that extent, and for reasons outlined in the discussion on the language to perception relationship above, it can be said that both perception and praxis condition language.

This discussion, which has so far been in relation to "man-in-general", can be extended to "man-in-culture", because members of a given culture share certain features with all of mankind (= "man-in-general"). Further, it is only in relation to a specific culture, as will be seen below, that the other intricate relationships between perception and praxis, and language can be understood.

The anthropologist-philosopher Levi-Strauss explains how "men in a given culture, and over time, construct a world of verbal concepts ..." and "out of the original chaos" (cited in Cranston, 1969:66). H. Clarke (op. cit.) gives an example of this in relation to a specific language. He points out that "markedness" in respect of the pair tall-short in English, for example, is determined by our environmentally and biologically determined upright gait: "up is positive and down negative" (p.28). Reflecting this historical reality, we say, in English, "How tall are you?" in the

18. H. Clarke (op. cit.:37) uses the term "markedness" to characterize "the more complex term" in a pair such as "happy-unhappy": "Unhappy would be said to be marked with respect to happy since unhappy contains the extra prefix un-". The notion is also applicable to sentences (Bierwisch, 1967, cited in H. Clarke, op. cit.:37).
neutral sense, instead of "How short are you?" (p. 37). 19

In understanding the influence of a language on a speech community's perception and praxis, one has to recognize two strands within a given language: the "remote" and the "recent". By "remote" is meant the perception and praxis that the given generation or an individual of a given speech community has derived from the larger "parent" socio-culture from which the given language had evolved into a "daughter-language". By "recent" is meant the perception and praxis that members of a speech community have developed since evolving into a separate speech community, i.e., a distinct language.

The "recent" category, again, includes two further strands: the perception and praxis that a generation, or an individual within a speech community, comes to inherit (at birth), and those that come to originate during one's lifetime. The first relates to the already observed fact of the language one is born into, conditioning one's perception and praxis (6.3).

As for the second, there are, first of all, the natural changes that a language undergoes as a result of the reality of change in general. As individuals, collectivities and the cultural/physical environment undergo change (for example, through social and physical mobility, changing group loyalty, colonialism and so on), these changes come to be reflected in the language as well, this being the natural process through which a given language undergoes change in the first place - in terms of a language coming

19. While, as Whorf (1941: 158) points out, "probably the apprehension of space is given in substantially the same form by experience irrespective of language", it is also probable that "the concept of space will vary somewhat with language, because, as an intellectual tool (e.g. "Newtonian" and "Euclidean" space, etc., as footnoted in the original), it is so closely linked with the concomitant employment of the intellectual tools, of the order of "time" and "matter" which are linguistically conditioned" (Whorf, ibid.: 158-9). Thus, Clarke's example serves as an example of how space, a general concept present universally, comes to be reflected in a given language.
to have different varieties (e.g., the different varieties of English spoken in Canada, USA, UK and so on), or the different varieties either ending up as different languages (Hindi and Urdu, for example), or becoming one language (e.g., the educated English of all English-speaking countries becoming increasingly common), or the same language changing its face (e.g., Old English to modern English).

Secondly, there is the "creative situation" (supra) that comes to condition the perception and praxis of a people. We can think of at least two situations which can be called creative. We have noted, for example, that people do perceive and prax non-linguistically. However, when it comes to the question of expressing them, and when the given speech community eventually comes to talk about them, there is no doubt that this can be done only linguistically (here meaning either directly or by extension of language). In sharing the novel perception or praxis, it is soon discovered that the language, as it stands now, doesn't allow for it. By definition, the situation hasn't existed, and the need hasn't arisen. Thus the language hasn't grown adaptively in relation to the given perception or praxis. Thus, it becomes immediately necessary to introduce afresh, or modify the existing language, to meet the novel need. The change so introduced, then, results in the adaptive growth of the language.

This, then, is how a language comes to be influenced by one kind of creative perception and praxis, where the language is not significantly involved in the act of perception and praxis itself. There is also, however, the creative situation where perception and/or praxis is language-based or influenced by language from the outset. The creativity of the "language entrepreneur" (Minderhout, 1972) readily comes to mind. Even though a given creative situation is so language-related or language influenced, it is a
situation, which, again, by definition, has not existed. Thus, in "socializing" an individual's or collectivity's novel perception and/or praxis, the given language comes to be modified, or new items come to be introduced.

These, then, are several ways that a language comes to be conditioned. They are also the different strands that come to be reflected in the language.

The outcome of such an admixture is that the fact of a people's perception and praxis conditioning their language is simply lost sight of. The particular perceptions and praxes are too far removed from the present language usage to be perceptible to but a few. Who, for example, but the historical linguist in Sinhalese society (in Sri Lanka) would realize that the word du: "daughter" they use every day is related to a particular cultural pattern (i.e., perception and praxis) of many thousands of years ago that the person so-named had the function of "milking the cow"? 20 (This was the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European root, ḍughate:r from which the later Sanskrit dhuh- "to milk" is derived). Thus, to continue the example to the average Sinhalese person, it may appear that du: does not reflect the historical perception and praxis at all. 21 Needless to say, this is only an illusion. Since every language is a mixture of thousands of such linguistic and socio-cultural strands, it will perhaps never be

20. It is true that in many present-day cultures, including Sinhalese, the daughter still milks the cow. But this is not the reason why she continues to be called /du:/ (in Sinhala). For, if so, she should be referred to as something like /kiri dowan:i:/, from /kiri/ "milk" and /dowo/ "to milk"; /-n:i/ "the female one who does ...".

21. The argument, of course, holds at other linguistic levels (e.g., phonology, grammar, and so on) as well, although it will be more difficult to trace the historical perception that has led to the emergence of a given element at these levels.
possible to establish empirically that every given element of a given language is so conditioned by the perception and praxis of the given speech community, or of the larger socioculture, just as much as it may never be possible to establish the origins of all myths in a society.

The above discussion, then, leads to the conclusion that a given language is a composite reflection of the perception and praxis of a people. The same way that a language came to historically condition perception and praxis (supra), perception and praxis also come to condition language historically, over time, and, as earlier, incrementally.

In view of the historical nature of this perception and praxis to language relationship, once again, it can be called the historical correlation hypothesis.

We have now seen that neither the proposition that a language conditions the perception and praxis of its speakers, nor the opposite proposition, each by itself, gives us a complete picture of the nature of the relationship. The relationship between a language and a people's perception and praxis is much more complex than such unilinear and unidirectional propositions suggest.

If we were to develop a scenario of this complex relationship, it would appear to be something like this: There is a "real world" "out there" -- the world of atoms, gases, rivers, mountains, plants, animals and humans. When a child is born into this world, he develops a "perceptual world" out of this "real world"; but non-linguistically. But, as he grows into childhood and adulthood, and develops his capacity for language, he begins to "name" this "real world". For this purpose, he has no choice but to use the

22. Or through the linguistic universals he has brought with him from his past life, if we agree with Bhartrhari (Matilal, op.cit.:31).
labels (here meaning both words and sentences), or rather, his version of it, that he has inherited at birth. To this extent, then, his perceptual and praxic world will reflect what his cultural labels (that is, language) make him believe. This is no more than saying that any piece of technology reflects the world-view of the collectivity in which it was born. Language is another such "piece of technology", or, a "tool" (Ray, 1963), an instrument (Tauli, op. cit.). Again, just as much as a tool, or a piece of technology, conditions, or influences, our perception → praxis continuum (naturally, to different degrees), the child, as he grows into adulthood, comes, under suitable conditions, to be influenced more and more by his language, in all its manifestations, (e.g., speech, writing) since his social encounters are largely linguistic, and successful communication is based on a shared cultural basis (see next section). If he wants to be understood, he must use the labels given him by the language, and use them in a manner perceptually meaningful to others in the "culture community". As his perceptual and praxic world thus continues to be developed linguistically, he behaves as if he believes in the reality of his perceptual and praxic world, until, and unless, he is faced with a "creative situation". At this point he refuses to be guided simply by what his culture (as reflected in his language) has given him in terms of perception and praxis. He knows better! He now comes to hold in abeyance those aspect(s) of perception and praxis in question, and seeks to modify them. To the extent that he succeeds, his language comes to reflect this change as he modifies it in response to the creative situation. Depending on his

23. Eve Clark's (1973:72) "semantic features hypothesis" states that "when the child first begins to use identifiable words, he does not use their full (adult) meaning". The same holds true at the stage of a baby formulating his concepts.

24. This proviso is included simply as a reminder that language by itself
social status, and other factors, his modified perceptual and praxic world comes to influence the language, perception and praxis of others as well. 25 He continues to live in this modified world, again, as if believing in it, until and unless he is confronted with another creative situation. If not, that will be the historical perceptual world that a new-born of the next generation will inherit, as he (the new-born) attempts to make sense of the "real world" into which he was born, and continues to live in. Each human individual and each generation, then, can be said to go through this same cycle.

This discussion, then, allows us to view languages as a sub-set of a given culture, which both determines and is determined by the other two sub-sets. It is essentially such a relationship that was hypothesized to exist by Whorf, nearly forty years ago: "Which was first, the language patterns or the cultural norms [perception and praxis]? In main they have grown up together, constantly influencing each other." (Whorf, 1941:156). To the extent that each of language, and perception and praxis, is conditioned by the other, such a view, which seeks to combine the two historical correlation hypotheses (supra), can be called the conditioned origination hypothesis.

Such a view of the relationship between a language, and a people's perception and praxis not merely confirms the view of the reciprocal relationship between language, perception and praxis, as evidenced in figure 6.1, but also confirms the singularly important role played by language in man's psychopraxic behaviour. Further, it also brings out the

would not do so. As in every other case, multicausality would require the presence of other conditions as well.

25. To these others, then, the changes do not represent a "creative situation". It would simply be another "historical" influence which determines their language, perception and praxis.
major role language plays in maximizing humanness, and bringing about psychopragmic unity in a society, and, in the process, communicative development.

6.4 Learning a language and learning the psychopragmic behaviour: one and the same process.

In this section, I would like to show how linguistic communication, as one factor contributing to communicative development, needs to be based on a common psychopragmic base. While this would, on the one hand, serve to add further evidence for the perception and praxis to language relationship argued for above, it also shows the importance of building a common psychopragmic base for achieving communicative development, which has been shown to be the homogenous condition of national development (chapter four).

The process by which a child learns to speak his mother-tongue (or a second language learner his second language) provides us with a good starting point. In the earliest days of his existence, a baby is most exposed to his mother. He gets his milk from, is bathed, fondled and tucked to bed all by his mother (or mother-figure). So the baby gradually develops an "image" of this person as he "internalizes" certain "distinctive features" (Norman & Lindsey, 1972; Eve Clark, op.cit.) that set apart this image from all others.

The term "internalize" is significant here. This is a process whereby the baby comes to build into his brain structure more permanently, the information that further facilitates his attempts at "image building": In the early days, months and years of a baby's life, the information stored in his "long-term memory" is mostly those he has acquired genetically (including, from the Buddhist and Hindu points of view, those from his past lives).

26. The notion here is that the birth of a person into another life, upon one's death, is conditioned by the "kammaic" (i.e., "action-reaction")
But from the time of conception itself, many new experiences impinge upon him. With the "full" development of the six senses at birth, further refinement and sensitivity of these senses following birth, more and more external stimuli impinge upon his cognition.

As the psychological structure of the baby matures more and more, the "image" comes not only to be cognized but also re-cognized. In other words, the earliest contacts with the image only result in the baby being merely aware of the presence of some stimulus. But with more and more contacts, the baby begins to "match" the different "templates" of the image that has been internalized at different times, basing on his experience, and realizes that they all indeed refer to one and the same "image".

Now while this slow process of internalizing the "image" takes place, the baby also comes to perceive, through the auditory sense, that the "image" is associated with a particular "sequence of sounds". Gradually, the given "sequence of sounds" (= a word) also comes to be internalized in relation to the image. Its exact phonemic shape, that is, the particular linguistic sounds it is made up of, is naturally determined by the perception and praxis of the particular speech community to which he was born. Thus, a baby born into an English speech community will hear, and internalize, the sound sequence /ma:/, while the one born into a Sinhalese speech community (in Sri Lahka) will internalize something like /sma:sə:/.

Along with this development of linking the "image" with the "sound sequence" comes another development. The baby is by now approaching the end of his past lives. In Buddhism, this process is compared to a key fitting into a suitable lock.

27. What is meant here is not that the baby's faculties will all be fully developed like that of an adult, but that the potentiality of their use has opened up in comparison to the foetus at conception.

28. Of course, the process is much more complex than a mere template-matching
of his first year of life, and his psychomotor coordination is well developed, as is his "speech mechanism."\(^{29}\) Already he is making some sounds, and soon, he is beginning to produce "contrastive" or "meaningful" sounds in particular meaningful combinations. Again, depending on the speech community into which he has been born, he will now produce his first "language" -- determined for him by the speech community's perception and praxis.

The steps leading to the utterance of the first "meaningful sounds" and sound sequences (i.e., phonemes, morphemes, and syntagmemes) was, for the baby, a long and arduous one. But whatever were the language components the baby allowed to enter his short-term and long-term memory, and were eventually produced, their structural and semantic shape was determined by the perception and praxis of his speech community.

The process identified above in relation to a baby's eventual production of the first utterance in his native tongue can easily be extended, with obvious changes and reservations, to his cognizing, re-cognizing, internalizing and producing each subsequent phonemic sequence. Further, throughout his lifetime, he, like all other speakers, both of his language and of all other languages, uses a similar process -- a process of perceptual and praxic experience -- in internalizing and using his language.

What becomes evident from this discussion is that the child has acquired both language and the speech community's perception and praxis in the same process, and in relation to each other. This, then, provides evidence to support the conditioned origination hypothesis, since otherwise it would be possible to learn, and use, language without perceiving the world.

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\(^{29}\) We use our tongue, palate, lips, larynx, etc., for speech production. Although these have been called the "speech mechanism", their primary function, of course, is hardly this.
and/or acting, or praying, the way the rest of the speech community does.

Further evidence for the hypothesis comes from the fields of "ethnography" of communication (Jacobson, 1960; Hymes, 1962; Gumperz & Hymes, 1964) and the cybernetics model of communication (Wiener, op.cit.).

On the basis of enquiries on child language acquisition, semantic analysis, anthropological linguistics and cognitive anthropology, Cook-Gumperz (1975:143) observes that the acquisition, by a child, of what Halliday (1973) calls the "stages of wording" (meaning, both vocabulary and syntax) is triggered by prelinguistic social understanding. It is, therefore, a "context-embedded skill" (Cook-Gumperz, op.cit.:14). The child learns language, not in terms of a separate and abstract set of linguistic rules for correct contextual use, but as communicative rules in which grammar is learned in relation to a specific context (ibid.). It is these very "communicative rules", the acquisition of which was outlined above, then, that the child uses in speaking his first word(s) and each subsequent utterance.

Proxemic behaviour is part of these communicative rules. As Edward Hall (1963), who introduced the term, points out, such behaviour is also based on the group's perceptual and praxic base. In Watson's (1972:225) view,

Such factors as the degree of directness with which one person faces another, physical distance, the amount of touching which takes place during an interaction, eye contact, voice loudness, olfaction, and detention of body heat all play a part in the structuring of microspace.

30. These are "co-occurrence rules" (Gumperz, 1964) and "alternating rules" (Ervin-Tripp, 1972). See Cook-Gumperz (op.cit.:149) for a discussion.
And the relationship of such variables, as Watson (1970:132) observes, is "culturally specific". For example, following the ethnologist Hediger's classification of animals as belonging to "contact" and "non-contact" cultures, E. Hall (op.cit.:1023) has suggested a similar classification for humans. One finds in the Western culture, for example, the hand-shake as the standard form of greeting, thus qualifying as a "contact" culture, while in the traditional Sinhalese (or, the larger Asian) culture, the standard greeting is for both greeter and the greeted to clasp their own hands with the palms facing each other, and hold them with the fingers pointing to the greeted (with the angle at which they point, and the level at which they are held, indicating the cordiality/formality level or the relationship). The important difference here is that there is no physical contact, qualifying the culture as a "non-contact" culture.

"Proxemic interference", or, not following the cultural rules of using space, results in what Goffman (1957) calls "alienation from interaction".

How this "culture mismatch" leads to a breakdown in communication is described by Watson (1972:230):

When proxemic interference occurs during an interaction, the interactionists are likely to focus their attention to something unrelated to the interaction, or become preoccupied with his own behaviour. All of these ... occur ... at the expense of communication.

As this discussion shows, the child learns his proxemic behaviour, too, based as it is on the group's perception and praxis, as part of his communicative rules, in the same process that he learns his language.

31. "Culture" here includes all three sub-aspects we have been talking about -- language, perception and praxis. However, I shall continue to use it to mean only perception and praxis.

32. Sitaram & Cogdell (op.cit.:134-5), for example, observe that while there are four types of personal space in the American culture (E. Hall, op.cit.), the number and manner varies in different cultures.
What holds good for the child, qua speaker, of course, holds for every other speaker.

The same rules internalized by the speaker can be said to hold for the hearer as well. As Cook-Gumperz (op.cit.:151) observes, "All parts of the message and context contribute equally to the possible interpretation (by the hearer) of a speech event". "All parts" here obviously refer to the different communicative rules -- linguistic and socio-linguistic (including proxemic) -- that were seen to be learned in the course of language acquisition.

The cybernetics model analyzes communication in terms of information, memory and feedback. To consider this process of communication in relation to information and memory first, our ear can hear only sounds of a particular intensity -- those in the "threshold of hearing"; that is, only those tones that fall above the "threshold of detectability" and below the "threshold of pain" (Miller, 1951:48). Any sound beyond or below a particular frequency will not be tolerated by the human ear, and will cause pain. Hays (op.cit.:207) points to a similar phenomenon in terms of two people communicating: "If a speaker assumes too much knowledge, his hearer does not understand. If the speaker assumes too little, the hearer is irritated by his obtuseness". The "knowledge" referred to here, of course, can refer to language itself, or to the content of discourse. But it must also refer, if our discussion on the relationship between the three aspects of culture holds, to the perceptual and praxic base itself. In other words, there will be no communication unless the communication is within "perceptual and cultural threshold". The particular information must be both perceptually and praxically "detectable" and free of "pain".
The extent and rapidity with which information from the short-term memory is converted to the long-term memory (i.e., internalization) (supra) was shown to be a function of a "perceptual and praxic match". If the information is within the threshold, it is understood; if not, not. In fact, Smith (1975:1) argues that the only learning possible is that which is comprehended, so that "comprehension and learning are inseparable". He further argues that "the only effective and meaningful way in which anyone can learn is by attempting to relate new experiences to what he knows (or believes) already". What is not comprehended or is not within the perceptual and praxic threshold, is both hard to understand and to digest, and internalization will be affected to that extent. And, of course, internalization is "what makes culture [my perception and praxis], society and language possible" (Hays, op.cit.:211). 33

Perception and praxis plays an important role in feedback as well. "The speaker's image of the hearer", observes Hays (op.cit.:209), "is a feedback mechanism". Indeed, as I see it, it provides two types of feedback: what could be called "pre-feedback" and "concurrent-feedback". The speaker's image of the hearer, first of all, allows him to "size up" the listener even before he opens his mouth ("pre-feedback"), by the very fact that the listener shares a common perceptual and praxic base. And, as the speaker continues to speak, he also gets both verbal and non-verbal feedback from, and of, the hearer ("concurrent feedback"), which is "a device to check the communicative effectiveness of what he is saying" (ibid.).

Now, for both pre- and concurrent feedback, it is of absolute importance

33. This discussion is primarily based on Hays' (op.cit.) discussion of communication, and as such, the specific references (year, page) in relation to other scholars cited in the text will not be given.
that the hearer share, with the speaker, the same perceptual and praxic threshold. 34

Grice analyzed the notion of saying something and meaning it (Hays, op.cit.:206). Searle expanded on this analysis to include the listener: "Clearly saying something and meaning it is different from being understood:" (ibid.) Parsons' (1951) distinction of "double contingency" from "simple contingency" helps explain an important aspect of such understanding by a hearer. The animal in a learning experiment has something to learn which is stable independently of what the animal does ... But in social interaction, alter's possible "reactions" may cover a considerable range, selection within which is contingent on ego's actions (ibid.:205).

Applied to a situation of linguistic communication, what Parsons' analysis suggests is the fact of interdependence between speaker and listener, as suggested above. As Garfinkle concludes, "The speaker ... depends on the hearer to fill in the missing links from his store of knowledge" (ibid.:207). From the listener's point of view, as Garfinkle further points out, "... understanding develops gradually throughout the interchange, the earlier remarks being, as it were, half understood and held over for later re-examination" (ibid.:208). Further, understanding required that both participants see the conversation as pointing to "an underlying pattern of matters" they already shared (ibid.:207). Vygotsky (op.cit.:141) provides an excellent example of this from Tolstoy's well-known masterpiece, Anna Karenina (chapter 3):

34. Being within the threshold, of course, does not mean that the hearer already knows what the speaker is going to say, in which case, the speaker need not have said anything at all in the first place! What it does mean is that the information passed on by the speaker be within the potential range of cultural understanding of the hearer.
Now Levin was used to expressing his thoughts fully without troubling to put it into exact words. He knew that his wife, in such moments—filled with love... would understand what he wanted to say from a mere hint, and she did.

Vygotsky then goes on to point out that "A simplified syntax, condensation, and a greatly reduced number of words characterize the tendency to predication... when the partners know what is going on".

The process of communication analyzed with reference to two people, of course, holds equally well for groups of people, or whole societies. As Vygotsky (ibid.:141) further observes, "... between people who live in close psychological contact... communication by means of abbreviated speech is the rule rather than the exception." We find confirmation of this view in Altman and Lett (1967), who observe that "when people from the same culture enter an interaction, they have a great degree of control over the interaction in that they share bases on which to define the situation" (cited in Watson, 1973:227).

The cybernetics model of communication, then, confirms the need for both speaker and hearer to share a common perceptual and praxic base. This again confirms the conditioned origination hypothesis, in that, if there were no such mutual and interdependent relationship between language and perception and praxis, communication should be possible even if the speaker and listener only shared a common language, but not the perceptual and praxic base.

Viewed from the cybernetics, ethnographic and child language acquisition (and production) points of view, then, it is evident that each and every member of a speech community acquires and employs both language and the perception and praxis of the group in the same process. Such learning then gives rise, when other cooperating conditions are present, to a common
psychopráxic base. Since language is in a conditioned relationship with perception and praxis of a people (6.3), and is also the most human means of communication (6.2), it can be seen as contributing to a communicative development, and as such, as a cooperative condition of HN. For this very reason, a common language can be said to serve as the sufficient linguistic condition in achieving HN (see 7.3 for the fuller argument).

6.5 Summary and Lead-on.

In this chapter, I have pointed out that language is the most basic means of human communication (6.2), and attempted to establish that the language of a given speech community is in a conditioned origination relationship with that speech community's perception and praxis. I have also argued that a common psychopráxic base is the necessary condition for linguistic communication. In the next four chapters, we shall examine how language can be employed to maximize communicative development, and HN, in PCN's.

In relation to the entirety of the study, the chapter serves to provide an understanding of the nature of language, given the need for such an understanding in view of the characterization of communication as a linguistic process, in addition to being a simultaneous people- and contentual process. In terms of the model, the thick line in the excerpt below, again, shows the lap covered in the chapter:
(6a) underlying the gaps and the new colonial situation

(6b) achieving the goal of humanistic nationalism

(1b) ideology of nationism

(2b) increasing shared psychopraxis between (i.e., culture)

(3b) attitudinal change

(4b) personal communicative development

(5b) personal cultivation

(5a) milieu cultivation

(4a) societal communicative development

(3a) empathetic participation
PART IV

MAGGIS

or

The Solution to the Problem through Praxis

Chapter Seven: Humanistic Nationism through Language Planning

Chapter Eight: Language Determination I: Exogenous vs. Endogenous Languages

Chapter Nine: Language Determination II, and Norm Determination

Chapter Ten: Cultivating the Contact Lect Towards L-cultivation

Chapter Eleven: Weaving the Net of National Communication for Humanistic Nationism through Language and Ideology
CHAPTER SEVEN

HUMANISTIC NATIONISM THROUGH LANGUAGE PLANNING

The culture of a nation exerts an influence on its language, and the language, on the other hand, is largely responsible for the nation.


7.1 Introduction

Communication which was examined as a people and contentual process in chapters four and five respectively was examined as a linguistic process in the last chapter. In this chapter, I propose to examine the question of language selection in a national setting, using the analyses of communication arrived at in chapters four to six.

Questions relating to language in national development have come to be examined under a new discipline called language planning. In 7.2, I show where the question of language selection (which in planning terms have come to be called 'language policy') fits in in the theory of language planning. One of the characteristic features of a PGN is the presence of many languages (1.3; 2.3). I would therefore like to point out in 7.3 HN's need for a single 'language of cultivation'. The final section of the chapter examines the features of such a 'language of cultivation'.

7.2 Language Determination and the Theory of Language Planning.

We are concerned with the process of deciding which language or languages in a PCN should be selected for the honour of what will be called the 'language(s) of cultivation' (see later for a definition), both at the national and sub-national levels. This is a conscious and rational form of intervention. Such intervention in the sphere of language has come to be known as language planning (LP hereafter). But what exactly is LP? And how can it contribute to decisions about language in national development?

To some of the early proponents of the theory (Haugen, 1959:8; Tauli, 1968; LP was strictly, or primarily, a linguistic activity. But to other, and later, scholars (Hall, 1951:15; Haugen, 1967:287, Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971:198-9; Halliday, 1972), LP is more than a mere linguistic activity. Approaching it as a process of "decision-making", for example, Jernudd & Das Gupta (ibid.:211) define LP as a "political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society". Brent (1975) sees it as "an interdisciplinary response to language problems". Inspired by Fishman (1972), however, I would like to view LP as a co-occurring sociolinguistic response to co-occurring development problems.

1. Seminar discussion, 1975 (Dr. Edmund Brent was a professor in the Modern Language Centre at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education).

2. Fishman (1972:13) calls 'nationalism' "one of many co-occurring responses to a variety of co-occurring changes".

LP is, thus, a part of the national planning process. The question of language policy, therefore, cannot be examined without reference to the sociopolitical aspects of national development. Kemal Ataturk, the first Turkish president, and a linguist, was one of the first to realize this, and the success of the Turkish LP process was that it was "a part of Ataturk's overall program of modernization" (Fishman, 1972:79). China (Barnes, 1973), Tanzania (Gorman 1973:75), Ghana (ibid.:76) and Cuba are among other countries which have recognized the importance of integrating the LP process with other national developmental processes.

LP is, then, not a mere academic and theoretical exercise. It is a discipline which has a very definite contribution to make to developmental issues of PCN's. It is for this reason that I shall apply LP theory in seeking to identify the national and sub-national 'languages of cultivation' in PCN's.

LP, like any other form of planning, has three steps to it: policy formation, policy implementation and policy evaluation. My concern in this study is only with the first step. Traditionally, this step entails two sub-steps. The first is the selection of one or more languages to serve as the (national and sub-national) language(s), i.e., language determination (Jernudd, 1973:16-17). A language is a bundle of 'lects' (2.3), and the next step therefore is to pick one or more lects of the language(s) so selected to serve the different functions (e.g., government, education, law, public speaking, and so on). This I shall call norm determination. Language determination' and 'norm determination'.

4. Haugen (1964:252) calls this "norm selection". But I have used the present label to match with 'language determination'.
are then the two sub-steps of language policy formulation that LP theory has recognized so far. In the approach proposed in this study, there is a third sub-step. And that is to 'enrich' and 'disseminate' the selected norm of the selected language, in relation to languages and lects not selected under 'norm determination', in order to contribute to language and culture change in areas where the selected norm is not spoken. I shall call it norm cultivation, following both the Prague School (see Garvin, 1973) and my own concept of cultivation introduced earlier (3.3).

This view of the LP process, then, can be summarized in figure 7.1:

![Figure 7.1 The macro-language planning cycle.](image)

5. Language determination must actually be

- language determination
- select language
- create language

But we skip the 'creation of language' since we are not concerned with it here.
First of all, it will be noticed that the three steps in LP are shown in a cyclical relationship instead of the more common linear one. This is to emphasize the inter-relationship that holds among the three steps.

Sub-steps 1a to 1c have already been discussed. The three arrows leading from (1c) is to indicate that norm cultivation serves as feedback to all three steps of the LP cycle. The label 'macro-LP cycle' represents, first, the fact that the process is circular. Secondly, we are here talking of LP at the macro level only.⁶

Viewed the 'traditional' way, the question of language policy may be a "short-lived" problem, as Fishman (1968c:492) contends. But as it turns out in my model, it is indeed an ongoing and everlasting process, because the cultivation of the norm, as discussed in chapter ten, does not end once implementation begins.

7.3 Humanistic Nationism's Need for a Common and Single National 'Language of Cultivation'.

In this section, we are concerned with the issue of determining how best PCN's can maximize their societal humanism and (or through) psychopraxic unity.

The 'ideal' or the 'perfect' human being is one possessed of compas-
sion and wisdom (3.3). The cultivation of each of these two domains is a function of increasing communication (4.4). Language

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6. Compared to steps (1a) and (1b), step (1c) can be considered a 'micro' level activity. However, when the step is viewed as developing the norm toward the 'language of cultivation' status, it is a macro-level activity.
is the major medium through which we humans receive and transmit
information, i.e., communicate (6.2). It thus logically follows that
whatever information that helps a given individual cultivate himself must
be accessible in the language he uses. This means that in a given PCN,
such information must be made available in every language used in the
country whatever the number it may be. This would appear to be the ult-
imate 'linguistic democracy', as envisaged in the UN Charter (which calls
for the right of every child to education in his own mother-tongue), as
implied by certain scholars (e.g., Rudnyckyi, 1974), and as logic decrees
(supra).

But the higher the number of languages within a country in which
information is to be made available, the problems associated with imple-
menting a language policy seem to be multiplied by that many times.

The first obvious obstacle here is the unavailability of physical
and technical facilities to implement an all-, or several-, language
policy: teachers, language scholars, schools, technical terms, printing
presses, media time and space, and so on.

Physical and technical unfeasibility, however, are not the only prob-
lems. The recognition of the right of every speech community, or of
several speech communities, to receive information in its own languages
also implies the 'right' to communicate and transact business in their
own languages anywhere in the country. We immediately have the curse of
Babel on hand! One solution to the problem is to adopt a policy of
restricting a given language to a particular region. Now we begin to
hear cries of 'infringement of linguistic rights' from minority groups
living in a given region but speaking a language spoken primarily in one
or more other regions.

Allowing for the free flow of information in every language may seem to satisfy the narrow personal interests of individuals, of individual speech communities and of particular social classes. But it can hardly lead to personal cultivation, since it is in a conditioned origination relationship with milieu cultivation (3.32). If information is the basis of compassion and wisdom, then maximizing the inflow and outflow of such information is a necessary condition for maximizing compassion and wisdom. Personal cultivation thus requires that information be gathered and dispersed as widely as possible. Since information gathering and dispersion result from communication, the net of communication needs to cast as wide as possible. Recognizing the linguistic rights of every speech community, by contrast, results in the limiting—not expansion—of information gathering and dispersion, because every individual will, in the extreme, pride, mistakenly as we shall see, in the 'greatness' of his own language. Such limiting means that an individual's perception of reality will be restricted, because each of them comes to interact only with such others whose psychopraxic behaviour is restricted, 'unrealistic' and 'biased' in the same direction as one's own. To the extent that every speech community will have sliced up reality to meet its own cultural expectations, needs and so on, and will not have perceived reality completely 'accurately' (6.3), his psychopraxic behaviour will be 'less realistic' as well, given the mutual relationship between perception and behaviour (6.3 and 4.5). This can hardly be conducive to compassion and wisdom, based as they are on an increasingly better understanding of reality, and (a better and increasing) communication (or communicative develop-
ment (4.4)). Caught in a cycle of 'less realistic' psychopraxic behaviour and linguistic pride, personal cultivation is retarded.

Milieu cultivation will be retarded as well. Steeped in their own linguistic pride, the different groups do not come to share a common ideology, specifically that of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization claimed in this study to be the developmental ideology (5.4), because there is no communication among the different groups. There will be no common content to base their communication, thereby rendering 'empathic participation' (4.5) in development activity more difficult.

The development of the given language will be retarded as well, given the conditioned origination hypothesis (6.3) which (partly) postulates that a language is conditioned by the users' perception of reality. Given the opposite direction of the hypothesis, the 'stiffed' language then serves to further suffocate milieu and personal cultivation.

If, however, despite these considerations, such a policy gains acceptance by the speech communities, we are immediately faced with a social class related problem: the swelling of the linguistic elite class in the country, as a 'linguistic leadership' begins to emerge within each speech community. As shown in figure 2.1, PCN society already has a linguistic elite belonging to already established languages. But, as a language comes to gain status through official recognition, and need scholars, teachers etc. of the language, such 'linguistic leaders' gain a new importance, and respect in the community. And, given the colonial history and the new colonial present (chapter two), such 'linguistic leaders' turn out to be a 'class', a linguistic elite, which then adds to the numbers of the CA (composite aristocracy).
In summary, then, not merely in terms of practicability and feasibility, but sociopolitically, 'cultivationally' and linguistically as well, a policy of extreme linguistic democracy leads a PCN away from communicative development and fN. Indeed what it does is to promote a 'linguistic laissez-faire' where the different linguistic forces "confront each other nakedly" (Huntingdon, op.cit.:196).

What this, then, suggests is the need to minimize the number of languages in which a PCN should seek to make information available. Schramm (op.cit.:55) is perhaps only one of many who agrees with this common-sense view, when he says, strictly from the communications point of view, that "it is probably wrong ... to expect a (PCN) trying to gather its resources ... to permit the same kind of free competitive communication [as found in core nations?]", adding that such competitiveness is "sometimes confusing". Indeed, it is always confusing, if my analysis of PCN society (chapter two) tells anything. Ferguson & Dil (1973:4), likewise point how the use of many languages "retard development".

There is other evidence that seems to point to the desirability of minimizing the number of languages in a country. On the basis of a comparison of "cross-polity files" developed in two studies, 7 for example, Fishman (1968b:60) observes that "linguistic homogeneity is currently related to many more of the "good" and "desirable" characteristics of polities than is linguistic heterogeneity". Deutsch's (1953:29-71) cross-country comparison, similarly, shows a high correlation between two indices generally associated with lack of development, namely, high populations and

low wages, and a multiplicity of languages.

If minimizing the number of languages in a PCN thus seems desirable, what is the optimum number? India recognizes twenty official (but regional) languages. Switzerland has four. However, in relation to PCN's, Kloss (1967:42) believes that "complete equality of status seems possible only in countries that have two or at most three languages." Kelman (op.cit.:31-2) seems to be even more stringent when he declares that a common language is a potentially powerful unifying force for a national population because it strengthens both sentimental and instrumental attachments, and furthermore because it plays a major role in the mutual reinforcement of these two processes (underline added).^9

If Kelman proposes merely a "common language", Ferguson & Dil (op.cit.:4) come out even more openly and hypothesize that "the development process tends towards the dominance of a single language of development in a [Post Colonial] nation" (emphasis added).

This brief review of literature then leaves us with two alternatives regarding language choice. We can either opt for a single language, as urged by Ferguson & Dil, and suggested by Kelman and the comparative studies by Fishman and Deutsch, or go with Kloss, and Switzerland, for 'one-plus' languages. Deciding between these two, however, is not easy. Neither historical examples, nor theoretical views, as we shall see, provide

8. See, however, Lieberson & Hansen (1974) for a critique of these and such other views.

9. By 'instrumental attachment' Kelman (op.cit.:23) means the 'attachment' a person has to a language because of what he can get by using it, such as, for example, a job educational opportunities and so on. A person's 'sentimental attachment' to a language, on the other hand, is not determined by such 'material' gains. Rather, such attachment stems from factors such as the language being his mother tongue.
conclusive evidence in support of either position.

Let us consider the 'one-plus' policy. As the Swiss experience of using four official languages shows, the adoption of more than one language need not be a problem for 'development', or national communication. Indeed cross-language communication is possible (otherwise translation, among others, would be impossible), because every language has a 'general human' culture component to it in addition to the 'specific culture' component (6.3). However, there is no question that while communication across languages is possible, there is a loss of information in the process. Thus, in such situations, the outcome at best is what Haugen (1966:216) characterizes as "semi-communication". 10 It may, in fact, be precisely for this very reason that, even Switzerland is now beginning to have problems related to its language policy (Kloss, 1967:43). And while the one-plus policy has been successful in Switzerland (at least up to now), a similar policy in Belgium, for example, has not worked (Ferguson & Dil, op.cit.:1). 11 As is evident from such and other cases, it is obvious, as Kelman (op.cit.:46) points out, that "assigning official status to two or three languages does not necessarily eliminate language [or, for that matter, any other] conflicts". Thus, there is no conclusive evidence that a 'one-plus' language policy is a conflict-free solution.

Let us now consider the single language policy. While studies by Fishman, and Deutsch, cited earlier indicate a correlation between linguistic homogeneity and 'desirable' characteristics of politics, Costa Rica

10. 'Semicommunication' is characterized by Haugen as "the trickle of messages through a rather high level of code noise".

11. In the case of Belgium, of course, an earlier (pre-1930) one-language policy had not worked either.
is an example of a unilingual but poorly developed country (Ferguson & "bil
op.cit.:4). Korea (and until recently Viet Nam) provides an example of
a country where a one-language policy has failed to bring the society
together. Van der Plank (1974) shows how language has served to both unify
and divide peoples in the European context. Das Gupta (1968) likewise
points out how the adoption of a single language policy in relation to
India can create problems. Ray (op.cit.) makes the same point, without
reference to any particular country.

From the foregoing, then, it is evident that, historically speaking,
neither a single-language policy nor a one-plus policy is inherently or
over-ridingly advantageous. This is entirely understandable when we con-
sider that communication is not simply a linguistic process, but a people
and contentual process as well (4.4). Given this, then, we have to find
other reasons for adopting one or the other policy.

PCN's are in search of a new paradigm, and it is towards that end
that my model of HH calls for an over-arching ideology, in an attempt to
achieve communicative development. And, given the fact that communication
is a three-way process (contentual, people and linguistic), it is not
difficult to see, with Kelman (op.cit.:30), how "a common language is a
potentially powerful unifying force" as is also evidenced from the studies
cited above by Gupta, Van der Plank and Ray, among others. As Kelman
(ibid.:33) further observes,

the shared nuances of the common language make it possible to
convey more readily not just the message itself but also the
way in which this message is to be understood and the kind of
credence that can be given to it.

As has been established, language, perception and praxis constitute the
make-up of man (3.31), and by the same token, of human culture (6.3).
Thus, then, there seems to be good reason for PCN's to adopt a one-
language policy, both from the humanistic as well as the nationistic point
of view, or combining them, from the viewpoint of achieving HN. Such a
policy has the potential to lead to communicative development, and PCN's
can hardly afford a situation of semi-communication which allows for loss
of communication through code noise (see footnote 10). The adoption of a
single language serves to minimize, if not thwart, such loss of communica-
tion and information by the very nature of language. As is evident from
the literature on reading (Smith, op.cit.), linguistics (Chomsky, 1968),
sociology (Cicourel, 1972), anthropology (Hymes, 1962, 1964; Gumperz, 1964,
1975; Sanchez and Blount, 1975), communications theory (Pye, 1963 c),
cybernetics (Wiener, op.cit.), ethnomethodology (Garfinkle, 1967) and so on,
language functions on the basis of 'reciprocal expectancy'. That is, the
users of a common language bring to bear on the communicative situation
their "shared nuances", which then help them interpret the incoming mes-
sage, and allow one to respond in 'appropriate ways' (6.4). As a common
language guides the perception and praxis of its users along similar paths,
there arises, in a conditioned origination relationship, an expanding
'reciprocal expectancy', which in turn serves to promote communicative
development, and minimize the loss of information and semi-communication.

We will perhaps never be able to 'prove conclusively', or obtain
'sufficient' empirical evidence to determine definitely the optimum number
of languages that would lead to development in a PCN, given the complex
nature of the issue. Even if such evidence were possible, it may be long
in coming. Thus, while we let the researchers wrestle with the issue of
evidence, I shall for reasons such as the above (see also 8.32 and 9.3
later), and taking the cue from Ferguson & Dil (op.cit.:4), but also based on my own intuition, adopt the working hypothesis that a single "language of cultivation",¹² or L-cultivation, is the necessary, but not sufficient condition for the achievement of humanistic nationalism (HN). A lengthier characterization of it will be given later (see next section), but for now, I shall mean by 'L-cultivation' that language that a PCN chooses in its attempt to maximize communication and maximize humanization in a national setting (or HN). Both humanization and nationalism require communicative development which can only result from empathic participation (4.5), based on a common ideology of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization, and a common language. (See also next section and chapter eight for other associated reasons.)

My call for a single L-cultivation as a necessary condition for communicative development and HN might seem to be a reiteration of the Herderian conception of the world as composed of individual "language-and-culture units" (i.e., the 'one country - one language' ideal). Such a view is challenged by many. Hymes (1973:65), for example, contends that "communication cannot be equated with a 'common' language". Schramm (op.cit.:54) likewise contends that "the mere presence of a communicative system does not necessarily contribute to national development". In seeking to "transform the present unjust condition of mankind", Hymes (ibid.:67) therefore urges us to "think of a community [or any group of persons] in terms of, not a single language, but of a repertoire", suggesting a multilingual policy for countries.

¹². This label is inspired by Ferguson & Dil's usage "language of development". But since I equate 'development' with cultivation, I have called it the 'language of cultivation'.
Let me, first of all, say that although I call for a single L-cultivation, my approach does not, in the deeper analysis, go against the views of Hymes, Schramm and such others. I do not, for example, claim that the adoption of a single L-cultivation will, by itself, ensure communicative development and HN in a PCN, but simply that a single L-cultivation serves as a facilitator, a necessary (but, to repeat, not a sufficient,) condition for communication to prevail. Naturally, to invoke the multicausality argument again, 'many other co-factors – the presence of a common content and ideology (5.4), using sensible criteria in arriving at the L-cultivation (see 9.2 for a suggested list), the planning and implementation of the language policy(ies), the commitment of the leadership to the language policy and other general developmental policies, opportunities available to non-speakers of L-cultivation, and so on – will have to be present for a single L-cultivation to provide an environment conducive to communicative development and HN.

Secondly, while I call for a single L-cultivation at the national level, my model also recognizes the presence of sub-national groups within PCN's (see also figure 5.4), and thus calls for 'stagewise approximation' as a change process, as will be seen in 11.4. In terms of language choice, what this means is the need to identify sub-national languages of cultivation (sub-L-cultivation hereafter), the number of such sub-national languages of cultivation here being determined by factors such as the level of sociopolitical integration, size of the country and so on (see 10.4 for a discussion). While, again, at the sub-national level each such sub-L-cultivation serves as the necessary condition for intra-group communicative development, when taken together, they provide a repertoire,
as called for by Hymes, in reference to the entire country.

Finally, let it be emphasized that what I am calling for is an L-
cultivation, not just any single language. While, as will be seen in 9.2,
we have to select one language from among many of the potential L-cultiva-
tion (under criteria to be suggested in 9.2), such a language will increas-
ingly come to be an L-cultivation, through a process of enrichment from
other languages and lects, and 'dissemination' back to the enriching
linguistic varieties (see 10.3 and 10.4 for a discussion). Thus, it is not
a case of forced assimilation. An L-cultivation will eventually be the
language of not the 'original speakers' of the language, but the entire
nation, as there emerges an 'extended speech community', and eventually a
'society' that is co-terminous with a nation's 'polity' (figure 5.3).
Given the fact that any language is a 'bundle of lects', or even an
"L-complex" (Hocket, 1958:324), and given the uniqueness of individuals-
in-community and communities-of-individuals, this is not to say that every-
one in a polity will be speaking one undifferentiated, monolithic variety.
Rather, while there will be the dialectic, sociolectic, idiolectic, and
even "kairolectic" variations within the 'speech community', nevertheless,
all such variations will be part of the same language, just as much as
standard American English, Midwestern English, Western English, Southern
English and so on are all part of American English, and Canadian English,

13. Hocket (ibid.) calls a language an L-complex when the linguistic
variation is so much that a speaker from one end of the country can-
not understand a speaker from the other end, although they are speaking
the 'same' language which is understood by contiguous communities.
The classical example here is Chinese.

14. The term 'kairolect' is introduced by Brent (op. cit: 269) to mean the
'situational variety' a speaker may use in a given situation.
American English, British English and Australian English are all part of 'White English'.\textsuperscript{15} Such a language would still be a repertoire - but a national repertoire.

My position vis-a-vis that of Hymes (\textit{op.cit.}), then, is one of both agreement and disagreement. While I do not agree with Hymes that communication cannot be equated with a common language - for surely, speakers of a common language do communicate, and communicate more easily if not better than speakers of different languages - I agree that it need not be so. However, given the fact that my model sees communication as a people, contentional and linguistic process, I have no difficulty agreeing with Schramm (\textit{op.cit.}) that "the mere presence of a communicative system does not necessarily contribute to national development" (underline added).

Finally, it can be said that a 'national repertoire' called the L-cultivation can indeed serve to "transform the present unjust condition of mankind", as Hymes calls for, particularly because the intention of the proposed approach is to facilitate the emergence of an egalitarian society.

My approach, then, compromises apparently contradictory positions in regard to language choice. It agrees with both the Herderian and Hymes' positions.

Needless to say, the choice of a single L-cultivation is not one without its problems.\textsuperscript{16} But it would at least be cheaper in pure economic cost-benefit terms, in that there needs to be one set of teachers, govern-

\textsuperscript{15} This term is used to contrast the variety of English spoken by white speakers in Western countries with those varieties such as South Asian English, Caribbean English and BEV.

\textsuperscript{16} There would, for example, be charges and countercharges of 'linguis-
ment documents, textbooks and so on. But, as I shall try to establish, it would be more than merely cheaper. It would serve as a condition for, and lead to, communicative development and HN.

Having argued for a single L-cultivation, we must now decide as to how it can be arrived at. As the first step towards this, I would like to outline the characteristics of this L-cultivation.

7.4 Characteristics of L-cultivation.

The characterization of an L-cultivation given below is, in a sense, a preview of the process involved in determining the L-cultivation, for it is through the examination of this process that we can get a clear picture of what an L-cultivation is.

This process begins by selecting (under criteria to be proposed in 9.2), from among the L-endsos, a language that is maximally conducive to communicative development, and which will eventually be an 'L-cultivation'. To the extent that this language will be subjected to a further process of change later on (see chapter eleven), it is an interim L-cultivation. Like every other language, this 'interim L-cultivation' is a bundle oflects that vary from region to region (dialects), individual to individual (idiolect), situation to situation (kairollect) and social class to social class (e.g., "basilect" and "acrolect" (Stewart, op.cit.). The next step

tic imperialism', 'linguicide' and 'cultural dominance' of the selected L-cultivation. But such charges would be made regardless of whether there is one, or more than one, language of cultivation. There is also, of course, no doubt that the selected language(s) of cultivation will develop through "adaptive growth" (Hymes, 1973:78) than the others, that the speakers of the selected languages are going to play a more dominant role at least during the initial stages, and that both the language of development and its speakers are going to influence other languages and speakers.
in the process is to determine (under criteria to be proposed in 9.3) what can be called a contact lect, from among the bundle of lects that the interim L-cultivation is. (Where the differences among the lects are minimal, of course, this step would not be necessary.) Once we determine this contact lect, there are those other lects of the interim L-cultivation — I shall call them sibling lects — and other languages that have not been selected which may come to feel to have 'lost out' to the interim L-cultivation. The important next and final step is to subject the contact lect of the interim L-cultivation to interaction with the sibling lects and other (unselected) languages, both in order to enrich and stabilize the interim L-cultivation, as well as to minimize the differences between the unselected lects and languages and the interim L-cultivation, such that they will all become lects of an expanded, and nationally-extended, L-cultivation.

Having described the process of deriving the L-cultivation, we are now in a position to attempt an initial characterization of an L-cultivation. It is the outcome of (or, the linguistic variety that emerges in) the process of the (selected) contact lect of the (selected) interim L-cultivation interacting with the (unselected) sibling lects and other (unselected) languages. To that extent, it is not a variety that presently exists.17

L-cultivation, then, is the eventual outcome of the contact lect of the interim L-cultivation being subjected to a conscious process of 'language planning' (7.2). The hallmark of such an L-cultivation is an increase-

17. It is also wider than Ferguson & Dil's. (op.cit) 'Language of Development', which is simply a single language adopted officially for development purposes.
ing commonality with the rest of the languages of the country and the lects of the selected language. In other words, the process (and the goal) of L-cultivation is the minimizing of linguistic variation within the language and without. In this process, the emerging L-cultivation will represent an increasingly extended speech community, as the many languages give way to a single language. However, given the differences between individuals and individual collectivities, climatic conditions, and so on, this language will not be an undifferentiated, monolithic language where there are no dialectal, sociolectal and idiolectal variation. But such variation, at a given stage, will be increasingly less in comparison to the stages preceding. And equally, and perhaps more importantly, all such variation would be (lectal) variation within the same language, and not variations among different languages as earlier, when the process of 'cultivation' (through adaptive growth and human intervention) of the interim L-cultivation began. Once the L-cultivation has emerged (as an interim state), there will be only one language and one speech community, with very much less dialectal, particularly class-based, variation, than before. And this single L-cultivation will be the language of not (only) the 'original speakers' of the interim L-cultivation or of the (selected) contact lect, but of the entire nation.

An L-cultivation is not an end-state, however. Just as much as it emerged in relation to other languages (in the country) and other lects, it will continue to grow and change, as a continuing 'give and take' takes place (see chapter ten for a discussion of this process) within the now extended speech community. To this extent, L-cultivation is an ever-emergent language. In this ever-emergent process, however, one of the
lectal variations will emerge as the **Standard** variety, as it comes to be used in central administration, education, media and so on, and/or in the 'centre of development'. The difference between the Standard variety and the other lects will be a function of the distance between the center(s) of development and the area where it is spoken. However, there will continue to be, among the different lects, a constant 'give and take' between this emergent standard and other sibling lects. The relationship that holds here is somewhat like that between the froth and the ocean, alluded to in 8.32. Just as the wave, and the froth at the top of the wave, is born of the ocean, the L-cultivation is also born of the extended speech community. And just as the wave, on its breaking, and the froth along with it, once again become one with the ocean, so does the Standard lect become increasingly similar to the sibling lects, as they also become increasingly similar to the standard. Thus to draw upon the froth-ocean related 'led-leader' and 'led-masses' concepts, the emergent Standard variety can be said to be the 'led linguistic-leader' while the lectal variations would be the 'led linguistic-masses'.

The term 'L-cultivation' has been used to identify this 'led linguistic-leader' in order to suggest two very specific meanings. Earlier, the term 'cultivation' was used (e.g., in the context of 'personal cultivation' (3.31)) to mean change resulting from both intervention and natural growth. The first meaning with which I use the term 'L-cultivation', then, is (a) that it is one that grows adaptively on its own under suitable environmental conditions, namely, societal usage, given its inherent change

18. See Ray (op.cit.) for an exhaustive treatment on language standardization, and Garvin (1973) for some principles.

19. In this give and take, the ideology of BN would serve to prevent a.
potential for such adaptive growth, and (b) that such growth process is also conditioned by human intervention in the form of language planning. 

The second meaning is that as it grows adaptively, it increasingly serves as a condition for the maximization of humanness, i.e., personal and milieu cultivation, and of socio-political integration, through communicative development.

An L-cultivation can be characterized in yet another way. 'Decolonialization' was characterized (in 5.41) as a 'going back' to one's culture for 'new' solutions. 'Incrementalization', the other component of the ideology of HN, was characterized (in 5.42) as a 'going forward', in small steps, also in search of new solutions. Both as an application of these two concepts (or the single dyadic concept (5.43)), and as an example of it, an L-cultivation can be characterized as the outcome of a combined 'linguistic decolonialization' and a 'linguistic incrementalization'.

It is an 'incrementalization' because it emerges in response to the needs of a changing society, but, in gradual and small steps. It is a 'decolonialization' because the new language emerges in relation to the traditional culture as reflected in the languages (and their lects) used in the country.

For the same reason, finally, an L-cultivation can be seen as the over-arching linguistic framework for communicative development and HN, the same way the ideology of HN was seen as the contentual framework of communicative development. In other words, if the ideology of HN serves return to the earlier days of linguistic parochialism and competition.

This latter is the sense in which the Prague School of Linguistics uses the term 'cultivation'. See Garvin (op.cit.) for a discussion.

20. This latter is the sense in which the Prague School of Linguistics uses the term 'cultivation'. See Garvin (op.cit.) for a discussion.
as the sufficient ideological condition for HN, L-cultivation serves as the sufficient linguistic condition.

While conceptually, L-cultivation and the process involved therein appear complicated, it is not without parallel in the real world. English is the example par excellence. While in the US, for example, there is the Standard American that is used generally all over the country, there are the regional variations as represented by Midwestern, Western and Southern English, and the ethnic and class variations represented by Black English Vernacular and "Tex-Mex" (i.e., the Mexican American English spoken in Texas, New Mexico and so on). While the Standard American continues to be 'fed', if not enriched by these other lects, they, in turn, continue to be fed (and enriched) by the Standard, thereby rendering the differences among them progressively lesser. Given that linguistic change is usually a slow process, running into generations (see Labov (1972) for an analysis of a living example), such mutual enrichment may not be readily perceptible. But there is little doubt that at least the different dialects of English used in the US are increasingly becoming less dissimilar, as, for example, the younger "TV generation" comes to be exposed to identical programs and news items across the country, to other media, and to education. The same process towards increasing similarity can be seen among the various 'national lects' of English as well. Thus, American; Canadian, British, Australian and New Zealand English - or at least their standard lects - are coming to be increasingly similar to each other, particularly in vocabulary and grammatical structure if not in pronunciation.
7.5 Summary and Lead-on.

In this chapter, I have placed the issue of language selection for national development within the framework of language planning (7.2), and argued for the need for a single and common national L-cultivation (7.3). The characteristics of such an L-cultivation was laid out in 7.4.

In terms of the model, this chapter covers part of laps 1a and 2a, as shown by the thick lines in the excerpt below:

![Diagram](image-url)
CHAPTER EIGHT

LANGUAGE DETERMINATION I: EXOGENOUS VS. ENDOGENOUS LANGUAGES

The imposition of the language of the colonizer on the colonized is a fundamental condition of colonial domination which is extended to neocolonial domination.


Be ye a lamp unto yourself.

-Buddha.

8.1 Introduction

If each PCN needs to identify a language of cultivation from among the several linguistic varieties spoken in the country (7.3), one of the first distinctions that needs to be made is between the language(s) introduced by the colonizer (exogenous language(s)) and those others that were in the country at the time of such introduction (endogenous languages). This is because of the fact that the gaps (1.3) and the new colonial situation (2.2) with which the L-exo(s) is (are) associated were seen as contributing to a PCN's communicative underdevelopment (2.3). Further, decolonialization is an aspect of the ideology that was proposed as a cooperating condition of HN. In this chapter, then, this question of the choice between the L-exo(s) and the L-endo(s) are examined.

8.2 Two Definitions.

In order to facilitate this discussion, let me introduce two definitions.

8.21 Endogenous and Exogenous Languages Defined.

While the different languages spoken in a PCN can be differentiated

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in several ways (e.g., in terms of language family, level of development), there is one distinction that seems particularly relevant to the issue of national development, given the colonial history. And this is the one between what could be called 'endogenous languages' and 'exogenous languages', or what I shall call, for brevity, L-endo and L-exo respectively. In making this distinction, I fall back upon a combination of four factors: (1) the origin of the language, (2) if the language was originally 'imported', the 'date' of arrival, (3) the percentage of speakers of the language, from among the masses and from among the CA (i.e., the sociolinguistic distribution), and (4) the nature of the language (i.e., a linguistic analysis). I shall call a language an 'L-endo' if it answers to at least one of the following criteria:

(a) it originated in the given PCN (examples: Hindi (India), Hausa (Nigeria), Quechua (Latin America), Arabic (Middle East));

(b) it originated in the larger socio-cultural region (e.g., South Asia, East Africa) to which a PCN belongs, but (b1) was introduced to the country prior to Western colonization, and as a result, (b2) is spoken today 'natively' by both the masses and the CA. By 'natively' is here meant (b2.1) that the language has developed distinctive phonological, morphological and semantic features sufficient to distinguish it from original language, and (b2.2) given that language reflects cultural history.

1. This can be determined by two tests: linguistically and sociolinguistically. The former relates to (a) whether or not a linguist speaking the original language could write a distinctive 'linguistic grammar' of the language, and/or (b) whether a 'pedagogical grammar' (Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens, 1964) would be required to teach a speaker of
- (6.3), a careful ethnolinguistic analysis would produce 'enough' examples of the psychopragmatic behaviour of speakers. (Examples: Tamil in Sri Lanka (originated in India), Swahili in Tanzania (originated in East Africa, although based on an imported Arabic)).

(c) it originated outside the PCN or the larger sociocultural area, and (c1) was introduced by the slave masters or colonizers, but (c2) is spoken today 'natively' by the masses and CA. (Examples: Arabic in Ethiopia (introduced by the Moslems in the period of the Ottoman Empire), Spanish in Latin America (introduced by the Spaniards), Urdu in Pakistan (originated when 'Pakistan' was part of India)).

(d) it falls closer to the 'folk' end of the 'folk-aristocratic language continuum' (see 8.31.3 for a discussion). By contrast, a language would qualify to be an L-exo if at least one of the following conditions is met:

(a) it did not originate in the given PCN;
(b) it did not originate in the larger sociocultural region;
(c) it was introduced during the colonial period or by the slave masters and is spoken exclusively or primarily by the upper CA.

the original language, the language in question. In relation to social class, the question would be whether the language is spoken exclusively or primarily by the upper CA (see figure 2.1). Such a restricted language usage does not allow an imported language to be 'nativized'.

2. This characterization (in criterion (b)) can be made more explicit with a parallel in Europe. What we now call English, German and Dutch were all offshoots of an earlier "Germanic". So were French, Spanish and Italian offshoots of "Romance" (both Romance and Germanic, in turn, being earlier offshoots of Proto-Indo European) (see footnote 57, chapter nine). But today, we identify English as a 'different' language from German and Dutch (and each of German and Dutch from the Romance languages), because it has developed distinctive features along independent lines, although it continues to share certain features with German and Dutch.

3. This last criterion is to be used only when a decision cannot be made on the basis of criteria (a) to (c), because it requires extensive linguistic analysis.
This also means that the language has developed few distinctive linguistic features, and such features would be considered, both by the PCN speakers from among the upper CA and the original speakers, as 'aberrations'; and (d) it falls closer to the 'aristocratic' end of the 'folk-aristocratic continuum'.

Examples of L-exos are: Standard English in India and Nigeria, French in Tunisia, Cambodia and Polynesia, 'Classical' Spanish in Latin America and the Phillipines, Dutch in South Africa and Indonesia, Portuguese in Goa, Japanese in Korea, Chinese in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania.

8.22 'Private' and 'public' use of language.

As in the case of different languages, the different uses of language can be identified along various dimensions. But there is a division that is of particular relevance to our discussion. And that is what can be called the private use and the public use. By 'private use' I shall mean any use of language that takes place between/among sender(s) and recipient(s) of a communication, such communicators being in a relationship based on matters other than what is being communicated, verbally, or in writing. This means that the content of the communication will not be available to "outsiders" (i.e., those not so 'related'), other than through common consent of the communicators, and thus cannot be subject to 'public' scrutiny. 'Private use', then includes a discussion in a 'family' gathering or among close friends (the membership of such being under the

4. At this point, the communication becomes 'public'.
5. Family here includes nuclear or extended family, or people legally married or living together by common consent.
criterion of 'socially related other than through what is under discussion'),
but not an exchange between two antagonists in a verbal duel, or among
seminar discussants. By contrast, or rather, by exclusion, 'public use'
of language, then means any usage that takes place between/among senders(s)
and recipient(s) of a communication, such communicators not being socially
related other than on the basis of the communication underway. A 'public
use' of language, then, will also be available to 'public' scrutiny,\textsuperscript{6}
directly or indirectly,\textsuperscript{7} at the time of the communication, or later.\textsuperscript{8}

Having defined the two types of languages used in PCN's and the two
functions of language, we are now in a position to consider the issue of
language determination.

8.3 \textbf{Language Determination: Endogenous vs. Exogenous Languages.}

Following the distinction made between L-exos and L-endos, we want
to now see which of these two types would maximally contribute to communi-
cative development, and eventually to HN.

8.31 \textbf{Exogenous Language(s) as a condition of communicative underdevelopment.}

In this section, I shall attempt to show that the continued use of

\textsuperscript{6} A letter from a friend to a friend, thus, is not a "public" document
under my criteria, since it is not available for public scrutiny
unless the parties decide by common consent to release it for such
purposes.

\textsuperscript{7} By "direct" perception is meant perception that is visual, aural or
kinesthetic. "Indirectly" includes overhearing, recording or filming,
reading something written and so on.

\textsuperscript{8} This characterization of the 'private' and the 'public' uses of lan-
guage is vaguely parallel to Ferguson's (op.cit.:431) 'low functions'
and 'high functions'.
the L-exo(s) in PCN's contributes to communicative underdevelopment
serves to maintain the widening, social and value gaps. Communication
was shown as a people, contentual and linguistic process (4.4). I shall
therefore make my arguments, from these three points of view. In the final
sub-section, I shall also briefly consider a few other arguments.

8.31.1 The argument from the point of view of communication as a people
process.

Pool (op.cit.:246) observes in relation to the media that "Westernized
elites are often unable or unwilling to address their masses, or they are
in conflict when addressing them" (underline added). The same can be said
to hold in relation to communication in general. Let us take each of
these aspects separately.

The linguistic elite among the, CA (figure 2.1) included both L-exo
and L-endo speakers (2.21.2). Each of them was made up of monolinguals
and bi- (or tri- or multi-) linguals. The L-exo monolinguals - a rapidly
vanishing species - speak only the L-exo.9 The L-exo bilinguals speak
the L-exo as their mother tongue, major language or first language, along
with one (or more) L-endo(s).10 The former, some of whom may even have
'receptive control' (see 9.21.5) of an L-endo, of course, have no choice but to use the L-exo for both private and public uses.

As for the latter, given the prestige enjoyed by the L-exos, the tendency

9. Examples are, the English-speaking Burghers (a Eurasian stock), and
the 'planters' (i.e., the superintendents or owners of tea estates) in Sri Lanka, the Standard English-speaking bureaucratic elites of
the West Indies.

10. Examples are, the political and bureaucratic elites of Sri Lanka of
the pre-Bandaranayaka era (1956) and the upper CA of Nigeria, Botswana
and Ivory Coast.
would be to use it for as many private and public purposes. The use of
the L-endo would then be restricted to situations where the L-exo cannot
be used (e.g., in political campaigning).

The 'L-endo bilingual' elites (that is, those who speak an L-endo as
the mother tongue and one (or more) L-exo(s)), use the L-endo to a larger
percentage of the time and for many more purposes than the L-exo bilinguals.
However, given their acropetal orientation (2.21.2) (and also given that
they speak the L-exo), their tendency would be to switch to the L-exo
when talking to an L-exo bilingual, or when a choice has to be made
between the L-exo and L-endo (e.g., filling a form printed in both L-exo
and L-endo).

In the case of the L-endo monolingual elites (e.g., teachers, media
people, the clergy, bureaucrats in a country where an L-endo has been
declared an official language), the linguistic elitism takes a different
form. This is related to the diglossic situation characterized earlier
(2.3), the class-based dimension of language usage, involving an acrolect
and the basilect(s). The L-endo monolingual elites tend to use the acro-
lect for as many public and private functions and to a high percentage

11. Examples are, French in Cambodia, Spanish in the Philippines and
English in India.

12. For example, a Sinhalese speaker in Sri Lanka to a burgher, or a
Tamil, even if all spoke Sinhala.

13. This may, of course, not be true of every individual country, or
every individual person. For example, an Indian (i.e. India) or a
Latin American is likely to use the L-endo (Latinized Spanish or an
Indian language in the latter case) for private purposes as well as
for public purposes than, say, a Sri Lankan or an African. But
there is no doubt, that even among Indians and Latin Americans, there
are those who prefer the L-exo (Standard Spanish in the latter case)
for both private and public purposes.
of the time, restricting the basilect to those situations where the
communicatee does not understand or speak the acrolect (e.g., addressing
a domestic servant, clerk in an office, the masses at an election campaign). In
other words, the preference of the L-endo monolingual elites is for the
acrolect.

Thus, while in the case of the L-exo elites, the L-endo acrolect, in the case of the L-exo
elites, the use of the basilect comes to be restricted. The outcome in
both cases, is a (relative) inability on the part of both L-endo and L-exo
elites to communicate with the masses.

This 'inability' is conditioned by another factor as well. This is
that the pattern of communication relating to the L-endo basilects, the
L-endo acrolects and the L-exo(s), as I shall show, differs from each
other.

The difference between one lect and another is that each of them
'selects' different linguistic elements from among the vast array available

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14. Diglossia, of course, was not necessarily a product of colonialism. Where a society came to be diffracted (Riggs, op.cit.), and social
divisions came to be sharp, diglossia had emerged. Colonialism, however, exacerbated the situation.

15. Such a preference can well stem from what could be called 'code differentiation', that is, the use of a different form of language for
different situations, resulting from minimal social interaction with the masses. However, there is also a conscious preference process of
choice involved here, stemming from a class consciousness.

16. By this is meant the choice of words, structure, length of discourse, etc. and the lect itself.
in the language, and organizes them in a different manner. A speaker of a given dialect, when faced with a communicative setting, does a further selection from among what is available to him in his dialect, and organizes them differently. Thus we have the idiolect to suit the communicative context or setting. The kairollect, or the 'situational lect', that emerges then is an outcome of the interplay between the "personality structure" (Smith, 1973:100) of the speaker and the 'personality structure' of the dialect. Given that the CA is, by definition, governed by a different psychopraxic behaviour (3.6) by comparison to the masses (2.21), and also that the CA speaks either an L-exo or theacrolect of the L-endo(s), the pattern of communication of the CA is likely to be different from that of the masses. Indeed Hyman (1963:140) reports such a difference:

Westerners dropped out non-essential aspects of a complex communication. The message became reduced. Simplification was the principle. The subjects who were [Latin American] Indian, by contrast, added aesthetic frills to the message.20

17. This is in the sense that when one chooses a particular lect to suit the communicative situation, the usage is determined for him by the lect.
18. Not, however, without considerable overlap, which is what makes them lects of the same language, and not different languages.
19. Given the fact that one language is different from all others by the fact that it 'speaks, thinks, and acts', or guides its speakers (6.3) to speak, think and act differently from all others, a language can be said to have a 'personality'.
20. A similar observation has often been made by the writer on visiting a lawyer's or a doctor's office in Sri Lanka. These professionals (who constitute the CA), have few precise words, and not uncommonly, particularly in the case of the lawyers, even reprimand the 'client for the 'frills' he adds in his speech.
Such differences can be expected to prevail regardless of what the particular language is.

If the CA is thus 'unable' to communicate with the masses, they are unwilling as well. One of the myths perpetrated by the colonizer, and continued to be believed in by the CA, was the 'natural inferiority' of the colonized (2.21.2). This myth came to be confirmed in relation to both language and masses. In relation to language, the L-exo came to be considered superior, and the L-ends, and particularly the basilects, came to be inferior.

The presence of such an attitude could be evidenced from several points of view. Consider, for example, the argument, advanced by the CA (which is now increasingly challenged), that science could not be taught in the L-ends because 'they are not rich enough' to produce textbooks in, while in fact the point was that there were no technical terms in the L-ends for the 'non-local' concepts which 'science' had come to be - a linguistic fact for any language.

Another piece of evidence is that the CA has continued to use the L-exo for both public and private purposes and that it has been enshrined in almost every PCN's as one of the, or even only, official language.

Thirdly, given that language is an essential ingredient of man (6.3), the language used by the masses held in low esteem by the CA must of necessity be inferior - a neat rationalization of their bias!

The fact that the L-ends were different from the L-exos, and the basilects of the L-ends from their acrolécts, contributed to, and/or was used as a rationalization for, this attitude. Despite the fact that every language, and lect, has an internal consistency of its own and is capable
of meeting the ingroup communication requirements of its speakers, 'to be
different' came to mean 'to be inferior'.

Now, given the language-man relationship (6.3), the CA then took the
further step of making the causal link between the supposed linguistic
'inferiority' of the L-endos, and the basilects in particular (see 8.4
for a negation of this view), and the 'inherent' or 'natural inferiority'
of the masses they had already come to believe in.21

The myth of the inferiority of both the masses and the L-endos, and
particularly the basilects, thus came to be confirmed. The basilects, of
course, had come to be considered inferior even in pre-colonial times.
But now there was another reason to believe in it. Superior as they
claimed, and felt, to be, the CA were thus naturally unwilling to communi-
cate with the masses.

Such an unwillingness can be expected to find support in the 'natural'
tendency of people that can best be characterized in terms of 'water find-
ing its own level'. A lawyer, for example, finds it easier to communicate
with a lawyer than with a non-lawyer, as does a farmer with a farmer.
This is because a compatible content, based on a common informational

21. Indeed such a causal connection has been made in relation to the
Black English Vernacular, or BEV, and its speakers (Labov, 1969)
or Canadian French Joual and its 'speakers' (Lambert, 1967).
Advancing the theory of the "restricted code" and the "elaborated
code", Bernstein (1960), for example, has assigned the former to BEV
speakers, as contrasted with the 'elaborated code' of the standard
English speakers. The psychologist Jensen (1969) has claimed
that the Black Americans have a low verbal, and by extension, a low
general, intelligence. Endorsing such views, Bereiter and his associates (1966) have even developed a special program
called TEP). See, however, Labov (1969) for a critical examination
of these scholars.
level and source, and a compatible pattern of communication (supra),
brings one psychological and social satisfaction, through reduction of
'cognitive dissonance'. The alleged 'inferiority' of the L-endo and of
the basilects, contributes to, and/or serves as a rationalization for, a
reluctance and/or an inability on the part of the CA to understand, learn
or use them. Likewise, the 'inferiority' of the L-endo- and basilect-
users contributes to a reluctance to communicate with them as well.

This reluctance is supported by yet another factor. The use of L-
endos, and the basilects for public use would mean that the positions
and privileges now enjoyed by the CA exclusively would be accessible to
the masses as well. One sure way of maintaining such privileges is to
continue to use the L-exo's and acrolects for as many private and public
functions as possible.

These, then, are some of the reasons why the CA is unwilling to com-
municate with the masses. Any attempts at communication by unwilling
partners becomes conflictual and is doomed to failure even before the
process begins, because one of the basic conditions necessary for success-
ful communication, namely 'empathy' (4.5), is absent. Empathy arises
with a concern for, or interest in, the welfare of the communicatee. But
such empathy can hardly emerge in a person who has been 'forced' by cir-
cumstances into a situation one doesn't like.

In relation to the developmental ideology proposed in this study,
the presence of the L-exo can potentially render communication conflictual.
The content of this ideology was shown to be decolonialization and incre-
mentalization (5.4). By decolonialization was meant a conscientization
of the people to their history. This requires a change of attitude (and,
of course, behaviour (figure 4:3)). But an L-exo is not symbolic of a
nation's cultural history, and a position of status accorded an L-exo as
an official language (as in most PCN's) does not give masses the feeling
that history, or the national culture, is considered important by its
rulers.

Decolonization requires a change in attitudes on the part of not
just the masses, but the CA as well (5.41). The continuing, or preferen-
tial, use of the L-exo, and the L-endo acrolect, by the CA cannot lead
to such an attitudinal change. Among the CA are the L-endo elites to whom
the official recognition of the L-exo might not matter if one of more L-
endos were also official. In fact it would only be such a policy that
would allow the L-endo elites a position of respectability and a sense of
power, because it is to them, as guardians of the language (which to them
means the acrolect) that the L-exo speaking elites turn to in order to
establish their own legitimacy. And, while to the L-endo elites, the L-
endo will constitute a symbol of cultural history - and to this extent
they are one with the masses - there would be no attitudinal change in
them, because, belonging as they do to the CA, they are governed by the
acropetal and exopetal orientations. Indeed they would even argue for
the continuation of L-exo, because this would allow them a national envir-
onment for exopetalism, and an opportunity for their children to join the
ranks of elitedom that rotate around exopetalism and acropetalism. As
for the rest of the lower CA (i.e., the endogenous religious elites, the
industrial elites, the labour elites and the rural elites, the low level
bureaucratic and political elites) who speak an L-endo, or even a basilect
of an L-endo, the presence of the L-exo serves to undermine an attitudinal
change for the same reasons. Finally, as we come to those of the upper CA who do not speak an L-endo at all, there is hardly any condition that would encourage them to see the need for decolonialization. They owe their very privileges to the exclusive, or preferential, use of L-exo. If, however, they were to be convinced of the need for decolonialization, there cannot result a change in attitude as long as they continue to use the L-exo preferentially, given the conditioned origination hypothesis (6.3). They will neither be governed by the value system of the L-endo speakers, nor will they have an understanding of the cultural history. Thus there can hardly be an attitudinal change in the L-exo speakers.

The historical correlation hypothesis postulates that language reflects the psychopragmatic behaviour of a given people (6.3). And, if what decolonialization attempts to recover are all the strands of a peoples' culture, then this can be done only through, and in relation to, the medium of L-endo(s). It was for example, for this reason that McClelland and his associates went in search of folk tales when they wanted to retrieve the "inner concerns" of the different cultures. (op. cit.). One source of information about a people's culture is that people's language itself and its history. (Artifacts, games, family patterns are some other sources.) In order to gather such information, it is necessary that the language be thoroughly examined and analyzed. This necessitates the recovery of 'lost' forms, i.e., ones that may not be currently part of the standard variety or the acrolect, but contained in dialects and sociolects. It also needs the examination of past written records — in the form of books, inscriptions, etc. where available. All this should be done in the medium of the very language itself. Such an extensive search
requires time, money and manpower. And the presence of L-exo would act as a retarding factor here, because it would be difficult to convince the L-exo speaking CA that the energy needed for such a thorough search should take priority.

Again, it is clear that the presence of an L-exo in an official capacity is detrimental to decolonialization.

The other component of the ideology of HN is incrementalization. The 'incremental' aspect here calls for small changes in society that are 'consistent with ... aspects of culture'. What the L-exo in a PCN, as the language of the ex-master and of one or the other core nations, 'symbolizes' in not the small-scale and culture-based incrementalization, but rather a conspicuous industrialization, (the adverse social outcomes of which have been examined well above (2.22.1)), westernization and urbanization. The L-exo is 'symbolic' of this classical view of modernization the same way it is symbolic of colonialism and everything else associated with it. Thus, the presence of the L-exo serves to attract more and more people in PCN's towards an 'ideology' of classical modernization, borrowed lock, stock and barrel. This indeed is antithetical to the acceptance of an ideology that calls for culturally-based small changes.

Both aspects of the content of the ideology of HN include a 'humanistic' component (5.4). If history bears any evidence, it is clear that the L-exos can under present conditions, hardly serve a humanistic function. An L-exo can be said to symbolize or reflect at best a psychopraxic behaviour that results in half-men who have little developed the compassionate domain of their lives (3.22). As the languages of the core nations, L-exos symbolize and reflect a culture, based on an exclusive and posses-
sive individualism (2.22.1), as we know from the literature on Western societies. As the language of the colonized, it represents and symbolizes an exploitative behaviour, the results of which are seen in the post-colonial crises that have beset PCN's. The less-than-humanistic psychopraxic behaviour of the L-exo speaking CA in PCN's, and their developmental policies is further evidence that the continued use of the L-exo in PCN's is unlikely to lead to, or even serve as a necessary condition, for humanism. Indeed the fact that the present world is much less "inwardly developed" in comparison to its "outwardly development" as Montessori (op.cit.) complains (1.3), is indicative of the fact that the 'L-exo-speaking culture' (namely, the Judeo-Christian culture), the L-exo speaking people (i.e., those of the core nations), and the L-exo itself (given the conditioned origination hypothesis) who have dominated the world over the past five centuries have indeed failed to humanize the world. Given the fact that L-exos continue to be associated with the exclusively individualistic core nations and exploitative, international capitalism, it will be the case that L-exo will continue to reflect a culture of individualism and exploitation, and not one of humanism.

The ideology that is symbolized by and reflected in an L-exo, then is one that is contrary to the one envisaged in my model. Thus, the L-exo speaking CA would be put in a conflictual situation with the masses, if they ever wished to communicate with them.

From the little evidence shown thus far, it can be hypothesized that as long as a L-exo continues to be used in a PCN, be it for public or private purposes, communication is bound to be conflictual.
Now we can see how Pool's statement made in relation to the media fits well with the general communicative situation. The public and private use of the L-exo, and of theacrolects, whether under official recognition or not, thus, can be said to render the CA communicatively unable, unwilling and/or conflictual in their relationship with the masses.

8.31.2 The argument from the point of view of communication as a contextual process.

As has been observed, in almost every PCN, one or more L-exos enjoy official language status. The main argument for the retention of the L-exo in that capacity has been that PCN's should not be kept away from the main current of world developments in science, technology, arts and so on.  But, as I shall show, this argument is invalid because a great deal of information available in the L-exo is irrelevant, ungraspable and difficult of application to PCN's. This stems from the fact that countries in the world, as Pye (1966:343) also observes, can be strung along a continuum. We have already seen this in terms of socio-political integration. PCN society is highly fragmented—this indeed being the 'problem' identified in this study, while the core nations are relatively well integrated socio-politically. Thus the two clusters of countries

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22. Note, e.g., the following statement from the election Manifesto of the newly elected United National Party in Sri Lanka. "We shall ensure that the people of our country shall not any longer be isolated from the main current of development in the world and shall have every opportunity of taking the fullest advantage of the advancement among nations in science, technology and arts ..." (Sri Lanka News, (Special Issue), No. 4, August 1977, Ottawa: High Commission of Sri Lanka.)
are bound to fall at opposite ends of a continuum. 23

The level of socio-political integration has a bearing on the people living in a country. Since we are all individuals-in-environment (I.32), the extent to which the psychological and intellectual capacities of individuals, and of an entire society made up of such individuals, have "grown adaptively" (Hymes, 1973: passim) 24 is a function of, among others, the level of socio-political integration. Cultural homogeneity (which is what socio-political integration ultimately boils down to), with its attendant feature of lesser linguistic heterogeneity, has been found to be associated with more of the 'good things' in life (see 8.31.3 for the fuller argument). There are lesser group pulls and lesser psychological conflicts. Thus lesser personal and societal energy and time are taken up by the problems of day to day living, releasing more energy and time for the productive use of psychological and intellectual capacities. Such availability then serves as a necessary condition for psychological and intellectual growth.

Thus, given that PCN's are low in socio-political integration, they are, by comparison to core nations, underdeveloped psychologically and

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23. This does not, however, mean that a given nation is at an even level in relation to all its aspects. A nation is a bundle of sub-systems, and a level relates to a given sub-system (e.g., information, GNP etc.). It is, of course, possible that a nation that is at a given level in one sub-system may be at a different level in another, just as, e.g., a child is not just at one level of morality (Kohlberg, 1973). However, while there may be such differences, the range of difference will fall around one level, again just as a child which spans three stages of morality can be assigned a general overall stage.

24. Hymes uses this concept in relation to language. But I can see how it is extendable to almost any aspect of life.
intellectually. The term 'underdeveloped' is used here in two senses. The first is the one used throughout this study, namely, that the psychological and intellectual adaptive growth of people in PCN's were retarded in the same process that the colonizers advanced in them. The second meaning is that as a result, these capacities did not develop to their full potential.

Given such differences between people and societies in PCN's and in core nations, let us now see how the information available through the medium of L-exos is irrelevant, ungraspable and difficult of application.

The fact that the core nations are at a different level of socio-political integration, and psychological and intellectual growth, compared to PCN's, means that the identified needs of the former are bound to be different from the latter. We have already seen this in relation to the content of ideology (5.3). Conspicuous industrialization (2.22.1) provides another example. By its very nature, it is associated with phenomena such as urbanization, conspicuous consumerism, and the maximization of individual (or of individual company's) profit, none of which are relevant to, or are in keeping with, the ethos of PCN's, as analyzed in this study. We also know that the tendency towards industrialization in core nations has effectively undermined agriculture - at least, small-scale agriculture - of these nations. It is, of course, precisely this kind of small-scale agriculture that is characteristic of PCN's. Thus, even if information were available in the L-exo (i.e., in core nations) in relation to agriculture, it would not be of the relevant type as we have seen from the outcomes of the introduction of the tractor to PCN's (2.22.1).
But what about the level of information? We have already noted the 'bigness' associated with industrialization. Bigness, of necessity, involves complexity (there are more 'parts', or aspects, to be coordinated), which in turn requires a high level of sophistication and specialization. Incremental needs, by contrast, do not require such sophistication or as much specialization. As an example, we can consider the feeling of frustration experienced by medical doctors, engineers and such high-level trained personnel in PCN's, when much of their training goes unused, the 'brain drain' being only one form of expression of such frustration.

Texts used in the medical, engineering and legal curricula in PCN's can be said to be too theoretical, and have been based on the classical western view of education, the goal of which was to produce "golden men" (cf. Plato's "Parable of the Cave"); simply put, to produce high level 'scholars', not 'practitioners'. By contrast, what PCN's need, and make use of, for example, are engineers with a practical bent. As for health practitioners, for example, it is in the areas of preventive care, community health maintenance and so on - areas which can be handled by paramedical personnel (as e.g., the barefoot doctors of China and the Ayurveda physicians of Sri Lanka) - that their services are needed, much more than in the cities where only ten percent of the population lives. And such health care services do not need lengthy periods of training. These, then, are examples that show that the level of information available through the L-exos are too high, and thus irrelevant.

Needless to say, the type and level of information are interrelated, serving to compend the irrelevance of PCN's of the information available through the L-exo. This is not to say, of course, that no information
available in the core nations is relevant to PCN's. Information is not a solid unit, and, like countries, individuals and languages, is in a continuum. And, indeed there has begun to appear material that may be increasingly relevant to the needs of PCN's (e.g., on intermediate technology, zero-growth, and so on). However, given the fact that any product in a society is at least to some extent guided by the psychopraxis of that society, the extent of their relevance may well be minimized, particularly in their application.  

Much as the information available in the core nations, or through the L-exos, is irrelevant, PCN's are incapable of understanding such information as well. We have already observed that people in PCN's are underdeveloped psychologically and intellectually. By contrast, the core nations are mature in these respects. Considering that the difference between childhood, adolescence and adulthood, or say, between the Kohlbergian levels one, two and three of moral development (Kohlberg, 1973), is essentially one of psychological and intellectual maturity, we can hypothesize that the core nations are, psychologically and intellectually speaking, 'adults', while PCN's, are 'children', or 'adolescents' at best. We can now extend the argument and say that, just as much as adolescents, and children even more so, find it difficult to understand and communicate with adults (and vice versa), PCN's find it difficult to understand the content of information that the core nations have to offer. This is, of course, not to say that there are no individuals in PCN's who are

25. This is not to mention the fact that even if such material is highly relevant, they may retard the process of self-reliance implied in the ideology proposed in this study.
mature psychologically and intellectually, to a level comparable to, or
even beyond, that of individuals, or the system at large, of core nations.
But there are, unfortunately, not enough of them in any given PCN. In
no society can one find exceptional individuals by the bushel! Even the
few exceptional individuals that are available in PCN's are usually not
in positions of power. The system does not allow ascension to power of
such individuals.26 And if the odd person does succeed, the system, in
its efforts to seek its equilibrium (Pareto), ensures that the exceptional
person is 'kept in his place'.

I have claimed that PCN's are underdeveloped psychologically and
intellectually by comparison to the core nations. That does not mean,
however, that all PCN's are at the same level of maturity, just as much
as not all core nations are at the same level. Thus, given also the fact
that information is itself a continuum, some of the information available
in L-exos may be graspable by certain PCN's. But, while the PCN's may be
different in terms of maturity, they nevertheless fall within a certain
range, i.e., the lower sub-continuum. To that extent, then, the informa-
tion available in the core nations, that is, those that fall within the
higher sub-continuum, is hard to grasp. Such information would be like,
to use a Sinhalese saying, "water poured over an upturned pot". Thus, on
this score, the L-exo, as the medium through which the information from

26 One of the features of the personality of an individual seeking, and
achieving, leadership and power (by popular consent) is that he must
be seen by the 'electorate' as one congruent with the system. And
rarely is it the case that an exceptionally mature person (in rela-
tion to the level of maturity of the given society) can give such an
impression in his interpersonal relations.
the core nations is conducted, cannot be seen as playing a functional role in PCN development.

We have seen that information that can be had through the L-exo is irrelevant and hard to grasp. It is also difficult to apply. One source of this difficulty has been already identified: the irrelevance of the information to the needs of PCN's. Another source are the personal, but socio-politically-based, conflicts. One of the best-known ways of obtaining information through the L-exo is through scholarships abroad. But the returnee - if members of the CA who go abroad to study ever return - usually finds the information he has gathered rejected, or viewed with scepticism at home. Such rejection and/or scepticism is either due to the jealousy of those colleagues left behind, or to the feeling of insecurity encountered by the superior officer who comes to be threatened by the new ideas of the young subordinate, or to the unsuitability of the information, or to the rigidity of the system which allows little adaptability.

Thus we see that the continued use of L-exos does not result in what has been claimed for it - to keep abreast of the 'latest' knowledge. In fact, even if such information were relevant, graspable and easy of application, still PCN's cannot keep abreast of the 'latest' information. This is because it takes a long time for a bit of new information to get established in the country of origin itself, and then to reach PCN's - perhaps a good generation. In fact, it is often the case that a piece of information is already dated - that is, replaced by another theory, view, hypothesis etc. - by the time it reaches a PCN, given the information explosion which pertains to the core nations, but not to the PCN's, or nowhere close to what pertains to the core nations.
This then is the contentual argument against adopting L-exo as an
'official source of information', which is, in fact, what the meaning of
'official language' is. Let us now examine it from the linguistic point
of view.

9.31.3 The argument from the point of view of communication as a lin-guis-
tic process.

We have already encountered suggestions that the 'patterns of commu-
nication' of L-endos are different from those L-exos (8.31.1), that L-endos
are in a different 'sub-continuum' from the L-exos (8.3), and that the
acrolects have their own 'distinctive features' different from basilects
(8.31.1). Let us at this point pick up these suggestions, and examine
the suggested notion in detail.

The notion contained in these suggestions is this: just as much as
countries, people and information can be strung on a continuum, languages
can be strung on a language-continuum. Following the dichotomy established
between the core nations and PCN's, and between the L-exos and L-endos, we
can envisage the continuum as also being made up of two basic sub-continua.
I shall call one of them, extending my 'composite aristocracy' (CA) label,
the 'aristocratic' language sub-continuum', and call the languages that fall
into this category (under criteria to be proposed shortly) L-aristocratic.
At the opposite end is the 'folk language sub-continuum', and the langua-
ges that fall under this I shall call, inspired by Garvin (1973b:27),
L-folk. 27 As the term 'continuum' suggests, languages must be seen as

27. Garvin (ibid.) contrasts "standard language" with "folk speech"
and defines it as "any variety ... that has not been affected by lan-
guage planning." My concept of 'L-folk' is looser than that and re-
relative, in that among the L-folk may be those that may have been
falling anywhere between the two end-points. 

The literature already suggests such a 'continuum'. Ferguson (1964: 311-2), for example, defines several "types" of languages, namely "classical", "standard", "vernacular", "creole" and "pidgin". Reinecke (1964:539) refers to "several degrees of creoles" and a "jargon" (ibid. :537), not developed to the level of even a creole. Fishman (1972:41) refers to a "continuum of vernaculars".

Let me now suggest one linguistic criterion and another language-related one, which may help us identify at which point a language falls along such a continuum. These criteria are, it must be emphasized, merely suggestive of certain tendencies rather than absolute criteria. Much more detailed linguistic analysis is obviously required before we can be definitive.

The linguistic criterion that helps us determine the position of a language along the folk–sociolinguistic continuum is what may be called for want of a better word, grammaticalization. French provides an excellent example at the grammatical level:

subjected to such 'planning' (e.g., graphization) in the past, but now, following a period of stagnation and lack of adaptive growth, are low on the continuum compared to others which have grown adaptively.

28. Ferguson defines the five types as follows:
Standard: "...a vernacular which has been standardized".
Vernacular: "The unstandardized native language of a speech community".
Classical: "A standard which has died out as a native language".
Pidgin: "...a hybrid language which combines the lexical stock of one language with the grammatical structure of another or group of languages."
Creole: "A pidgin which has become the native language of a speech community."

29. e.g., the "Chinook Jargon of the American Northwest never employed more than 1100 root words" while the Creole dialect of Portuguese–Guinea creole has a lexicon of 5240 words (Reinecke, ibid.:537).
mon cousin  'my cousin/friend (male singular)'
ma cousin  'my cousin/friend (female singular)'
mes cousins  'my cousins/friends (male/female plural)'

In this example, the possessive adjective changes in agreement with the
gender and number. In contrast, we have in English:

my friend  'male'
my friend  'female'
my friends  'male/female plural',

where 'my' is invariant across gender and number. Formal Sinhala\textsuperscript{30} provides a parallel example:

/mage: ya:luwa:/  'my friend (male)'
/mage: yeholiya:/\textsuperscript{31}  'my friend (female)'
/mage: ya:luwo:/  'my friends (female/male plural)'.

The variation in the qualifier in the French example has no semantic
function, since an invariant possessive objective will not have rendered
the meaning dubious to a native speaker.\textsuperscript{32} The change serves the purpose
of 'grammatical harmony' (or what is more commonly known as 'agreement').
Thus, it is a 'formalization'.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{30} There is a major distinction in Sinhala between spoken Sinhala and
formal/written Sinhala. See Gair (1975) for a discussion.

\textsuperscript{31} If in informal/spoken Sinhala, this will be /ya:luwa:/, the same as
the masculine.

\textsuperscript{32} This is not to say that the variant form never serves a semantic
function. But, in this case, it does not.

\textsuperscript{33} Two other examples show this contrast between formalization and non-
formalization. Compare (la) with (lb):
Hungarian provides an example of such formalization at the phonological level. For example, it has three allomorphs for the same meaning 'toward': /-hoz/—35/-hez/-höz/. /-hoz/ is used after all back vowels..., /-hez/ after unrounded front vowels... and /-höz/ after rounded front vowels (Gleason, op. cit.: 85). This is for the purpose of vowel harmony (or rather, 'what' should be called 'phonemic harmony') so it may 'sound right'. The variation hardly has a semantic function. Thus, it is a 'formalization'.

The same is true with 'grammatical harmony'. In almost every language, for example, a singular subject takes a singular verb. But this agreement is not universally found in other categories such as adjectives (as was seen in the above English and Sinhala examples), and adverbs.

Nor is it universal in relation to gender, again, as seen in the English

(1a) BEV: He a friend.
(1b) Standard English: He is a friend.

where 'is' has no semantic function. That is, while it serves to maintain the 'Noun & Verb'-grammatical pattern, its absence does not render the meaning dubious (because, the meaning of the verb 'be' can also be expressed, as linguists say, with '∅' which means 'nothing at all'). Or compare (2a) with (2b):
(2a): Modern Guyanese
In parts of Britain

What o'clock? (Bancroft, 1976:89).

(2b) Standard English: What time is it?
When compared to the answer, say, 'Two o'clock', (2a) seems entirely compatible (or 'logical'). Thus, (2b) seems to be a 'contrived' formalization, perhaps on the basis of 'It is ... (e.g., two o'clock).

34. An allomorph is a variant of a morpheme (chapter 4, footnote 5) whose explicit manifestation (in speech or writing) varies to match the linguistic environment that precedes or follows.

35. The 'wave'line'-symbol (≈) is used by linguists to indicate allomorph or allophonic variation.
example. Differences along such lines, in fact, can occur in relation to
effects of the same language, as, for example, in spoken (colloquial and
written) formal Sinhala (see footnote 30).

What renders a language 'aristocratic' or 'folk', then, is not the
presence or absence of formalization, but the degree of formalization.
And on the basis of the above examples, it can be said that at the gram-
matical level, French is closer than English to the aristocratic end, and
English and Sinhala are closer to the folk end, while at the phonological
level Hungarian is highly 'aristocratic'.

The final language-related criterion that may help differen-
tiate an L-aristocratic from an L-folk may be called 'modernization'
(Ferguson, 1968). A language may be analyzed in terms of three functions:
spoking (-hearing), reading, and writing. Among them, speaking can be
called the 'primary' function. Every human being (except pre-linguistic
babies) talks, and emerging (or evolving) man is likely to have spoken
first (see also 6.2), since, for example, the symbols used in writing and
reading represent the sounds of the spoken language. It has indeed been
claimed that writing marks the dawn of human civilization. Further, there
are even today cultures where reading and writing are unknown. For rea-
sons such as these, we can say that a language, or a language-user, that
uses the media of reading and writing is more 'modernized' linguistically
than is one who uses only the oral-aural medium. Among features of lan-
guage modernization are:

1. the existence of a written literature;
2. the extensiveness of the literature; for example:

2.1 religious literature vs. secular (or areligious) literature;
2.2 descriptive literature (e.g., scientific writing, literary criticism, etc.) vs. artistic literature (e.g., poetry, drama);  
3. the extension of language for categories of thinking (e.g., logic, philosophy); and  
4. the extent of 'language planning' 36 (e.g., availability of an orthography, the 'modernization' of the script, 37 technical terms, written grammars etc.) 38.

The degree of modernization, and formalization, then, are suggestive of criteria that can help us determine at what point a language is at along the folk-aristocratic continuum. Naturally, one needs a careful descriptive and comparative analysis of the languages under scrutiny both to establish the 'existence' of a continuum, as well as the place of a given language along the continuum: Indeed, if I had undertaken such an in-depth analysis -- and I haven't, for my goal here is merely to indicate the possibility -- it would have been possible for me to dig up examples from a restricted number of languages and show how they stand in relation to each other.

36. In making the distinction between 'standard language' and 'folk speech' (footnote 27), note that Garvin (1973b:27), in fact, defines the latter as "any variety ... that has not been affected by language planning".

37. This includes the alphabetization of a syllabic script (e.g., the Romanization of Chinese) and developing, through modification or creation, a one-to-one correspondence between sound and symbol (e.g., the Shawian script).

38. The extensiveness of vocabulary of a language may well be a 'summary' indication of the extent of such modernization, since a vocabulary can be expected to grow to meet the increasing demands made on the language.
On the basis of this limited discussion then, we can hypothesize that both languages and lects of a given language can be identified along a language continuum. The position of a language or a lect along this continuum is not absolute, but relative to others with which it is compared.

Now if we were to relate the language continuum to our distinction between L-endor and L-exos, I would like to hypothesize that, in general, the L-exos fall close to the aristocratic end, by contrast, L-endos fall close to the folk end.

We can summon support for such a contention argumentatively as well. Society is a system (4.2), and language is in a conditioned origination relationship with all other aspects of society. Thus, if a society is more modernized, and its institutions more diffused, and so on, then one can expect to see a language reflecting that reality. The core nations are, so modernized and diffused by comparison to PCN's. Thus, the languages spoken in these countries can also be said to be more 'modernized' (that is adaptively better grown) and, in the process also more formalized. To that extent, they fall closer to the aristocratic end, and L-endos closer to the folk end.

Subject to further investigation, then, I shall take the L-exos to be 'aristocratic' and L-endos to be 'folk'. For reasons similar to the ones advanced above, I shall claim that the 'acrolects' of a given language are 'aristocratic' and the basilects 'folk'. The L-exos, and the acrolects are aristocratic, also because they are not merely tools of communication as L-endos and basilects are, but have historically been used as tools of oppression, by a national and international 'aristocracy'.

We have discussed above the notion of a language continuum. How does
this discussion relate to the question of language determination as between L-exos and L-endoS?

The first point here has already been made from the point of view of communication as a people and contextual process. Theoretically speaking, there need not be a necessary link between linguistic form and linguistic content. Just as a train can carry any kind of goods, a language can be used to convey any kind of information. However, in terms of "what obtains" (Hymes, 1973:82), the content of L-exos is essentially linked to its form by way of a third party: the human agent. Given that people in core nations are more mature psychologically and intellectually (8.31.1), and given also the conditioned origination hypothesis (6.3), the fact that L-exos are closer to the aristocratic end while the L-endoS are closer to the folk end means that such incompatibility may have a bearing on the relevance, graspability and application of the medium and content of the L-exos.

As a tool, the aristocratic L-exo can be said to be the linguistic counterpart of 'conspicuous industrialization'. It is too sophisticated a tool for PCN's, for the same reason that 'conspicuous industrialization' is too 'sophisticated' for PCN's (see 3.22 and 5.42). This means that the PCN's are paying in terms of money, time, effort and human resources for something that they will underuse or not use at all, as in the case of lengthy medical and engineering training which hardly ever comes to be used (supra). It is equally, a loss for core nations, who invest millions of dollars in promoting, and providing technical and human facilities for the learning-teaching process of the L-exos in PCN's. For, as has been already experienced, despite massive aid and training programs, the level of fluency in the L-exos in PCN's has been raised little, if
any, and little 'development' in PCN society has resulted either. Further, there is no evidence that whatever little 'development' there is in PCN's is necessarily linked to the use of the L-exo in the country. And even if such a link can be established, it is also debatable whether such 'development' represents mere 'growth' or real 'development', to invoke a distinction made by Perroux and Schumpeter (Higgins, 1968:106-7). As chapter two in this study, and the literature on development (1.3) show, the usage of L-exos, in fact, must indeed be held responsible at least partly responsible for the underdevelopment of PCN's, considering that the L-exos serve as the medium through which information and the value system of the core nations have been introduced to PCN's, and maintained. Thus, then, the continued use of the aristocratic L-exos is a 'losing bet' for both PCN's and core nations.

There are other reasons for this. The official recognition of an L-exo in a PCN means that everyone would have at least an 'instrumental motivation' (Lambert, 1963:114)\(^\text{39}\) to learn the L-exo(s), particularly as a society comes to increasingly orbit around exopetalism and acropetalism. But, the chances of many aspirants achieving their goal are rather dim. While there are many reasons for this (e.g., curriculum materials, teaching methodology etc.), there is one that is perhaps linked to the fact that L-exos and L-endos are at different ends of the language continuum. It is that the learner speaking an L-endo, and particularly a basilect,

\(^{39}\) Lambert speaks of two major motivations in learning a second language. One is 'instrumental' - to get jobs, education and so on. The other is 'integrative' - to integrate with the target culture. A third motivation which he makes passing reference to is 'manipulative'.

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would find it difficult to learn a language that is several steps removed from his own (i.e., at different ends of the continuum). For example, it is reasonable to surmise that everything else being equal (e.g., personal background, motivation), it is easier for a person to learn a language whose vocabulary (or parts thereof - in terms of words or morphemes), for example, has originated from the same source that the vocabulary of his own language has originated. Thus, an English speaker, for example, would likely find it easier to learn the German or French vocabulary than the Swahili or the Chinese vocabulary.  

Difficulties in learning an L-eso are compounded when it also becomes difficult to find good, and enough, teachers who have good mastery of the L-eso. While again there may be several factors that contribute to a lack of quality teachers, one important factor may be that they themselves speak an L-folk (i.e., L-endo) as their mother tongue. Thus, they themselves would have found it difficult to learn the L-eso. This explains in part the scarcity of good L-eso teachers.

Another related factor here is that even if there were enough and good teachers of L-eso in PCN's, the variety of L-eso that comes to be taught is not the native, or the 'original' variety, but the localized variety (e.g., South Asian English). This again is conditioned by the difficulties the learners (who are now teachers) have as a result of the L-eso being at the opposite end of the continuum. While speaking/using the local variety of the L-eso would not stand in the way of internal communication, it certainly would, at the international level - the

40. This is, of course, not to say that learning a language is equal to learning its vocabulary, but rather, that the process would be rendered easier, because the learner may be able to intuit the meaning, thus allowing him to focus his attention on the structure and phonology.
level at which information through L-exo is claimed to be necessary and received by CA in PCN's.

These, then, are some of the problems of L-exo use in PCN's stemming from the fact of L-exos being aristocratic and L-ends being folk.

Before we conclude the argument from the linguistic point of view, there is one more important manner in which the presence of L-exo(s) in PCN's can be said to affect development.

In most PCN's, the L-exo is an 'official language'. Whatever the technical and legal definition of this term is, what it means in terms of application is that it serves, among others, as (a) the language of internal wider communication, that is as the language the CA of the varied socio-cultural groups in a PCN use for communication among themselves, and (b) for public functions, such as, for example, parliamentary speeches, higher and technical education, newspapers (usually government owned) and so on. Although the L-exo comes to be declared officially to be used only for some purposes (such as (a) and (b) above), it ends up by being used for all public and private functions by the CA. As the exopetalism, acropetalism and the maxipetalism continue to make inroads into the rurality, and as the L-exo continues to be used by the CA, exclusively or primarily, the L-exo gains in prestige. The L-ends, on the other hand, continue to lose in prestige in the same process. This then results in more and more individuals seeking to use more and more of the L-exo(s). In the same process, however, the L-ends come to be gradually used less and less. L-ends, as I have pointed out (supra), have not grown, and the non-use, or the lack of use, of the L-ends then result in the further lack of growth, and underdevelopment, of the L-ends. This serves as a self-fulfilling
prophecy for the CA not to adopt an official policy or actual practice of using L-endorsements for public or private functions. In contrast to the single (or at most two) L-exos, there are in PCN's several L-endorsements. Since each such L-endorsement comes to be used in limited spheres and by a limited number of people, there is less and less growth of each of them, and none of them grows strong enough to claim an ability to 'handle' the tasks now handled by the L-exo(s). The result is continued use and growth of the L-exo to the underdevelopment of L-endorsements.

What the above discussion shows is that it is the availability of L-exos in PCN's, or its/their adoption for private and public functions by the CA that has resulted in the underdevelopment of L-endorsements.

This concludes the argument from the point of view of communication as a linguistic process which attempts to establish the case against the official adoption or the continued use of L-exos in PCN's.

8.31.4 Other arguments.

a. As we know from psychology, there is a 'critical period' of growth for children. And there can be said to be a similar critical period for adolescents as well. Both the future, and the growth pattern, of a child or an adolescent are conditioned by what he is exposed to during these critical years, given that we are individuals-in-environment (3.32). Thus, Epstein (1974:9) argues that if, for example, a child is to develop a

41. For example, while the law students in Sri Lanka and Tanzania, where English is an official language, hold their colloquia in English (although their classes are in the national languages), in Sudan and Israel, where English, though spoken, enjoys no official status, all law studies are done in the national languages (Marasingha, n.d.: 44ff.).
favourable image of the state, the family and the school must work jointly to transmit to him positive values about government and politics, and at the same time "shielding him from stimuli which have unfavourable connotations" (underline added). The ideology and goal of a PCN, as proposed in this study, is HN. If the PCN's are to be given a positive image of this goal and ideology, then it is important that they be shielded from the counter-information that flows from the core nations through the L-exos during their critical period of growth, since such information, as we have seen, is contrary to this new goal of HN (8.31.2). As Pool (1966:162) points out, if people were to be exposed to something for a long period of time (or, during the critical period, as the Catholic Church and educators argue), it "may create an attitude set". The black faces with white masks in PCN's are living proof of it. What the decolonization cycle (figure 5,2) calls for is indeed a change in attitudes, and the information through L-exos can be said to stand in the way of such attitudinal change. Thus it is absolutely necessary that the information flow through L-exos be cut off. This is important, as Jacoby (op.cit:5) observes, also because "only countries which have reached a certain degree of ... maturity will be able to absorb the shock effects of advanced technology presented on neo-capitalist conditions". And, as we have seen, PCN's have not yet reached that maturity.

b. Another argument relates to the point made elsewhere (5.41) that if cultivation is to take place in a PCN, both the CA and masses need to actively participate in the effort. Indeed, each of them have potentially, if not actualized, information that could be socially useful to the two aspects of the ideology of HN. For example, in adopting this ideology,
the CA, with an orientation towards the future, can press for a 'going forward' (or incrementalization), while the masses can temper the pace of such a going forward by pressing for the need to 'go back to history' (or decolonialization). But if such pulls are to be conjunctive (3.21), and not conflictual, it is imperative that both the CA and the masses be not only in the same network of communication, but that this shared network of communication be PCN-based. Decolonialization and incrementalization, as defined in 5.4, can only be achieved in relation to a given culture. The presence of an L-exo, or its use by the CA for public or private purposes, for reasons given earlier, is hardly conducive to the emergence of such a nationized network.

c. The majority of the people in PCN's do not speak an L-exo, and thus it will be expensive, if at all possible, to spread the L-exo among all inhabitants of a country, given the goal of the 'development of all' (3.22), and the need for a single L-cultivation, as has been argued in 7.3.

d. Another point made by the defenders of L-exo is that it is needed for international relations. But, it could be pointed out that certainly during the early years of adopting the self-reliant model of development advocated in this study, there will be little if any, need for such international relations. But even if there were to be continuing international relations, only a few citizens would be so engaged, and it would be cheaper to teach them the L-exo when required, rather than have L-exo as an official language for the entire country, with all the concomitants discussed so far.

e. If a PCN desires to take its 'legitimate place' in the Assembly of Nations, then the core nations, and every other PCN as well, have a
right to benefit from the relationship in terms of insights to be gained
from PCN's. But, as long as PCN's are busy trying to 'catch up' with the
core nations, in an ever-losing race - having started out from a disadvan-
taged position - there will be no time for creativity or local initiatives
in PCN's. To that extent, the PCN's will be unable to meet their 'obliga-
tion' by its fellow nations, and the world will be poorer by that much.

f. To the extent that such inability leads to a continuing exopeta-
lism, self-reliance will be undermined, and once again both the given PCN
and all other nations lose out.

g. The continued official use of the L-exo will lead to what Lerner
(1961:330-1) calls the "Revolution of Rising Expectations", as more and more
individuals and collectivities in PCN come to believe in, and expect for
themselves, all the good things in life that have come to be associated
with the use of L-exos, and the attendant exopetalism, acropetalism and
the maxipetalism. But, soon it will also lead to what could be called
a Revolution of Rising Frustrations - a real one this time, complete with
unemployment, moral crises, underdevelopment, and bombs - as many discover
the 'hoax' perpetrated upon them, that after several years of an official
L-exo policy, the only beneficiaries have been only a few of the L-exo
speaking CA, while the lot of the masses has not improved, and has indeed
worsened, in the process.

h. Finally, there are the practical problems. Adopting an L-exo as
an official language means the need to spread the L-exo in the entire
country. The prestige the L-exo will gain as a result of such official
recognition, and the attendant increasing exopetalism and acropetalism in
the country, would mean that only those with control of the L-exo will
be allowed entry to the high positions in society. If such positions are to be made accessible to people, then it is mandatory that they be all taught the L-exo, and this effectively. And this is a very expensive proposition, even if it means introducing the L-exo at the secondary school level. First of all it means the need for a large army of teachers, which is hard to come by. The L-exo monolinguals are few, and may be already employed in better paying jobs. And so are the L-exo bilinguals. The teaching profession is not a particularly attractive profession in PCN's. Thus there is the problem of both getting and retaining teachers. Then there is the question of the quality of teaching. It is a common experience in PCN's that several years of second-language teaching have failed to produce successful learning. 42

Teacher training is a potential solution to this latter problem. But, in addition to the additional cost factor, it has other complications. Teachers can be trained by imported second-language 'experts', who bring with them their psychopraxic behaviours - of individualism, for example, since they come from the core nations - and with its attendant social ramifications. If the teacher-trainers are recruited locally, it means that they go abroad for their own training, and this produces its own problems (e.g., brain drain). Then there is the loss of second-language teachers (particularly the trained ones) to other professions (supra).

42. Le Boulch (1965:3), for example, reports that almost every Senegalese undergraduate complains of his inability to speak English in spite of seven years of virtually compulsory study at the secondary level. A similar complaint is known (to the writer) to exist among undergraduates in Sri Lanka.
There is further the additional payroll for teachers, and the cost of teacher training (e.g., salaries for teachers under training, teacher training staff, school buildings etc).

If all these could be handled, there is the problem of second language student dropouts. This again means a poor rate of return for a large investment. These, then, are the practical difficulties associated with the use of the official adoption of the L-exo in a PCN.

Viewed from the points of view of communication in its three aspects - people, contentual and linguistic - and from other viewpoints as well, it has become clear, I believe, that the continued use of L-exo(s) in PCN's is 'counter-cultural', results in communicative underdevelopment, and only serves to maintain the existing power relationships between the masses and CA.

Thus we see that the continuation of the L-exos, for public, private or official use in PCN's serves as a condition for a continuing cultural invasion, social gap and value gap. And as PCN's underdevelop as a result of the adverse, antagonistic, non-communicative and non-cultival-tional relationship between the masses and the CA, the socio-politically integrated core nations continue to be increasingly richer(1.3). The widening gap also fails to become narrower. The obvious proposition one can make, then, is that national cultivation is best served if the feed-line that keeps the flame of the new colonial situation burning, namely

42 Obanya (1976/7:171) again reports that 80% of students in Lagos who started French in the first form had dropped out by the time they got to the fifth form. This situation is common in many PCN's.
the L-eso(s), is/are cut off. This means that an L-eso should not be made the official language of a country. As it thus loses prestige, the use of L-eso for public or private functions comes to be less and less, and its demise as a tool of exploitation in the country will result through attrition.

Now, the non-adoption of the L-eso(s) in an official or other capacity, it needs hardly be said, will by itself not result in national cultivation, if we remember the notion of multicausality. All it does is provide a necessary condition, or an environment, for better communication and empathetic participation.

This, then, is the 'negative' argument against the official adoption or continued usage of L-eso in PCN's.

8.32 Endogenous languages as a condition for communicative development.

If keeping the L-exos out provides one necessary condition for containing cultural invasion, the use of L-endos for both public and private use is a further necessary condition for the reversal of cultural invasion and the new colonial situation, and a cooperating condition for communicative development and MN to prevail.

44. Norway provides a historical example. In 1814, when Norway was politically separated from Denmark, under whose hegemony she had fallen some four centuries earlier, the official language was Danish. But, as a result of a vigourous and nation-st linguist reform, Landsmål (meaning 'national language') was voted official equality with Danish. But today Danish has given way to two official languages, Landsmål (now called Nynorsk) and Riksmål (now called Bokmal), which Norwegians hope will be fused to result in Samnorsk, literally 'united Norwegian' (see Haugen, 1959, for a discussion).
We have seen that the present relationship between the masses and the CA has resulted in a social gap and a value gap. But the very continuing basis of this relationship are the gaps themselves. And associated with these two gaps is another gap, one which could be called the informational gap. There are two aspects to this gap. As we have seen (8.11.2), one relates to the type of information, and the other to its level, and the two are interrelated. While the CA relies for its information on the L-exo and the outside world (cf. the exopetalism), the masses rely on their immediate environment, and the L-endo(s). In view of the information explosion in the core nations, and the more active search for information by the CA in PCN's (as they go about in their 'modernizing' activities), the CA can be said to have a high level of information by comparison to the masses. By contrast, in view of the slow rate of change in the rurality, there is very little conscious search for information by the masses. Although the urban masses, unlike, or more than, the rural masses, can be said to be affected by the 'modernizing' activities of the CA, and are thus subjected to more change, they are still 'passive' spectators of the process in comparison to the CA, and are restricted to the information they can get through the L-endo(s). Given the conditioned origination hypothesis, the information that the CA gets through the L-exo(s) is different from the information that the masses get through the L-endo(s). And, for arguments given above, their respective levels of information are different as well.

It is hardly surprising, then, that there is very little 'cultural' communication between the two segments. There is simply no common basis, i.e., content, for communication. And, as we have seen, com...
munication is a contentual process as well (chapter five).

Given the lack of a common basis, the homogeneous condition for bringing about communication, as I shall establish, is the matching of information in relation to both type and level. My argument in the next few pages, then, will be as follows: matching of information serves as a condition for the matching of personalities, since information is the basis of both the psychic and praxic domains of man (3.31). And the matching of personalities requires the use of a common language. This common language cannot come from among the L-exos. Thus, the only possible source are the L-ends.

How can such a matching of information be achieved? The approach presently advocated (tacitly, of course) by the CA in PCN's is to change the type and the level of information of the masses without affecting the type or level of information of the CA. The outcome of such an approach would be the continuing informational gap, since, under the 'Law of Unequal Development' (Coleman, 1960:31), even the most equitable treatment would benefit the CA who already has a headstart. An alternative approach, therefore, is to lower the level, and change the type, of information of the CA, while at the same time raising the level, and matching the type, of information of the masses; that is, in the same process.

What evidence do we have that such an approach can result in an infor-

45. I am inspired in this 'matching models' approach by the work of David Hunt (1971).

46. The top to bottom educational plans based on western models, the adoption of L-exos as official languages and so on can be seen as examples of such efforts, because the underlying goal is to make the masses like the CA themselves.
natioinal 'osmosis' and can bring about communicative development? And further, how can such an osmosis, or matching of information, be brought about? Here we can learn from the classroom situation where the teacher is faced with a somewhat similar task: the raising of the level of information of his students by 'lowering' the level of information to be learned so as to be reachable by the learners, and then gradually raising it.

This way, the teacher takes the class along with him, always guiding it, but never being too far from it, i.e. never far enough to lose the learners. Of course, there are in a class the fast-learners and the slow learners. The good teacher will pay attention to their special needs as well, but not at the cost of others. While the advanced students will be directed to further self-learning, the good teacher will seek outside assistance (e.g., reading labs, counsellors, etc.) to help the weak ones along. But he makes every attempt to keep abreast of the class. He is like the pacer in the training of a runner - always ahead, but never too far ahead.

In order to ensure that the class is with him, as many students as possible are encouraged to participate during the lesson (and after and before). Such participation is encouraged in order to get feedback, one of the three features of the cybernetics model of communication. We have identified earlier (6.4) two kinds of feedback: pre-feedback and concurrent (or post) feedback. In a lesson that matches the level of the students, there is pre-feedback to the extent that both the learner and the teacher know the content of the earlier step. Having begun with pre-feedback, the lesson progresses on a pivot of pre- and concurrent-feedback. Such feedback is thus bi-directional, or reciprocal. The teacher gets feedback from the student responses, and other, related behaviour cues (e.g., an enquiring face), and is able to modify his next step. The
students, too, get feedback on their performance from the teacher's reactions to their responses.

We can then analyze the successful learning situation essentially in terms of three factors: (a) matching the levels of the learners and the teacher; (b) reciprocal feedback, and (c) the teacher taking the class along with him.

Now if, with Deutsch (1963:80), we were to characterize a society as a "learning net," we could draw from the classroom analogy and identify the following features as being relevant to societal learning and communication:

a. There must be a match in the level at which communication between the ruled and the rulers begins;

b. the level, and the pace, at which such communication is to continue (within a PCN) is to be determined jointly by the masses (as learners) and the leaders, on the basis of socio-political, historical, cultural and other factors of the given society;

c. there should always be a two-way feedback process between the masses and the leaders;

d. the level of information must be raised only gradually, step by step, with the leaders moving with the masses, in increasing the society's level of information, and never being too far ahead of them.

47. The classroom analogy seems a good one in relation to a society where the nation can be equated with the classroom, the citizens with the learners, and the state with the teacher.

48. Here, the term 'ruled' appears before 'rulers' to emphasize an often forgotten fact that 'rulers' come to exist only in relation to the
Considering item (a), it has been noted above that the L-exos and L-endsos are at different ends of the folk-aristocratic continuum, and that the levels and type of information available through each of them is different (8.31.3). This automatically means that since the CA already speaks the L-endsos along with the masses, and the masses don't speak the L-exos, it is the L-endsos that must be used as the medium of societal communication and information.

Considerations (b), (c) and (d) lead in the same direction, for they call for a different kind of leadership, and of a relationship between the ruled and the rulers. Chiang Ching, wife of Mao, and a revolutionary in her own right, shows this relationship succinctly: She compares the people of China to an ocean, and the leaders to the white froth on the wave tops, born of them, carried by them, forever renascent, but non-existent without the ocean (cited in Kong, 1974:4).

It is a leadership born of the 'people-ocean', and ever-emergent. Like the froth, such leaders emerge, as the 'information-wave' after wave bring to the surface the best in the community. A leader that emerges in this process is one who is 'led' by the community, to the extent that what he does is, in the words of Mao, to "take back [information] to the people sorted out what they have given confusedly". To that extent, then, he is a led-leader. Such a 'led-leader' will lead the masses forward, but without 'commandism'- another admonition from Mao. Under the direction of such a led-leadership, who is never 'too far' ahead, will be the led-followers - those who are led by a led-leader. Such a relationship ruled, and not vice versa, just as much as 'teachers' come to exist only in the presence of learners (again, an often ignored fact).
entails the need for the led-leader to share the psychopragmatic behaviour of the led-followers. Then only can the level, the type of information, and the pace of learning can be determined jointly. As well, then only will there be reciprocal feedback. An ocean to froth relationship, then, requires that the rulers use the L-ends for all purposes, public and private.

Perception, unrelated to praxis, produces only 'half-men' (Lyon, \textit{op.
\textit{cit.}), given the necessary relationship between man's psychic and praxic domains (3.31). The transference of information into praxis on the part of the led-followers also requires human intervention, as contained in the "two-step flow of communication" proposed by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955). For, otherwise, not only does such information "fail in generating action" (Pool, 1963:237),\footnote{In an experiment involving Indians (of India), for example, where listening groups were organized and a discussion took place immediately after, the suggestions were often followed (Pool, 1963:248).} but also does not "fail in creating ... desires" (ibid.), ostensibly, desires that cannot be met and thus create the basis for a 'revolution of rising frustrations' (supra).

But such intervention must be by a particular brand of human agent. I have claimed (4.5) 'supportive empathy', or 'concern for another with understanding' to be of importance in communication. In transferring such information to action, Pool (1966:101-2) points out the need for not only "persons in their (the learner's) own environment whom they know" but also people whom they "respect". And unless "the opinion leader\footnote{As pointed out by Sen & Bhowmik (1970), developmental literature considers} is very much like the person he advises" (Robertson, 1974:184), the information would be "subject to loss of fidelity" (Rolie, et al., \textit{op.
\textit{cit.})and...
in generating action. Indeed, adult members of a community have been
known to resist the introduction of improved technology that runs in
opposition to strongly held beliefs or practices (Spicer, 1952, cited
in Epstein, op.cit.:10).

It is, then, clear that the kind of person that can effect change in
communities are ones who are in the same 'cultural threshold' (6.4) as
other members of the community. Given that language, perception and praxis
are in a conditioned origination relationship (6.3), and given that communi-
cation takes place between individuals with personalities (Smith, 1973:
100), this means that if the opinion leader, or led-leader, is to be "very
much like the person he advises", it is a necessary condition that he
speak the same language, literally and figuratively, as the one spoken
by the group of which he is the led-leader. Since the language of the
masses is the L-endo, what we see again is the need for the leader to use
the L-endo(s) as the medium through which communication is taken to the
masses.

A relationship as envisaged above between the led-followers and the
led-leaders, then, calls for the exclusive use of L-endos, by all parties
and for all functions. Since the level of information available in the L-endos
is lower by comparison to that available in the L-exos (8.31.3), the

"the most important single strategy of (societal) change ... [as]
working through the opinion leader." Although the classical model
sees such opinion leaders in elitist 'progressive farmers', this
needs hardly be the case, as Roling et al (op.cit.:22) show. The
label 'opinion leader' is then used here not in the elitist sense,
but to mean any human agent who has the capacity or potential to
lead.
adoption of L-endos means a lowering of the national base of information, if only to be raised gradually. But it also means more relevant, and more accessible, information, given that it has been arrived at jointly, and on the basis of the socio-political, historical and cultural needs of the given society.

If we remind ourselves of the finding in moral education that individuals can grasp only one level above themselves (Turiel, op.cit.), such lowering of the level of information allows for a gradual rise in the information as learning takes place at a pace determined by the group.

Indeed there is evidence that the lowering of informational levels leads to increased skill. We can show this with a few examples.

In his outstanding work, Rioch (1963) has been able to show that selected housewives can be given training in a year's time which enables them to carry on with disturbed individuals, therapy which in its quality is indistinguishable from the work of experienced professionals (underline added) (Rogers, 1969:110).

A similar finding comes from a UNESCO adult literacy program for farmers in Iran. Dissatisfied with the performance of primary school teachers as farmer instructors, the project undertook an experiment to use farmers as instructors. The initial training course for the farmer-instructors lasted three weeks, and the in-service training consisted of regular meetings twice a month. In a comparison of two farmer-instructor groups and two teacher-instructor groups, it was found that the results

51. Rogers further adds this comment: "The argument is that full professional training with Ph.D. or an M.D. is a necessity if an individual is to undertake such a function. There is solid evidence that this is a mistaken view".
achieved by the farmer-teachers, as assessed in terms of group interaction, responses of participants, attendance and stability, do not significantly differ from those obtained by the professional teachers (Verron & Bazany, 1973:154).

A third example comes from Roling et al (op.cit.:21) who report in relation to farmers elsewhere:

"... we succeeded in recruiting less progressive farmers. In fact, 80% were below average. There was no trouble in getting these farmers to come to the courses. As a result of them, nearly all of the 308 farmers (97%) accepted the credit offered, bought the inputs and planted the hybrid maize promoted during the course. What's more, for every farmer trained, about three other farmers also adopted in the same year ..."

A fourth example comes from China. Faced with the problem, at liberation, of providing health care to the millions of people, but with a few-trained doctors, the communist government started turning out 'barefoot doctors', recruited from among the peasants. They were given no more than three to six months' training (and latterly up to two years), and a first aid box and a needle. 52

As we can see from these examples, then, a lowering of information levels does result in an informational osmosis. Indeed the only way we can match the informational level of the masses is by lowering the level of the CA in relation to the masses. As every single community in a society comes to build a base of information, common, both to the led-leaders and the led-followers, the increasing intra-group, and gradually inter-group, communication serves as a condition for a gradual rise in

52. A similar example is the rural midwives in Sri Lanka (who used to be, but no more, thanks to modernization) 'recruited' from the community, and with very little or no formal training.
the level of information and skills.

We can see the importance of this from the purely linguistic point of view as well, as already shown in 6.4. In communication, understanding develops gradually throughout the interchange (Garfinkle), and such understanding, on the part of both speaker and hearer, stems from the 'potential knowledge' of what to expect, i.e., reciprocal expectation. And the basis of such potential knowledge is the 'culture match' (6.3) that exists between the communicators. It is such a culture match that allows the smooth development of understanding through pre- and post feedback. Indeed the speaker relies on the hearer to fill in the missing links (6.3). When the communicators thus share a common culture base and a common language, there is little proxemic interference (Hall), and maximal learning (comprehension and learning being inseparable (Smith, 1975)) results. The sharing of a common L-endo is thus important, also because, as we know, and as observed by scholars (e.g., Eisenstadt (op.cit.:157); Fool (op.cit.:139)), even the tone and style of communication have a bearing on acceptance.

Our classroom is the entire nation. Thus, if the led-leader must speak the same L-endo of a given community (and a single L-endo by all led-leaders if the whole country is to share the same communication and ideology), then it is equally important that the national led-leadership, too, speak the same language as the community-based led-leader(s) and the masses.53 if the information radiating from the centre is not to be subject.

53. This, of course, makes matters much more complex than at the community level, given that more than one L-endo will be spoken in almost any country. But this issue is not examined here because the entirety of the next chapter is devoted to this.
to 'loss of fidelity'. Only a culture match will allow the rulers not
to restrict communication to the opinion leaders, and to understand the
felt and the actual needs of the ruled. Without such understanding, it
is difficult to avoid the content of information/communication being
devoid of cultivational noise.

The use of L-endo, for public and private purposes, then, is the
necessary condition for societal learning and communicative development
to take place. It is then that there can be "thousands of small face-to-
face groups, which are well-informed, which discuss, and whose decisions
are integrated in a new lower house" (Fromm, 1955:301). It is thus we
can build an informational infrastructure to support the 'psychological
infrastructure' that was shown to be necessary for empathic participation.

If I argued the case against the L-exo(s) in 8.4, I have in this
section argued the case for L-endo(s), or a 'linguistic endopetalism',
thus agreeing with the 'ideopological endopetalism' called for in chapter
five.

8.4 Summary and Lead-On.

In this chapter, I have placed the question of language determination
within the broader framework of LP, and argued that the very presence (and
use) of the L-exo(s) in a PCN serves as a condition for communicative
underdevelopment. By contrast, the L-endo(s) would serve as a condition
for communicative development.

In terms of the total study, this chapter deals with the same part
of the lap dealt with in chapter seven.
CHAPTER NINE

LANGUAGE DETERMINATION II, AND NORM DETERMINATION

...we can go beyond a liberal humanism which merely recognizes the abstract potentiality of all languages, to a humanism which can deal with concrete situations, with the inequalities that actually obtain, and help to transform them through knowledge of the ways in which language is actually organized as a human problem and resource.

-- Hymes, op.cit.:82.

9.1 Introduction

Once the L-exos have been excluded from the development paradigm (last chapter), a PCN is faced with the question of selecting a language (and a lect, where necessary) from among the several L-ends in the country that can serve as the base for an eventual L-cultivation.

In 9.2, therefore, some tentative criteria will be proposed to help determine an interim language. A language is a bundle of lects (6.3), and thus, once we identify the interim language, a PCN may have to identify from among these lects, again as an interim base, a single 'contact lect' (9.3). The final section proposes criteria that would facilitate the selection of such a contact lect.

9.2 Tentative criteria for determining the interim language of cultivation

Ferguson (1959, 1964), Stewart (1962), Haugen (1967), Das Gupta (1968), Fishman (1968c), Kloss (1968), Neustupny (1968), Rustow (1968), Kelman (1971), Rabin (1971), Thorbourne (1971), Garvin (1973b) and Rubin (1973) have all made contributions, explicitly or implicitly, to the
question of language determination, and several criteria for language choice can be drawn from these authors. The list of criteria proposed below, however, is primarily based on Ferguson (op.cit.), but also represents my attempt to combine the efforts of authors listed above, adding my own criteria where called for.

The criteria are grouped under two major headings: 'acceptability' and 'rationality'. Man is both a 'feeling being' and a 'rational being' (in addition to being a 'praxic being') (3.31). Since society is made up of men with feeling and reason, it can be said that society, too, has a feeling, or affective, or sentimental, domain as well as a rational domain, assuming with Schröder & Harvey (1963:135) that across-level generalizations can be made. (See 11.4 for the detailed argument.) Thus it is reasonable to assume that societal, and language, issues must be resolved in relation to both the 'sentimental' and 'rational' dimensions.

These dimensions are of importance for another reason as well. In arriving at criteria for language choice, I have attempted to place LP (language planning) in the context of 'development planning' in general. Any 'policy' (see figure 7.1) is only as good as the extent of its implementability. Such implementability is very much dependent on the acceptability of the policy by those affected by it. This, then, is a further justification of the sentimental component.

Acceptability is primarily a function of a 'match' (Hunt, op.cit.) between the policy and the felt needs of the people for whom the policy
is intended. However, we don't always know, or act as if we knew what we want; and what we think we need is not always what is conducive to the maximization of our humanness. Thus, we have to introduce into the planning process not only criteria that relate to the felt needs, but also to the actual or potential needs; for example, the maximization of humanness. The considerations of acceptability must therefore be balanced off against those of rationality. Acceptability and rationality, however, are not exclusive categories. They complement each other. And thus, some of the criteria (e.g. 9.21.5, 9.21.6, 9.21.8, 9.21.11-14) can fall under both dimensions, although they may be listed under one or the other.

Although the list totals thirty-three, no claim is made to comprehensiveness. Rather the list represents a 'checklist', which future researchers may want to refine. Indeed, some of the criteria may be more crucial than others, and some marginal. This is something that only case studies can tell. Again, not all criteria may be applicable to all languages or all countries. However, given the reality of multicausality, and the complexity of the task, the best results are likely had by applying as many criteria as possible. But, as a general rule, the number of criteria to be applied will be higher the bigger the country is and the higher the number of languages and lects used in a country are.

For each criterion, I shall suggest the reasons for the choice, and propose a scale along which a given language may be 'scored'. The scales may be different from criterion to criterion. But this
need not be a problem, since the same scale is applied to every language or lect whenever the given criterion is applied.

The reader must be forewarned that the scales are, wherever relevant, 'weighted' in a particular direction. The only (or major) purpose of the present research in developing the concept of humanistic nationalism is to attempt, in the footsteps of many others, to transform conditions in PCN's that I believe to be unjust, and to help bring about a better world. What is proposed in this study is a language plan for action, given that humanness consists of the maximization of perception and praxis (3.31). It is also a language plan for political action, given that LP is political-based (7.2). Thus, in developing the scales, I have deliberately sought to weight the scales in favour of the L-folk (8.31.3) and the basilects (2.3) (used by the masses). It is hardly possible to avoid the 'bias' when our goal is maximizing communication through empathic participation (4.5) of everyone in society, and just not the CA (composite aristocracy). Such empathic participation can hardly be brought about through the use of a language variety, not understood or spoken by the vast majority of the people.

With these few remarks, we can now list the criteria.

9.21 Acceptability.

9.21.1 Percentage in total population of speakers of the potential L-cultivation, i.e., a given language under consideration, as

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1. Ferguson (1966) uses percentages in his classification, and I am following him here.
mother-tongue (MT hereafter):

The term 'potential' here refers to the language which is being considered for L-cultivation status. This criterion is perhaps the single most important dimension in language choice, since it can make an important difference in acceptability between selecting the language spoken by over 81%, one spoken by 41-50% and one spoken by 5% of the population (see the scale below for these cut-off points). Since our goal is to promote communication in the entire country, we should at least begin with a base that brings together in communication as many people as possible. 2

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<td>41 - 50%</td>
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<td>51 - 60%</td>
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<td>71 - 80%</td>
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<tr>
<td>over 81%</td>
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2. Thus, isn't it at least questionable that the L-exo(s), usually spoken by less than 10% of the population, is retained as the only official language of a PCN (as in Nigeria), or as one of them (as in Sri Lanka)?
The scale is an expansion of one proposed by Kloss (1963:81) as a refinement of Stewart (1962). Kloss's scale is made up of six categories: below 3%, 3-19%, 20-39%, 40-69%, 70-89% and 90-100%. The only justification that has been given by Kloss for his scale is that it "seems reasonable" (p.81). I have expanded the scale so that we may have a more refined measure. Kloss's categories 3-19% and 70-89% seem too large, particularly if there were many competing languages of which, the difference in the number (and percentage) of MT (mother tongue) speakers may not be very much. My category 0-5% could be 0-3% as with Kloss. But I have used the 0-5% cut-off point used by Ferguson (1964) because it helps keep the scale at or below 9, a requirement imposed by computer and/or coding needs. The 'over 81%' category could perhaps be broken down further. But (a) once a language is spoken by as high as 81% of the population, it matters little by how much more it is spoken, because it is clearly the dominant language in the country, in terms of numbers at least, and (b) it would take the scale beyond 9.

9.21.2 Percentage in total population of speakers of the language as 'other tongue' (OT hereafter), i.e., as non-MT. 3

The number of speakers of a language as OT enhances the chances of its acceptability beyond the MT speech community.

Scale: as in 9.21.1 (0-9)

3. It may be noted in this connection that language Y, spoken as OT by some members of a speech community that speak language X, is a strong candidate for the status of sub-national L-cultivation (see 10.3). The support for language X by the MT-speakers of language Y may depend very much upon the status given language Y.
9.21.3 Actual number of MT speakers of the language. 4

A language may score (under 9.21.1) little in terms of a national percentage, and thus appear insignificant statistically. However, in a country with a large population, 5% (for which the score would be zero under 9.21.1) would amount to a large number of bodies. For example in India, with a population of 620 Million people (Census of India, 1971), 5% comes to 31 million people, a number that can hardly be ignored!
Likewise, in an archipelago, a language spoken by a small percentage in national terms may be little, but in a given island, it may constitute a majority, as, for example, the Marquesan dialects spoken in the Marquesas (i.e., Marquesan Islands) in French Polynesia (Lavondes, 1971:260).
Thus, at the sub-national level, such a language would be of significance.

Then, in a small country, too, an insignificant language at the national level may be significant at the sub-national level in terms of actual numbers.

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<td>400,000 to 500,000</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500,000 to 600,000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600,000 to 800,000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800,000 to 1 million</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 1 million</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Ferguson (1964) uses absolute numbers, along with percentages, in determining the status of a language, while the Philippines Constitution uses it as an only criterion (Sibayan, op.cit.)

5. The Philippine Constitution recognizes any language with more than 50,000 (MT) speakers. But Ferguson (1964) uses the figure 100,000. I have opted for the latter, because while we want to test out
The scale is particularly useful where there are a large number of languages, each spoken by a few. The figures in the scale may have to be adjusted where the total population is even smaller than what is shown. For example, if the total population is 100,000, the scale would extend from 1 for '10,000' to 9 for '100,000 or more'.

9.21.4 Actual number of OT-speakers of the language.

See 9.21.3 for the significance, and 9.21.2 for the concept.

Scale: as in 9.21.3 (0-9).

9.21.5 Geographic spread of the language as MT, OT or 'receptively'.

This criterion seeks to identify the spread of a given language in the country, as MT, OT or 'receptively' (i.e., as a language understood, but not spoken). For surely, it makes a difference in terms of 'geopolitical' (1.21) unity, and dissemination (through education and media), of the identified interim L-cultivation (through criteria under discussion), whether a language is made up of (as MT, OT or receptively) by one 'solid' group concentrated in a nodal area, or in small pockets around the country. A language in the latter category would find it easier in consolidating itself as the interim L-cultivation, because it has potential support all over the

several languages, practical necessity dictates working with the 'least number' of languages that have the best chance of getting selected. In a country at a lower level of socio-political integration, a cut-off point of 50,000 would give us far too many languages to be handled.

6. Once languages are measured against the criteria being discussed here, the language that eventually emerges as the best suited for sociopolitical integration will now be no longer a potential L-cultivation, but an interim one. It is interim because it is to be subjected to further LF (see 7.4 and 10.5) before it can become the L-cultivation.
country. Swahili, in Kenya, is a good example. 7

While the MT and the OT categories are usually used in the literature in relation to criteria, the 'receptive' category is rarely, if ever, used. Scale. In developing the scale, we make a distinction between the national and sub-national levels. Thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>national level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concentrated in one geographic area (within the country)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scattered in a 'few' geographic areas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scattered in many geographic areas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both concentrated in one geographic area and scattered in several areas</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-national level</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scattered in a few geographic areas in the country</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scattered in a few geographic areas in the region</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concentrated in one geographic area of the region</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scattered in several areas in the region</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concentrated in one geographic area of the region, but scattered elsewhere in the country as well</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concentrated in one geographic area of the region, scattered in several areas in the region, and scattered elsewhere in the country as well</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.21.6 'Ethnic spread' of the language, as MT, OT or receptively.

This criterion seeks to identify the spread of the language among the various speech communities, as MT, OT or receptively, that is, in terms of collectivities in a country, as different from 9.21.5 which seeks out

7. "In Kenya, although Swahili is spoken as a first language (only) along the coast, ... many Kenyans know and speak a form of Swahili" (Harries, 1968:415).
the number of areas. Even if the given language is used as MT, OT or receptively only minimally by different speech communities, the very presence of it in several speech communities strengthen the claims of the given language for L-cultivation status. The scoring categories here are to be arrived at by adding up the number of speech communities in the country, and reducing the total number of speech communities that use the given language as MT, OT or receptively, as a percentage of the total number of speech communities.

9.21.7 Number/percentage of school graduates for whom the given language was the medium of instruction.8

This is particularly important in that the success of the implementa-
tion of a language policy is incumbent upon the attitude of those in charge of its implementation (in administration, schools etc.). And it is reasonable to expect that those educated in a given language will be favorably disposed towards it. (The criterion is also important in an incidental way to an aspect to be measured under 9.22.11: the language which has been used as a medium of instruction is likely to be high on the folk-aristocratic language continuum).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 33% of primary graduates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-66% of primary graduates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 67% of primary graduates</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary, non-science only</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. This measure, as well as 9.21.8 to 9.21.13 and 9.22.2, are from Ferguson (1964).

9. These three are arbitrary cut-off points simply to accommodate the need to distinguish between the number of primary graduates.
9:21.8 To what extent the language is used in government administrative functions.

Ferguson (1959:430) talks of 'high functions' and 'low functions' of language, and use in government administration is indeed a high function. Thus, a language used for such purposes gains in prestige, and is also adaptively grown better than one which is not (for example, the vocabulary will have enlarged).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used in forms and documents for the use of the public, and for correspondence with the public, regionally only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, nationally</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used in intradepartmental official transactions (e.g., clerk to clerk, officer to officer, both verbally and in writing), in addition to above, regionally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, nationally</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Science graduates have more prestige in PCN's. Thus, their acceptance of a language boosts its prestige, and more people come to be favorably disposed towards it. Again, as employees performing critical government functions, the extent of their acceptance can have an important bearing on implementation of language policy as well.

11. While in PCN's the L-endos are coming to be increasingly used as the medium of instruction, medicine, engineering and law, but particularly the first two, have successfully resisted the entry of L-endos to their midst. Thus, if an L-contact is being used for these subjects, then it both has high prestige and can be expected to have developed along the folk-aristocratic continuum (see 9.22.11).
used in interdepartmental, intra-
and interministerial transactions,
recordings of legislative assembly
proceedings etc., in addition to above,
regionally

as above, nationally

for all functions, including corre-
spondence with national embassies and
nationals residing overseas, but as one of
the languages

as above, as only language

Comments on the scale.

Usually if a language is used in forms (to be filled in) for public
use only, but not used by the CA in their own administrative activities,
then the seriousness of the rulers regarding the given language is in
question in the eyes of the public. 12 Public acceptance of such a lan-
guage would be minimal, because the increasing acropetal and the exopetal
orientations (2.21) of the masses would make them increasingly follow the
rulers. By contrast, if the language the masses use is used by the
CA as well, and for every purpose, then acceptance is likely to be high.
The distinction between 7 and 8, namely, "as one of the languages" and
"as only language", here, as elsewhere, is founded on the premise that
if a language used for a given function is the only language used for
that purpose, then there is no competition from any other languages, and
thus is more prone to acceptability.

12. The public will come to know this, for example, when the public gets
a receipt or a licence in a language other than the one they use in
making the payment or the application.
9.21.9 To what extent the language is used in speeches in the legislature.  

Again, the criterion is important in that it has a bearing on acceptability. If the language is used in the highest body of government, it surely must mean, in the eyes of the public, seriousness of intent of the CA, in adopting the language nationally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes, primarily by backbenchers of one party only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes, primarily by backbenchers of more than one party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes, by some members, including ministers of only one (e.g., governing) party</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but of more than one party</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by some members of all parties</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by all, or majority of members of all parties, but as one of the languages, sub-nationally (e.g., in the regional parliaments)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but nationally</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but as only language, sub-nationally</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but nationally</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. This criterion measures only the oral use of the language by the elected representatives. The legislature-related written-language usage is measured in 9.21.8 (proceedings, reports) and 9.21.11 (legislative enactments).

14. This criterion, as well as criteria 9.21.10 - 9.21.13 and 9.22.2, are inspired by Ferguson's (1959) high function -- low function dichotomy.
9.21.10 To what extent the language is used in political speeches, i.e., outside the legislature.

This, again, has a bearing on not only acceptance, but at the later stages of the interim L-cultivation interacting with the unselected linguistic varieties (see 10.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes, by some parties only, as one of the languages, sub-nationally</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as above, nationally</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as above, but as only language, sub-nationally</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as above, but nationally</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yes, by all, or major, or a majority of parties, as one of the languages, sub-nationally</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as above, nationally</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as above, but as only language, sub-nationally</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as above, nationally</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.21.11 To what extent is the language used in law.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>for forms, documents etc. for use by public only, for 'lower courts' sub-nationally</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. There are several levels at which the administration of justice is done. Here, however, I distinguish between 'upper' and 'lower' only, the cut-off point being determinable only in relation to the particular legal system of a country. As a general rule, the appellate courts, supreme courts and the like can be considered the upper level, and family courts, district courts lower. However, it may be neces-
9.21.11 cont'd.

as above, for both lower and upper courts, sub-nationally

for drafting legal documents and use by public, for lower courts, sub-nationally

as above, but for both levels, sub-nationally

for legal submissions in courts (oral and written), as well as both of above, at lower level only, sub-nationally

as above, but at both levels, sub-nationally

for all uses, including as the medium of the code of law, at both levels, as one of the languages

as above, but as only language

as above, but only at lower level, nationally

as above, at both levels, nationally

9.21.12 To what extent the language is used in broadcasting.


Scale             Index                                        Score

not at all         0

for soap operas, features etc. sub-nationally as one of the languages 1

as above, but as only language 2

16. This category is from Ferguson (1964).
for all types of broadcasts (including news, talks etc.), sub-nationally, as one of the languages
as above, but as only language
for soap operas, features only, nationally, as one of the languages
as above, but as only language
for all types of broadcasts nationally, as one of the languages
as above, as only language

9.21.13 To what extent the language is used in newspapers.

This bears on acceptability as more people come to be exposed to the language.

Scale: same as in 9.21.12, (i.e., 0 - 8), with the following changes in wording:
for score 1: "for soap operas, ... etc." ----> "for all except editorials"
for score 3: "for all types of broadcasts" ----> "for all material".

9.21.14 To what extent the language is used for religious activities.

The use of a language for religious activities adds to the acceptability,17 without also arousing the animosity of those who profess another religion.

17. Note, for example, Reinecke (op.cit.:539), who observes that "... the necessity of imparting effective religious instruction in the folk tongue may give it a certain literary dignity".
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes, for some activities, by MT speakers only</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but by both MT and OT speakers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, by MT and OT speakers, and by others with receptive competence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes, for all activities by MT speakers only</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, by MT and OT speakers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, and by others with receptive competence</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.21.15 To what extent the language is used as religious medium.

The five major religions of the world, namely, Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam have all come to be associated with a given language -- Sanskrit with Hinduism, Hebrew with Judaism, Pali with Buddhism, Latin with Christianity and Arabic with Islam. While some of these languages are still living languages (e.g., Arabic) others are 'dead', except in relation to religious studies (as contrasted with everyday use). Now every religion uses, to varying degrees, the local languages (e.g., Sinhala in Sri Lanka in relation to Buddhism, and Quechua in Latin America in relation to Christianity). Languages that are so used obviously have an edge over those not so used in terms of acceptability.

This criterion is different from 9.21.14, in that while this tries to capture the prestige of the language that has an indirect bearing on acceptability, 9.21.14 helps in identifying the extent of direct acceptability. However, there is an overlap between the two criteria.
Scale | Index | Score
--- | --- | ---
not at all | 0
yes, as original medium, sub-nationally | 1
yes, as local variant only, sub-nationally | 2
yes, as original medium and local variant, sub-nationally | 3
yes, as original medium only, nationally | 4
yes, as local variant only, nationally | 5
yes, as original medium and local variant, nationally | 6

9.21.16 With what religion(s) is the language associated?

Religions are basically of two types: folk and formal. The extent of acceptability comes to be enhanced if a language is used in relation to one or both types of religions, since religion usually play an important role in almost all PCN’s.

Scale | Index | Score
--- | --- | ---
with the folk religion(s) | 0
with the religion of the minority ethnic group(s) | 1
with both folk religions and the religion of the minority ethnic group(s), as one of the languages | 2
as above, as only language | 3
with the major(ity) religion only, as one of the languages | 4

---

19. By 'local variant' is meant the language other than the original medium which has become the medium of the religion (e.g., Sinhala in Sri Lanka).
as above, but as only language  

with both the major(ity) and minor(ity) religions, as one of the languages

as above, but as only language

with all the religions in the country, as one of the languages

as above, as only language

9.21.17 To what extent the language is used for literary activities.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for folk literature</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for literary works, dramas, and so on regionally, for mass consumption</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but as only language</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- for all types of broadcasts (including news, talks etc.), sub-nationally, as one of the languages</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but as only language</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for literary works, dramas, and so on, nationally, as one of the languages</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but as only language</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for critical studies, research writing, and the work of literary academics</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but as only language</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.22 Rationality

9.22.1 Sociolinguistic distribution of the language as between masses and CA.

Given our proposed strategy to bring about social change through LP, the need is to bring to the forefront l-ends spoken by the masses in preference to those spoken by the CA. Thus, it is important to measure a language along this dimension. In arriving at the scale here, we shall make use of the distinction made between public and private language (8.22).

Needless to say, an l-endo spoken by the masses as well as the CA, for all purposes, would naturally serve communicative development best, and thus score the highest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>used by upper CA only, for private purposes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but for both private and public purposes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used by lower CA only, for private purposes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, both private and public purposes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used by both upper and lower CA, for private purposes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, for both purposes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used by masses only (both public and private purposes)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Unlike the CA, masses don't, typically, have one language, at a lower stage of development along the folk-aristocratic-continuum, for private purposes, and another, at a higher stage, for public purposes. They may use different lects for different functions but they would be all lects at the same stage of development.
9.22.1 cont'd.

used by masses and lower CA (both purposes) 7
used by all (i.e., masses, lower CA and upper CA) (both purposes) 8
used by all, as only language 9

9.22.2 For what 'low functions' is the language used.

This criterion is related to 9.22.1. Given the goal of bringing to the forefront L-endor spoken by the masses, we want to now know not only if a language is used by the masses, but which of them come to be used more, and is thus adaptively grown better, than others.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not at all</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used with domestic servants(^{21})</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used with workmen, clerks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used among friends</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used for folk literature, and with others as above</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used for personal letters(^{22})</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used for all of the above functions, as one of the languages as above, but as only language</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{21}\) This function is, again, suggested by Ferguson (1959).

\(^{22}\) This criterion, again identified by Ferguson, scores high, both because a language used for written purposes has more prestige (and thus acceptability), but also because it is likely to have grown better adaptively.
9.22.3 To what extent the language has been used in furtherance of colonial policy.

We, of course, know that L-exos have been used during the colonial period in furtherance of colonial policy (e.g., in education, missionary work). However, we also know that the colonizers attempted to incite the minorities against the majority, in furtherance of their divide-and-rule policy (e.g., the hill tribes of India (Shinn et al., op.cit.).

While this was primarily done through Christianization, and education through the L-exo, not uncommonly, the L-ends of primarily the minorities were also used for the purpose, and thus such L-ends may have gained an undue, or disproportionate, importance and advantage (e.g., Marquesan dialects in French Polynesia (Lavondes, op.cit.:260), and even reached a higher stage of development along the folk-aristocratic continuum. Such a language may thus be suitable for a sub-national L-cultivation, but to use it at the national level (for this reason alone) would be divisive. Further, the language, if also used by the colonizers themselves, may even reflect the colonial culture (given the conditioned origination relationship between language, perception and praxis) and thus serve decolonialization poorly. The adoption of such a language as the national L-cultivation will not only likely further the animosities, but also legitimize an injustice perpetrated by the colonizer.

---

23. These tribes have been converted to Christianity, and were eventually able to fight for a state of their own, and Mesoland emerged as an independent state.

24. As Lavondes (ibid.:260-1) reports, the great majority of Marquesans (more than 50%) are presently Catholics. In contrast with the Protestants (numbering less than 10%) who use Tahitian and are oriented to the Tahitian culture, the Marquesan Catholic priests (all European-born) do not know Tahitian, and use only Marquesan dialects.
Scale | Index | Scope
--- | --- | ---
yes, for a long time, including now | 0
yes, for a short time, including now | 1
yes, for a long time, but not now | 2
yes, for a short time, but not now | 3
never | 4

9.22.4 To what extent the language was used in colonial times.

If an L-endo had been used as the medium of instruction during the colonial period (either in missionary schools or native schools), or as the medium of rule, regionally or nationally, then the language would have grown adaptively (even though, as measured under 9.22.2, some of them may have been divisive). Examples: Beach-Lamar English in Melanesia, Bangala (a Bantu-based jargon) in Belgian Congo (Reinecke, op.cit.:538).

Scale | Index | Score
--- | --- | ---
not used at all | 0
used as medium of instruction, at primary level | 1
as above, at secondary level | 2

---

25. e.g., by missionaries who have decided to stay behind after the colonizers have left.

26. This is related to colonial administrative policy. If the colonizers had a centrist form of government like the British, then the L-exo is likely to have been used for all purposes. But if it was a policy of decentralization, as of the Belgians, then an L-endo is likely to have been used for such purposes.

27. "... in Melanesia and the Papuan-speaking regions, Beach-Lamar English ran like wildfire; and at present, so well has the jargon been adapted to the genius of native thought and so pressing is the need for a simple lingua franca, that administrators and missionary educators are taking hesitant steps at adopting it as the official medium of education and rule." (Reinecke, ibid.).
9.22.4 cont'd.

as above, beyond secondary level 3
used as medium of rule, at local level 4
as above, and centrally as well 5
used in education up to secondary level and in rule locally 6
used in education beyond secondary level and in rule locally 7
as above, but in rule centrally as well 8
as above, as only L-end. so used 9

9.22.5 To what extent the language is used as medium of instruction currently.

The importance is the same as in 9.21.7, except that this criterion is future-oriented, the reason why it is listed under the rationality dimension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not used</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used at primary level</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used at primary and secondary levels, non-science only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used at secondary level, both science and non-science</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used at tertiary and below levels, non-science only</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>used at tertiary level, both science and non-science, but not including medicine and engineering</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, but including medicine and engineering</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.22.6 Taught as compulsory auxiliary language.

If a language is taught compulsorily, say, in schools, it adds to the respectability. But it also helps at the stage of policy implementation, because there will be among bureaucrats those who can use the given language and into whose hands such implementation falls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at tertiary level only, sub-nationally</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at tertiary level only, nationally</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at secondary level only, sub-nationally</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at secondary level only, nationally</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at primary level only, sub-nationally</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at primary level only, nationally</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at tertiary and secondary levels, sub-nationally</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at tertiary and secondary levels, nationally</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at all levels sub-nationally</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at all levels, nationally</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comment on the scale.

If a given language is taught as an auxiliary language at the tertiary level only, then only a few students will be exposed to it, and potential acceptance of the language will be limited to them. And, if the language is taught at this level, only in a given region, then such exposure will be restricted to that region only. Thus, the score of 0 for this level. By contrast, if a language is taught at all three levels, nationally rather than regionally only, then almost the entire student population, i.e., a sizeable number of the country's population from ages 6-25, will be exposed to it, and this indeed has a bearing on acceptance. Thus, the
score of 9. Of course, in reality, language use falls in between these two extremes.

9.22.7 Number/percentage of 'old-age sector' of population using the language, as MT, OT or receptively. 28

This measure is important not simply because it adds to the number of speakers of the language (which, in any case, is covered under 9.21.1 to 9.21.4), but also because it can be a useful source for humanistic decolonialization (5.41). The assumption here is that if a language is used, by the older generation, i.e., the present third generation, it is reflective of the traditional culture. And if such a language is selected as the interim L-cultivation, then the 'old age sector' can help the younger generation(s) to 'go back to history'. Further, by adopting the well known Chinese practice of 'each one teach one' where children would teach their illiterate parents and grandparents the language they learn in school, the use of such a language can be spread easier than a language not used by the old-age sector. Examples of language used by the old-age sector are: Hebrew at the time of the founding of Israel; Hakka, a dialect of Mandarin Chinese, spoken in French Polynesia (Lavondes, op. cit.:257).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below 3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 19%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 39%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 69%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 89%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 90%</td>
<td>6 29</td>
<td>6 29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. This is a criterion used by Ferguson (1964) to identify a "language of special status".

29. All categories here, except the first, are from Kloss (1968).
9.22.8 To what extent the language is used in neighbouring, regional, or other PCN's.

This criterion is future oriented; it thus comes under the rational dimension. If an L-endo is being used in neighbouring or regional PCN's (e.g., low, or nativized Spanish in Latin America, Swahili in East Africa, Tamil in Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Africa), then it can serve as a Language of Wider Communication (LWC hereafter) among PCN's.

Scale | Index | Score
--- | --- | ---
not at all | 0
in a few PCN's, but scattered within each such PCN | 1
in a few PCN's, but concentrated in particular areas within each such PCN | 2
in a few PCN's, but both concentrated in particular areas, and scattered in other areas within each PCN | 3
in many PCN's, but scattered within each PCN | 4
in many PCN's, but concentrated in particular areas with each PCN | 5
in many PCN's, but both concentrated and scattered in each such PCN | 6

9.22.9 To what extent the language is used in core nations.

If a language is used in core nations as well as, for example, by an immigrant group (e.g., Chinese in the US, Hindi or Punjabi in Toronto), then it can serve as an LWC, beyond the PCN 'region'. Like 9.22.8, this is futuristic too, and thus falls in the 'rational' dimension.

Scale: as in 9.22.8 (0-6).
9.22.10 At what stage the language is along the 'classical-creole' continuum.

Ferguson (1964) divides languages into five different types: classical, standard, vernacular, creole and pidgin. We want to know into which of these categories the language falls, because that tells us which languages may be 'elitist' and which ones not. Thus, a classical language, for example, would likely be associated with (a segment of) the CA, and thus not accessible to masses. On the other hand, creoles and pidgins are, by definition, 'mass-products,' having being born and grown in the specific process of bringing together groups of people not in communication earlier into communication. Thus, a creole would serve the communicative development function better than a classical language.

This criterion comes under the rational dimension, because the scale is not based on sentimental grounds of acceptability, but rather on an argumentative basis.

30. See chapter eight, footnote 34, for definitions of these types. Kloss (1968:78) makes a further division of some of these types: the standard language into 'mature standard', 'small-group standard', and 'young standard', and the vernacular into 'unstandardized alphabetized languages', and 'preliterate languages'. But I have ignored these distinctions here because they cannot be included without the scale exceeding 9. See, however, criterion 9.22.12.

31. Even though a pidgin emerges and is maintained as a few members of a speech community (e.g., traders) seek to establish contact with another speech community, it can be called a 'mass product' in the sense that such members come from among the masses, and the function for which it is used is one that can be characterized as 'low'.
9.22.11 At what stage the language is along the folk-aristocratic continuum.

One of the major arguments advanced by the CA against adopting L-endos

32. Pidgins score lower than creoles because the former is not as developed as the latter; that is, has come to be used for a lesser number of functions.

33. Given the fact that the lexical base of a pidgin or a creole comes from an L-exo (with the grammatical base from an L-endo), and given also that language, but particularly the lexemes, condition the perception and praxis of particularly the (naive) masses (6.3), one may wonder why creoles and pidgins are given a high score, when the L-exo was argued to be countercultural (chapter 8). The answer is that, by definition, such lexemes will have been nativized, not only phonologically but semantically as well. In other words, such lexemes are unlikely to have the range of meanings the original term had or has. To that extent, the lexemes of the pidgins and creoles will reflect not the thinking of the original speakers but the native masses. Another reason they are assigned a high score, of course, is that they are, as pointed out earlier, a mass-product and a basilectal variety (see also 10.5 later).

34. Kelman (op.cit.) also suggests this criterion, though not using these labels.
as L-cultivation is that there are no texts available in them, and that
the language is not developed enough to produce such texts and other mate-
rial. Such criticisms come to be 'accepted' as valid by the masses as
well, given the fact that the ruled usually takes the cue from the rulers
(as expected by the rulers and as it happens). Thus, the higher the stage
of development of a language along the folk-aristocratic continuum, the
better the chances of it in not only gaining acceptance, but more impor-
tantly, in its headstart for adaptive growth, in meeting the new cultiva-
tional needs of the nation.

The level of development of a language can be gauged in terms of the
extent the language is used for various functions: literature, sciences,
law, government administration etc. (See also 8.31.3).

This criterion is different from 9.22.10 in that this taps an intrin-
sic quality of the language, namely the extent of development, rather
than a society-related aspect as in 9.22.10.

Scale: This is a cumulative scale. First, the language will be measured
along dimensions such as those listed in section 8.31.3. For example,

modernization:

- little or no modernization 0
- some modernization 1
- high degree of modernization 2

The score the language earns under the different dimensions will, then, be
tallied, and averaged, by dividing the total score by the number of dimen-
sions along which it was measured.
9.22.12 At what point the language is on the 'ethnogenous-mesogenous' continuum.

By 'mesogenous' (or, as it literally means, 'of mixed origin') is meant a language, or a linguistic variety on its way to 'language-hood' (e.g., a pidgin), that is born of contact between two or more languages or varieties. By 'ethnogenous' is meant languages that have been born from within an ethnic group with no (necessary or extended) contact with another language. While an 'ethnogenous' language is a good L-cultivation because it brings to the communicative situation a group of people already united linguistically, this very fact, however, may serve to be divisive. On the other hand, mesogenous languages can serve to bring together groups thus far not in communication. Among such mesogenous languages, those which have reached the level of a 'full-fledged language' is obviously better as an L-cultivation than is one still on its way to language-hood (contrast, e.g., Swahili35 with Pidgin English in Liberia), since the former has earned more 'respectability'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an ethnogenous &quot;young standard&quot; (Kloss, 1968:78)36</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an ethnogenous &quot;small group standard&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an ethnogenous &quot;mature standard&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a mesogenous pidgin or trade language</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a mesogenous creole, at &quot;preliterate level&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. Swahili was originally a pidgin based on a Bantu grammar and an Arabic vocabulary.

36. See footnote 29 for this and other categories in this scale.
9.22.12 cont'd.

a mesogenous creole, at "unstandardized alphabetized" level

a mesogenous "young standard" language

a mesogenous "small-group standard" language

a mesogenous "mature standard" language

9.22.13 To what extent the language is used within the country as lingue fiche, or 'trade language'.

If a language is used as a trade language (e.g., Pidgin English in Liberia, 'Police Motu' in Papua (Wurm, 1974:206)), it is already serving the function of bringing together people not belonging to the same cultural milieu. To that extent, it can potentially lead to communicative development. Further, if the lingue fiche is the outcome of the miscegenation of an ethnogenous language with an L-exb which also serves as a base for another lingue-fiche elsewhere (as, for example, Pidgin English in the West Indies), then the lingue-fiche of a given country can serve as an LWC (Language of Wider Communication) with other countries as well (e.g., Pidgin English of Liberia for communication with Pidgin English of the West Indies). This is, of course, assuming that the common base provides for mutual intelligibility. Even if a trade language does not serve the latter function, it can serve the interests of the former.

37. Such mesogenous languages based on the colonizer's language are what Reinecke (op. cit.:539) calls "the settlers' Creole dialects". Sudan-Arabic in Uganda, Portuguese Creole spoken by the Chinese in Macao, Tagalog-Spanish of Manila, and Tamil-English of Madras (Reinecke, ibid.) are examples.
not at all

yes, at the community level only, as one of the languages

as above, but as only language

yes, regionally and at community level, as one of the languages

as above, but as only language

yes, in several regions, as one of the languages

as above, as only language

9.22.14 The genetic relationship of the languages to another potential L-cultivation. 38

On the basis of 'diachronic' (i.e., historical) and comparative linguistic analysis, 39 linguists can assign a given language to a language family (e.g., Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Bantu, Dravidian etc.). It would be important to know to which family a given language belongs, for it would be easier to enrich, consolidate and disseminate the interim L-cultivation belonging to family 'X' (see 10.5) among a population who already speaks a language of the same family X. This is firstly because the historical relationship has resulted in some similar structures, vocabulary, phonology and semantics in the two languages, rendering the study of one

38. Fishman (1968c) recognizes this criterion.

39. See Hockett (1958) or Gleason (1955) for a characterization of these concepts. See Hoenigswald (1960) for a detailed discussion of techniques.
language by the speakers of the other comparatively easier. Secondly, due to the fact of having shared a common cultural tradition, the two languages guide the (two respective) speakers' perception and praxis in comparable ways (6.3), rendering the psychological acceptance of the other language, again comparatively easier. In this connection, a further important factor to consider is at what point of the language family's evolution the 'parting' of two "languages" took place. For, the earlier the break, the more the differences, linguistically as well as culturally. This criterion is to be used only in the final stages for several reasons: (a) the selection of genetically related languages, unless qualified under other criteria, would be tantamount to an attempt to impose the dominance of a particular 'ethnic family' (e.g., Dravidian ethnic groups in India speaking Kannada, Tamil etc., or Aryan ethnic group speak-

40. Thus, English would be easier to learn, all things being equal, to a speaker of German or Dutch, all being of the same Germanic subfamily, than, say, to a speaker of Slavic languages (e.g., Russian, Czechoslovakian). By the same token, a speaker of Finno-Ugrian languages (e.g., Finnish, Lapp) or Arabic would find the study of English harder.

41. This partly explains the greater difficulty, say, Czechoslovakian or Hindi speakers in general, have in learning English than, say, German speakers. For although all three languages (Czech, Hindi and German) belong to the same proto-Indo-European family, the English speaker is closer, politically, economically and culturally, to the German speaker, than are the Czech and Hindi speakers (see footnote 43).

42. This is, of course, not to be taken to mean that one fine early morning, "language A was found to be different from language B. Often it is a lect of the "mother language" that becomes a 'language' when the differences between the two are sufficient to consider them as two distinct languages.

43. This explains the difference between, say, English vs Hindi (or Sinhala), and English vs German, or that between English vs Hindi, and English vs Sanskrit. The following partial family branching may be helpful: as the branching shows, the break between English and Ger-
ing Hindi, Marathi, Gujerati etc.), (b) practically speaking, a genetic relationship can be established only in relation to another language. Thus, we have to wait until such a potential L-cultivation has been identified under criteria, as suggested above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>related, share same node with common framework</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>related, two 'nodes' away, and speakers have a common socio-political framework</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>related, three or more 'nodes' away, (see footnote 43) and speakers have socio-political differences</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unrelated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

... man, for example, is only one node removed, whereas Hindi is four nodes removed; that is, they were related at the node 2 branching stage, as seen from the figure below:

```
Proto-Indo European

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Node 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(based on Hockett, 1958:592-3)
```
9.22.15 How many other potential languages of cultivation are genetically related to the language.

The importance of this criterion is the same as that in 9.22.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 33% of potential languages of L-cultivation under consideration, three or more nodes removed</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, two nodes removed</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as above, one node removed</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-66%, three or more nodes removed</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since English is an L-exo, the actual comparison will not be with English, which is already ousted from the development paradigm under 8.3. The example is used, however, because English, and its characteristics are well known, and is therefore, easier of comparison. However, this scale itself is a further justification of keeping L-exos out of the development paradigm in PCN's.
9.22.15 cont'd.

as above, two nodes removed
as above, one node removed
over 67%, three or more nodes removed
as above, two nodes removed
as above, one node removed

9.22.16 Cost-benefit. 45

One of the key criteria in any kind of planning relates to the 'return' in relation to the cost. This is particularly crucial in the case of PCN's, whose economic pie, small as it is, has to be spread extremely thin. 46—

This economic dimension is to be taken last, because, it is perhaps inadvisable that monetary consideration be given primacy, even though the PCN's are in a poor economic state. If a given L-endo has emerged as a potential L-cultivation under our criteria, then there is a good chance that the national (and sub-national) languages of cultivation eventually selected, will contribute towards communitive development, and eventually to HN. Thus, the attempt should be to find whatever money is necessary for the further development and maintenance of the identified language(s)

45. This criterion is suggested by Thorbourne (op.cit.)

46. The cost-benefit criterion, of course, can be taken both in economic terms or in non-economic terms. Three of Neustupny's (op.cit.:292) "criteria" for language choice, namely, "development", "unity" and "democratization", for example, are also the expected results of language choice. Any L-endo which have emerged as a potential interim L-cultivation (national or sub-national) by now, under the criteria proposed thus far, should surely be expected to serve the cause of 'development, unity and democratization'. Otherwise, if our criteria are developmentally meaningful, there is no reason why they should have so emerged. Thus, we can restrict the present cost-benefit criterion to the economic aspect only.
of cultivation and its/their enrichment, stabilization, consolidation and dissemination (10.5).

Having said that, however, it must be emphasized that the cost-benefit criterion should also be used in the final selection of the interim L-cultivation, particularly if more than one language has emerged, through the application of the criteria as serious contenders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>costs 5% or more of projected GNP</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 4-5% &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 3-4% &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 2-3% &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1-2% &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.23 Issues relating to the criteria.

9.23.1 The ordering and the application of criteria.

The ordering of the criteria calls for a comment. The 'rationality' dimension (9.22) has been listed after the 'acceptibility' dimension (9.21) because there would be no point in identifying an L-cultivation 'rationally' that would not score high on acceptibility. That would be bad planning, since such a choice will bring insurmountable problems of implementation. It is bad planning from the point of view of the cost factor as well. The criteria under the rationality dimension, particularly the linguistic criteria (9.22.10 - 9.22.15), require more extensive data collection and in-depth analysis than the criteria under the acceptability:

47. The cut-off point here is determined by the fact that, however useful it may be, it will be difficult to convince a government to assign more than 5% for LP. Few governments assign that much even to education, considered by many PCN leaders as a 'panacea' to problems of development.
bility dimension. Thus, it would be an unnecessary waste of money, effort and time to engage in data collection and analysis of languages which might not have acceptance eventually.

It may perhaps be surprising that the linguistic criteria should appear towards the end of the list when the exercise is the planning of language. One justification for this has already been indicated - that the application of linguistic criteria to languages that might not score high in acceptability is a waste. Another reason has also been alluded to earlier - that is that LP is more than a linguistic activity (7.2). Indeed, in identifying the aims of LP, Rabin (op.cit.:22), for example, lists the 'linguistic' dimension last, after the 'extra-linguistic' and 'semi-linguistic' dimensions.

The cost-benefit (9.22.16) dimension appears last in the list, because, as pointed out in the discussion under it, while it should certainly be a factor in any planning, the cost factor should not be allowed to be the primary consideration in language determination. For surely, if the achievement of HN is incumbent upon the use of the identified L-cultivation, then it would be necessary to find the money required to implement the LP.

Given the reasoning for the ordering of the 'acceptability' and 'rationality' dimensions, then, the criteria under 'acceptability' are to be applied first, and then those under 'rationality', in evaluating potential L-endor for interim L-cultivation status. However, some variation is allowable within each dimension. To take the acceptability dimension, certainly (the demographic) criteria (9.21.1 to 9.21.6) must serve as the beginning point, since these criteria relate directly to the distribution
of the usage of particular languages. However, (the functional) criteria 9.21.8 to 9.21.17 may be applicable in any order, since none of them can be said to be of more importance than any other.

In relation to the 'rationality' dimension, (the socio-linguistic) criteria 9.22.1 to 9.22.7 don't seem to impose any particular ordering, so long as they are applied before 9.22.8 to 9.22.16. Nor do 9.22.8 and 9.22.9, so long as they are applied right after 9.22.7 but before 9.22.10. As for the linguistic criteria, the question of ordering hardly arises in relation to 9.22.10 to 9.22.13, since the information upon which the criteria is based will emerge in the same process of analysis of the given language. However, the very nature of criteria 9.22.14 and 9.22.15 is such that they cannot be applied until at least one other potential interim L-cultivation has been identified as a serious contender for interim L-cultivation status, because the criteria (of genetic relationship) can be determined only comparatively. If only a single L-endo has emerged up to this point as being by far the best choice, then it is not even necessary to apply these criteria. The same thing applies to the final 'cost-benefit' criterion (9.22.16). While it is to be the last to be applied, it need be applied only if there is more than one serious contender.

While the above suggestions can serve as practical and general guidelines, other strategies for sequencing and weighting may suggest themselves in the process of the actual application of the suggested criteria in actual case studies. For example, one might come to consider doubling or tripling the score earned by a given language under a particular criterion which has turned out to be more important than certain others. Such refine-
ments, however, can, and will, come only with further empirical work.

One final remark in relation to the criteria is in order. While it is important to apply as many criteria as possible to make the best possible choice, we must not be blind to the difficulties that many PCN's will have in gathering the necessary data under the different criteria - a problem any planning exercise is faced with. In such a situation, the best one can do is to make use of whatever data that can be obtained under whatever criteria, and go ahead with the planning, subject to further change upon availability of further information.

The method of applying the criteria has been outlined above. But how are the L-ends to which these criteria are to be applied chosen in the first place? The languages spoken by the largest numbers of people in a country should obviously be among the first to be considered for L-cultivation status, since such groups already provide a good base for socio-political integration. In seeking to distinguish between the different languages in a country, Ferguson (1964:310) identifies an "L-major" (or "major language") in terms of either 25% or one million speakers. But if we applied the "25%" criterion by itself, in identifying the interim L-cultivation, we would eliminate from consideration all but one or two languages in a country with one stroke. If we took the countries of "Tropical and Southern Africa" in Rustow's (op.cit.:95-6) list, for example, only seven of the 33 countries will provide the language planner with more than one language with over 25% speakers. Indeed five countries

48. Two other criteria are also given, namely "It is an official language of the nation..." and "It is the language of education of over 50% of the secondary school graduates of the nation."
would not have provided a single! If we now took the example of India, only Hindi (29.7% according to the 1971 Census) would qualify as an (interim) L-cultivation. And, indeed, there would be no need for criteria or language planning! Thus, obviously the “25%” criterion is by itself an insufficient one.

The criterion of one million, on the other hand, allows the language planner to consider many more languages, languages which could eventually serve as sub-national languages of cultivation. However, in order to accommodate the small countries where the total population does not exceed one million people (e.g., Maldives Islands, 94,000 (Mediterranean World, 1969); French Polynesia: 93,000 in 1968 (Lavandes, op. cit.: 255)), it would be necessary to retain the 25% cut-off point as well. What this suggests is the advisability of adopting one or both of Ferguson’s criteria in initially identifying the potential languages of cultivation.

The number of potential languages of cultivation thus identified will of course, largely depend on the size of the country, and the number of speech communities. Thus, while in Sri Lanka, a country of 25,000 sq. miles and 13 million people, the application of the double criteria of 25% and one million will bring forward two languages (Sinhala and Tamil), in India the number will be twenty. 49 Unless a country can afford the

---

49. The languages, and the corresponding percentages and number of speakers are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Millions</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Millions</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hindi</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>11. Punjabi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bengali</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12. Assamese</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Telugu</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>13. Santali</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Marathi</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>14. Kashmiri</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tamil</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>15. Bihili</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Urdu</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>16. Sindi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gujarati</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>17. Gond</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Malayalam</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>18. Konkani</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Kannada</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>19. Nepali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Oriya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>20. Kuru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Census of India, 1971)
cost in terms of time and money to apply all 33 criteria to all the lan-
guages that qualify as potential languages of cultivation under Ferguson's
twin criteria, it is suggested that an arbitrary cut-off point of a maxi-
mum of (the top) ten languages be adopted as potential languages of culti-
vation to be measured against the criteria.

Once, then, the potential languages of cultivation have been identi-
fied and measured against the criteria, we arrive at a total score for
each of the languages so measured. The language that scores the highest,
then, would be the one that will come to be taken as the national interim
L-cultivation. Each of the potential languages of cultivation not selec-
ted for the national 'title', then, would be strong contenders for interim
L-cultivation status at the sub-national level. However, they would not
become interim languages of cultivation even at the sub-national level by
the mere fact that they were in the 'losers' list' at the national level.
Like any other language, each of them would have to be measured against
the criteria relevant to the given sub-national level (under those pro-
posed in 8.42).

9.23.2 Validity of criteria.

It is, of course, difficult to ascertain the validity of the criteria
for language choice outlined in 9.21 and 9.22 without empirical investiga-
tion. But, some evidence for their possible validity comes from the infor-
mal application of some of the criteria to the Indian situation, with the
help of an Indian colleague. The procedure was as follows:

50. The colleague is Dr. C.K. Seshadri, a former student in the Modern
Language Centre.
Based on the 1971 Indian Census, we first identified the languages in India that would qualify under the criteria of 25% and/or one million speakers. This gave us 20 languages (see footnote 49 for the list). Applying the arbitrary cut-off point suggested above, we then took the first ten languages in the list, and 'measured' each of them against 19 of the criteria, using whatever information that was available. (The basis of omission of the other criteria was this lack of information.) The final standings, shown in comparison with the standings of the respective languages in terms of percentage and number of speakers, were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Order in which the languages emerged under the criteria</th>
<th>Order of languages according to % and number of speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hindi</td>
<td>1. Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tamil</td>
<td>2. Bengali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bengali</td>
<td>3. Telugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Marathi</td>
<td>5. Tamil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Oriya</td>
<td>6. Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Telugu</td>
<td>7. Gujarati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Urdu</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>9. Kannada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>10. Oriya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perhaps the most significant finding of the result is that Hindi, with 29.7% speakers, has been able to maintain its position as the main contender to interim L-cultivation status. Its major 'scoring' criteria have been not only that it is spoken by a large number of people (9.21.1), is used in national administration (9.21.8) and is taught as a compulsory auxiliary language (9.22.6), but also that it is also geographically spread (9.21.5), is used as a trade language (9.22.13), and is spoken in neighboring, regional or other PCN's (9.22.8) as well as in core nations (9.22.9). Thus, it is a 'contact language' nationally as well as internationally.

Of equal interest is that Tamil, which earned only the fifth place in terms of the percentage and 'number' criteria, has emerged as number two under the 19 criteria. Its 'scoring points' have been "used for trade" (9.22.13), geographic spread (9.21.5) and the use in other PCN's (9.42.8). Again, it has earned its place not by the strength of its numbers (it is the fifth nationally, and second among the Dravidian languages) but indeed by being a 'contact language', internally and across-countries. It is of further significance that it has beaten Bengali (of the Indo-European family), Telugu (of the Dravidian family to which also belongs Tamil) and Marathi (Indo-European), all of which are spoken by larger numbers, and also have long-standing cultural traditions. However, it is unable to beat Hindi, a language which currently serves as a 'better' contact-language.

On the basis of the standings discussed above, then, Hindi, an Indo-European language spoken primarily, though not exclusively, in the North, emerges as the national interim L-cultivation, while Tamil, a Dravidian
as the main contender for regional interim L-cultivation status in the South.

The little evidence we derive from our informal exercise in applying the proposed criteria, then, seems to suggest that these criteria (or, at least some of them) appear to tap those aspects that are conducive to communication, and thus to nationalism. Hindi, for example, is the only L-endo in India which is used, as OT or receptively, by the widest array of speakers of other languages, both of the North and South. It is "eventually to become the national language of India" (Das Gupta & Gumperz, 1968:161) and is also expected to be the "link language for non-official purposes" (ibid.:165, fn. 21). While one may seek comfort in the apparent validity of the criteria, as evidenced from this one example, the criteria needs to be validated with more empirical evidence.

9.3 The Need for Determining a Contact Lect as the Potential L-cultivation

If, as argued in 8.3, the choice of E-ends over L-exos provides the base for communicative development in the national context through the rejection of a language used by a small percentage of the population, the choice of a particular L-endo as interim L-cultivation, under criteria proposed in 9.2, provides a further necessary condition for communicative development. However, now we need to provide conditions for such communication development within the interim L-cultivation speech community, as the first step towards arriving at the L-cultivation.

An interim L-cultivation, like any other language, is a bundle of lects, made up of dialects, sociolects, idiolects, and kairolects. Idiolectal and kairolectal variation, however, is not something that hampers the process of communication; indeed what they do is to make communication
more effective, by making it relevant to the individual and the situation. While dialectal variation doesn't stand in the way of communication within the region, it does so in supra-regional communication. Sociolectal variation does not inhibit communication, either so long as the communicator(s) and the communicatee(s) belong to the same social class. But, when it comes to communication between or among classes, sociolectal variation may become a problem. If the interim L-cultivation is to maximize communication among all the members of the speech community, of whatever social class and whatever region, then it is imperative that the difference among the different sociolects be minimized.

While there are many sociolectal variations within a language, one particular variation is related to the mass-CA relationship identified in this study. And this is the 'diglossic' variation referred to in 2.3, where the massès, speaking whatever language, use the basilects, while (segments of ) the CA, the upper CA in particular, speak an acrolect. This, in the words of Ferguson (1959) who first formalized the distinction under the concept 'diglossia', is a "very divergent (and) highly codified (often grammatically more complex)" variety, which may even be "the vehicle of a ... written literature" and is "learned largely by formal education", and, as extended by Gumperz (1961) and Fishman (1964), is used for all, not just formal spoken, purposes. It is essentially the variety of language generally considered the 'best', both by the CA, and following them, the masses as well.\footnote{Cf. here the myth in PCN society, continuing from the colonial myth, of the superiority of the CA.} It is, no doubt, the "topmost ... in the socio-linguistic hierarchy" (Ferguson, \textit{ibid.}), this being the very reason for calling
it the 'acrolect' ('acro-' meaning 'apex'). The diglossic situation in which the masses use a 'basilect' exclusively, while the CA uses the 'acrolect' preferentially, that is, at all times unless they are 'forced' to use the basilects (8.31.1), can then be said not only to undermine communication but to serve as a condition for the continuing social gap (and the associated value gap), given the relationship between language, perception and praxis. It is the very presence of the diglossic situation in PCN society that can be said to be linked to the continuation of the social gap.

Since the masses cannot use the acrolect, they are kept out of all the functions for which the acrolect is used—high functions such as sermons in church or mosque, speeches in parliament, political speeches, university lectures, news broadcasts, editorials, poetry and so on (Ferguson, 1959: 431). And these happen to be the ones that confer 'power'. The lack of control of the acrolect by the masses, then, means that they will always be kept out of power, and meaningful participation. Since writing and broadcasting, as 'high functions', will be in the acrolect, this means that the masses will be denied opportunities for extending their base of information and knowledge. As the CA thus continues to have monopoly over the functions and the content of information, the masses come to be communicatively underdeveloped. In the process, the acropetal orientation continues to guide the life of PCN society, and the 'cultural invasion' will continue.

The diglossic situation, then, can be said to be 'counter-cultural'. It is, however, not the presence or the use of the basilect that contributes to this but the presence and use of the acrolect. Indeed this can be shown further by advancing the same arguments advanced against the use of L-exos—from the three points of view of communication.
From the 'people-process' point of view, it can be said, for reasons somewhat like the ones given in 8.31.1, that the presence and the use of the acrolect in a PCN society leads away from empathic participation. From the contentual point of view, it can be said that the level of information flowing through the acrolect is too high and irrelevant to the life of the masses (8.31.2). And from the linguistic point of view it can be said that the masses don't 'match up' to the acrolect because it is at a higher level along the folk-aristocratic continuum (8.31.3).

For reasons such as these, then, it can be argued that the acrolects do not lead to communicative development. By contrast, for reasons advanced in favour of the L-ends (8.32), it can be claimed that the use and extension of basilects can serve as a basis for communicative development. The argument here is basically that the informational and skill level of the masses can be raised only by a lowering of the information base, and incrementally raising it through the extended use of the basilect, through which process it will grow adaptively and which, in turn, will serve communicative development.

Then there are other arguments that favour the choice of the basilect over the acrolect. The major one is that it represents the variety spoken by the majority of the speech community. Again, communicative development requires that the same lect be used for all functions. And we know that the acrolect is not used for "low functions", and given the acropetal orientation in society, the situation is unlikely to change either. For the same reason, however, there is a good chance that the basilect can come to be used for higher functions. (See 10.6 for some actual examples.)

A further argument is that the basilect, as an emergent language variety,
that is growing adaptively through differentiated and increasing use, is more suitable in serving the needs of an emerging society than a language which has emerged to meet different kinds of societal needs. Finally, the choice of the basilect can minimize the charges of 'linguistic imperialism' (Shinn et al, op.cit.:357; Vreeland et al, op.cit.:236) that can be levelled at the interim L-cultivation by those who don't belong to the selected speech community. Surely, a speech community that consciously 'favors' the masses will not be seen as 'imperialistic'!

For reasons such as these, then, it can be argued that the selection of the basilect, in preference to the acrolect, as the contact lect, can serve to lead the interim L-cultivation towards L-cultivation. What is called for here, then, is a basipetalism, as a counter measure to the acropetalism that was seen to plague PCN society under the new colonial situation (2.2).

It is possible that (linguistic) variation among the basilectal varieties of a language is minimal to the extent that it would require much refined linguistic analysis and a lot of time and effort to identify them - none of which may be available, in particular, to PCN's. In such cases, the interim L-cultivation can be the basilectal continuum; that is, all the basilects of a language. However, in cases where great differences exist among the basilects, it could be argued, for reasons somewhat similar to those advanced for the choice of a single L-cultivation (7.3), that communicative development requires that we select one from among the several basilects to serve as the contact lect, where the differences among the lects are clearly identifiable. If this 'contact lect' is not to be divisive, or have the opposite effect of what was originally intended, then
the determination of such a norm must be done with as much care as the
determination of an interim L-cultivation. Thus I would like to propose
some criteria along lines similar to the ones proposed under 9.21 and
9.22.

9.31 Tentative criteria for determining the contact lect.

The criteria that help us determine the contact lect from among the
basilects come to us from the same list proposed in 9.2 in relation to
language determination. However, not all of them are relevant at the
level of 'norm', i.e. contact lect, determination (figure 7.1). Thus,
I shall first give the list of criteria relevant to the present task. Then
I shall indicate briefly why others are not relevant.

9.31.1 Relevant criteria.

Acceptability dimension (from section 9.2 above):

9.21.1 Percentage in speech community who speak the contact lect as MT.
9.21.2 As above, but who speak it as OT.
9.21.5 Geographic spread of lect as MT, OT or receptively.
9.21.10 To what extent the lect is used in political speeches outside
the legislature.
9.21.12 As above, but in broadcasting.
9.21.13 As above, but in newspapers.
9.21.14 As above, but for religious activities.
9.21.15 As above, but as religious medium.
9.21.16 With what religion(s) is the lect associated?
9.21.17 To what extent the lect is used for literary activities.

Rationality dimension (from section 8.42 above):

9.22.1 Sociolinguistic distribution of lect as between the masses and CA.
9.22.2 For what low functions is it used?
9.22.3 To what extent the lect has been used in furtherance of colonial policy.

9.22.4 For what purposes the lect was used in colonial times.

9.22.7 Number/percentage of old-age sector in speech community who use the lect as MT, OT or receptively.

9.22.11 At what stage the lect is along the folk-aristocratic continuum.

9.22.13 To what extent the lect is used as trade language.

9.22.16 Cost-benefit.

The scales for each of these criteria are the same as earlier. And the justification for them, and their ordering, are the same as well. In using the criteria, the terms 'language', 'L-cultivation'and 'population' needs to be replaced, for obvious reasons, by 'lect', 'contact-lect' and 'speech community' respectively. The reduction of criteria from 33 to 18 is reflective of the fact that the number of lects in a given language are, in general, not as many as the number of languages in the country. And, as in the case of language determination, the number of applicable criteria would depend on the specific national situation. However, the same general principle - that the higher the size of the speech community and higher the number of lects, the higher the number of criteria that has to be used - is applicable here as well.

With these few remarks, I shall show in brief the reasons for excluding the criteria not listed above.

9.31.2 Excluded criteria (again, from 9.21 and 9.22 above):

9.21.3 Actual number of MT speakers of lect: while this is important when large numbers of speakers are involved, as in the case of a language, this may not be that important, or the time and effort involved not worth the trouble when the numbers are small, as in
the case of a lect. However, it may be used if the lect is wide-
spread (as, e.g., Hindi in India), just as much as it may be dropped if the population speaking a given language is small (as, e.g., Diwehi in the Maldives).

9.21.4 Actual number of speakers of lect: same as above.

9.21.6 'Ethnic spread' of lect as MT, OT or receptively: there is no
question of the lect being spoken by different speech communities.

9.21.7 Number/percentage of school graduates whose medium of instruction
was the lect: since education, by definition is a 'high function',
the basilects are not used for it.

9.21.8 To what extent the lect is used in government administrative
functions; as in 9.21.7.

9.21.9 To what extent the lect is used in the legislature: as in 9.21.7.

9.21.11 To what extent the lect is used in law: as in 9.21.7.

9.22.5 To what extent the lect is used as medium of instruction: as in 9.21.7.

9.22.6 Taught as compulsory auxiliary language: as in 9.21.7.

9.22.8 To what extent the lect is used in neighbouring, regional or other
PCN's: a language comes to be spoken in a country other than the
native country only by the emigres. But such emigres are not
large in numbers. Further, even among the emigres, several lects
of a given language come to be spoken. Thus, the number of
speakers of a given lect is bound to be small, and thus of little
importance in norm determination.

9.22.9 To what extent the lect is used in core nations: as in 9.22.8.

9.22.10 At what stage a language is along the classical-creole continuum:
not relevant by definition, since the criterion applies only to
languages.
9.22.12 At what point the language is on the 'ethnogenous-mesogenous' continuum: as in 9.22.10.

9.22.14 The genetic relationship of the language to another language: as in 9.22.10.

9.22.15 How many other languages are genetically related to given language: as in 9.22.10.

9.4 Summary and Lead-on.

In this chapter, some criteria were suggested that would help determine the L-cultivation for a given PCN. The importance of selecting the basilect variety(ies) over the acolect was then discussed. The chapter ends with criteria for the determination of a contact lect, where the basilects are clearly distinguishable linguistically and socially. This chapter can then be seen as an attempt to

"go beyond a liberal humanism which merely recognizes the abstract potentiality of all languages, to a humanism which can deal with the inequalities that actually obtain, and help to transform them through knowledge of the ways in which language is actually organized as a human problem and resource." (Hymes, 1973:82).

In terms of the model, this chapter represents another aspect of the same lap covered in chapters seven and eight, namely, 1a and 2a.
CHAPTER TEN

CULTIVATING THE CONTACT LECT TOWARDS L-CULTIVATION

10.1 Introduction.

The application of the criteria given in the previous chapter will help a PCN determine which of the many endogenous languages and lects in the country should be selected as the interim L-cultivation. In traditional language planning, the process ends there. But, if the carefully selected interim L-cultivation is to lead to communicative development, it is necessary to ensure that the language so selected is 'cultivated' in such a manner so as to also bring together the various linguistic groups within a country. How this can be done is the topic of enquiry in this chapter.

10.2 Utonia: an Application to a 'Case Study'.

Let us assume that under criteria given in 9.2 a country has selected a single interim L-cultivation at the national level, and five more languages to serve at the sub-national level, and also selected, under 9.3, a basilect of each of these languages as the contact lects at the national and sub-national levels. Let us show the linguistic situation arising out of these decisions in relation to a hypothetical country called Utonia (Hilhorst, 1967), in the following hypothetical map:

1. Utonia, as proposed by Professor Zimmerman of the Institute of Social Studies of the Netherlands, represents a fictitious development country, and Hilhorst's book brings it to life. The name Utonia is aptly suitable for our purposes, because the envisaged outcome on the approach to development proposed in this study may well be a ' utopian ' society. But see section 12.33(g).
Figure 10. Map of 'Utonia' showing the linguistic situation after language and norm determination at regional and national levels.
Index

Regional borders

Canton borders within a region

National 'centre of development'

Regional 'centre(s) of development'

NL

National interim L-cultivation

RL

Regional (i.e., sub-national) interim L-cultivation

RLS

RL of the Southern Province

RLW

RL of the Western Province

RLN

RL of the Northern Province

RLNE

RL of the Northeastern Province

RLSE

RL of the Southeastern Province

a.b.c., etc.

'Sibling' lects (see footnote 2, this chapter) of NL, RL

l₁, l₂, l₃, etc.

Languages in the different regions not selected as interim L-cultivation, with symbols S, W, N, NE and SE standing for the different regions.

ml. m₂., etc.

Mesogenous languages (e.g., pidgins, creoles)

L-exo

Exogenous languages (8.2)

\[
\begin{align*}
W & \quad N, \quad N \quad E, \\
NE & \quad SE, \quad E \quad S, \\
S & \quad W
\end{align*}
\]

Linguistic borders between the regions (W = west; N = north, etc.)
This map shows the linguistic distribution in Utonia. First of all, there is the national interim L-cultivation (labelled NL, for 'national language') (see centre of map), and the five sub-national interim L-cultivation (labelled RL, for 'regional language', followed by the letters S, W, N, NE and SE, to stand for Southern, Western, Northern, North Eastern and South Eastern regions respectively; thus RLs, RLw etc.). As can be seen from the map, a particular basilict of NL (simply called NLa) is spoken at the national 'centre of development', to be called 'Utontown' (Hilhorst, ibid.) (shown by the solid circle at the centre). In addition, it is also spoken in the Northern region (see the 'canton' in the Northern Region marked NLa). Two other 'sibling' lects of NL are spoken in Utonia, one in the South Eastern region (see the division marked NLb at the tip of the region) and the other in the Southern region (marked Nlc just south of Utontown). As with NL, we find that each of the RL's S, W, N, NE and SE is also spoken both in the regional 'centre of development' as well as in other parts of the region; thus, for example, RLSc, RLse and RLsd in the Southern region. (See also cantons in other regions marked with lower case lettering following the regional language letter symbol - e.g., RLwb, RLnb, RNla and so on).

In addition to the sibling lects of NL and RL, we also find in Utonia other languages not selected for NL or RL status, under the criteria. These are marked with the regional label, the letter l (for language) and a number. Thus, e.g., we have Sl1 to Sl6 in the Southern region, Wl1 to Wl5 in the Western region, Nl1 and Nl2, and so on.

2. The term 'sibling' is used here in preference to a term like 'parallel' because it immediately suggests a 'same family' relationship.
Utonia is marked by another linguistic variety as well, the 'mesogenous' languages, or languages of mixed origin (see criterion 2.22.12). These are the pidgins and creoles (see footnote 34, chapter eight, for definitions). Thus, we have in the Southern region a canton marked $S_m_1$ (for "mesogenous language number one in the Southern region") and $S_m_2$; and in the Western region, a creole (marked $W_m_1$). The solid lines marking the regions, and the dotted lines marking the cantons also indicate other possible mesogenous languages.

As we have seen, then, Utonia, like any other country, houses within its borders many linguistic varieties. If the NL (national interim L-cultivation) and the RL's (regional interim languages of cultivation), in their basilect form, were determined with a view to achieving communicative development; this can hardly happen in the presence of such linguistic heterogeneity, unless the languages selected to be the 'led-linguistic-leaders' (8.32) took along with them what will be their 'led-linguistic-followers'. This, then, means that there needs to be a constant, two-way interactional process between NL and all other linguistic varieties nationally, and RL and all other (regional) varieties regionally. Such an interaction provides conditions for the linguistic led-leaders - NL and RL's - to 'feel the pulse' of the 'linguistic masses'. Since language is part of man (6.2), this, by extension, means that conditions will then be set for the human led-leaders (who have by now emerged) as well to feel the pulse of the led-masses, as they (the leaders) come to use increasingly the NL and RL's, which increasingly come to reflect the
psychophrasric behaviour of the masses speaking both the selected and the unselected languages and lects. Establishing a two-way feedback process between the NL and other languages and lects in Utonia, the RL's and other regional languages and lects, and eventually between the NL and RL's would, then, serve as the sufficient linguistic condition for communicative development in PCN's.

The linguistic process and outcome of such a two-way interactional process I have called cultivation (7.3); to mean both human intervention and natural growth from within. 'Human intervention' in the present context can be basically understood to mean two things. Since the contact lect of the NL, or of the RL's, at the time of their choice, reflects the psychophrasric behaviour of only its 'original speakers', it is necessary that it be made to reflect the psychophrasric behaviour of an increasing number of PCN inhabitants, if it is to be felt by those that don't speak it now to be their own language as well. This would require a conscious attempt (by the state, language planners, speakers of the selected lects, and so on) to seek out elements of these other languages and the sibling lects, to be incorporated into the NL's contact lect. This process I shall call enrichment.

If enrichment represents linguistic input into NL (and RL), the reverse input into the other languages and lects by NL and RL can be called dissemination. If the goal in establishing a two-way street between the NL (and RL's) and the rest of the languages and lects is to be an 'extended speech community' (see later), then, this can be achieved only by making every other variety less and less dissimilar not only from the NL, but from all other varieties as well. This then requires that the
enriching NL contribute to each of the other languages individually
the common elements that the NL originally obtained from these other
languages, individually, and now incorporated in its repertoire.

I shall, then, use the term 'cultivation' in the ensuing discussion to mean (a) the 'enrichment' of the selected language and lect
at the regional and national levels, by the unselected ones, (b) the
'dissemination' (or 'reaching out') of the selected ones, now being
enriched by the unselected ones, back to the unselected ones, and (c)
the ensuing growth of the lects and languages as an outcome of these
two processes. It is through such a process of cultivation, as we
shall see, that the contact lect at both the regional and national
levels can be made to be increasingly acceptable to non-speakers of these
selected varieties and potentially lead to communicative development.

How do we establish this process of cultivation? Assuming that a
given PCN requires an L-cultivation at both the national and sub-national
levels, the process of cultivation must take place simultaneously in
relation to both levels. (If a given PCN requires only an NL, then the
process relates only to the national level.)

It was seen earlier that in Utonia, there are, in addition to NL
and RL's, the sibling lects, and other languages, including mesogenous
varieties. Thus, I shall examine the process of cultivation in relation
to these three linguistic types. The process of LP is a highly complex
one, and is not one that can be undertaken extensively in a study of this
nature. Thus, what follows are merely some tentative guiding principles.

10.3 Deriving the Regional Language of Cultivation

If we took the contact lect (9.3) of the Southern region (RLSa) of
Utonia (see figure 10.1), for example, the language variety in the whole
of Utonia that is most closely related to it, linguistically and culturally, are its sibling lects -- RLSb, RLSc and RLSd. Thus, these are the sources that have the best potential to serve to 'enrich' RLSa, because the RLSa speakers would need little effort in adopting linguistic items/features from RLSb, RLSc and RLSd. The same holds in relation to 'dissemination.' The speakers of the sibling lects would need comparatively little psychological and linguistic adjustment in accepting 'visitors' from the contact lect. When it becomes evident to these speakers -- for example, through official policy, attitudes, behaviour and so on -- that the determination of the RLSa norm is not intended to impose a domination upon them but to serve as only a led-leader, conditions will be provided for a climate of confidence to set in. Such increasing confidence, and the actual process of mutual reinforcement, through enrichment and dissemination, then provides the RLSa with the most readily available 'political' support.

In general, then, there are several reasons why it is important to seek cultivation in relation to the sibling lects before 'establishing' contact with the other languages:

a. Enrichment and dissemination is easier in relation to sibling lects than in relation to other languages, in terms of geographic location and the extent of the group, and also of cultural and linguistic homogeneity.

b. Since the two-way process has already been established among the sibling lects, whatever enrichment an NL or RL receives from a given lect can be disseminated to all the lects with the least delay.
c. It is better to begin with the easier task, everything being
equal, because:

1. policy making is a stepwise procedure, and must begin with
the easier task;

2. PCN's are unlikely to have the expertise, capacity, or the
financial resources to handle more than one task well at
one time, given their (historically conditioned) intellec-
tual and skill underdevelopment (8.31);

3. mistakes made at a lower scale are less expensive and serve
as a training ground for the larger tasks, and

4. since 'success begets success' (4.5) and, likewise,
'failure begets failure', it is very important, in terms of
plan implementation, that the very first task(s) be handled
well.

In seeking to 'establish contact' with the sibling lects of RLSa,3
it is important not to ignore the acrolect of RLS, if there is one, as
well (not shown in map because it is not used in a particular region).
This is important for several reasons. Such a step would, first of all,
serve to bring back to the communications network, an important linguistic
component and a segment of the speech community which was 'abandoned' at
the first step in norm determination – namely, at the rejection of the acro-

3. Perhaps one of the best ways to do this would be to set up a 'Southern
Regional language committee' made up of representatives of each of
the contributing languages, whose function would be to seek out in
the contributing languages the most 'compatible' linguistic items
that could enrich RLSa, and examine ways of doing this with the
least possible 'disturbance' to the RLSa. But see also 12.4.2.
lect by virtue of the fact that it was an acrolect. It may well be the CA (composite aristocracy) that happen to use the acrolect, but whatever their class interests, the CA are people, too, and legitimate citizens of the country. The goal set out in our model of the 'cultivation of all' (3.32) can hardly be achieved by keeping out consciously a segment of the population. Basic human needs don't distinguish between 'friends' and 'enemies'. Thus, as an 'extension of the hospitality of the mind' (Goulet), it is important to extend the net of enrichment and dissemination to cover the acrolect (and the CA) as well. Another psycho-philosophical reason for this is that the CA, being victims of history, and the system, cannot help themselves (Fromm, Freire) (3.4) to get out of it, or to be different. Liberation cannot be won alone (Freire) and thus, it is imperative that the acrolects, and their speakers, be included as a resource. Such a need, however, is not conditioned by social and philosophical reasons alone. As a linguistic variety which has adaptively grown more than the basilects (this being why it remains an acrolect) or developed in domains in which the basilects haven't, it can serve to enrich the RSLa in its incrementalization needs (5.42) more than any of the other basilectal siblings, all of which would be roughly at the same level of adaptive growth along the folk-aristocratic continuum (8.31.3). Finally, it is important to recognize that the users of the acrolect, likely as they would be from among the CA, are a potential base of opposition for the changes envisaged in the proposed LP, or in the model of HN. Thus it would be strategically important not to alienate such a powerful group. 4 Polit- 

4. This statement may sound like a succumbing to the pressures of power politics. It indeed is, but distasteful as it may be to some — including myself — it is a reality of the world that peaceful, social
cally, ideologically, linguistically and strategically speaking, then, it is imperative that the acrolect be considered as a source of enrichment for the RLSa. Of course, it is possible that its inclusion in the net will provide the CA with a base for possible 'counter-revolution', but given the fact that the acrolect is only one of the many lects of a given language, there will be more than just the RLSa and its speakers to challenge such a move. However, such a 'threat' will also be minimized as the acrolect, through enrichment and dissemination, becomes, over time, more and more like the basilects, as the basilects themselves begin to grow adaptively (see 10.4 later).

While it would be, thus, important to reach out to the acrolects, it must be done only after reaching out to the basilects, if undue importance is not to be given to the acrolect.

Having sought cultivation in relation to the sibling lects, the next source of cultivation needs to be the other languages spoken in, to get back to our example, the Southern region of Utonia. What language would the interim L-cultivation - it is no longer a contact lect -, namely RLS, now go to for enrichment and dissemination? If it were to follow the practice proposed in relation to the contact lect, it would seek out those languages in the region that are genetically related to it (see criterion 9.22.14). But this could lead to charges of 'imperialism' and 'linguistic change can hardly occur without appeasing in some manner the social forces that have the clout.

5. E.g., by trying to have incorporated in the NL or RL more than a 'representative share' of the acrolect, or by getting 'overrepresentation' on language planning committees, or by political lobbying to which other groups have no access.
nepotism', and continued linguistic and socio-political division, as the
speakers of those languages genetically unrelated to the RLS would feel,
justifiably, kept out of the development process. Thus, the genetically
related languages are not a good starting point, or even a necessary source,
for the cultivation of the RLS, unless such a language qualifies under the
criterion of 'being on the "loser list"', meaning those languages that were
considered for interim L-cultivation status but lost out to the one even-
tually selected.

A better source of cultivation, as hinted, then, are all those lan-
guages with which the process of deriving the RLS originally began. While
it would be ideal for the RLS to relate to all the languages on the 'losers'
list', if some ordering had to be done, the process would, naturally, begin
with the 'best loser', and go down the line. (Whether or not the process
ever reaches the last in the list, enrichment and dissemination would con-
tinue to take place with whatever languages the RLS is in contact). The
'best loser' as a resource is important because it has shown to be able,
by its second (and third, fourth etc.) place on the losers' list, to bring
together in communication segments of the population that the selected RL
apparently cannot initially. Thus, enrichment and dissemination in rela-
tion to the 'best-loser' immediately brings with it a potentially widened
base for communication. Again, it is to the basilects of the best-losers
that the RLS will reach out primarily, for reasons given in 9.3.

I have so far identified sibling lects and the 'best losers' in each

6. Cf., here the political practice in North America of the one who comes
closest to beating the winner in a Party Convention being given an impor-
tant, if not the most important position next to the leader himself.
region as a source of cultivation. There is a third variety, which has served in the past, or currently serves, the function of bringing together in communication people who haven’t traditionally been so. These are the creoles, pidgins, and trade jargons (supra). These are of importance to us on the one hand because these varieties, and their speakers, are real linguistic entrepreneurs who have successfully made ‘linguistic new combinations’, to extend Schumpeter’s concept used in relation to economic development (op. cit.: 91), and can thus serve as ‘models’ for the process of cultivation. On the other hand, these are languages which reflect the ethos of a segment of the population who rarely comes to be recognized by the centres of power, and, a recognition of such mesogenous varieties allows them to be brought into communication and participation. A related reason is that they are a form of basilects, having arisen in the process of the interplay of average people in their day to day interaction. Reaching out to them strengthens the basilectal base of the L-cultivation. Between creoles and pidgins, the former is perhaps the more resourceful, because it is higher along the language continuum than is a pidgin. Attention needs to be drawn here to a further mesogenous variety. These are the varieties that newly emerge within the region, as the process of cultivation brings together the different varieties of language.

Now to relate the discussion to the ‘realities’ of Utonia, the process of cultivation in relation to the mesogenous varieties links two more areas in the Southern region (marked SM₁ and SM₂) with the regional centre, thus providing a potential and further expanded base for communication.

Now all the linguistic varieties within a region will have become
involved in the process of communication, and thus, the foundation for a single regional speech community will have been laid.

The process discussed above in relation to RLSa must take place in relation to all the other regional interim languages of cultivation of Utonia, namely, RLWa, RLNa, RLNEa and RLSEa, as well. As the outcome of such a process, there will emerge in each region a single L-cultivation with which the NL can relate, as it needs to, as will be seen later.

10.4 Deriving the National Language of L-cultivation.

As at the national level, the first source of cultivation for NL in Utonia would be, for reasons given in 10.3, the sibling lects of NLa, namely NLa spoken in the Northern region, NLb in the South Eastern region and NLc in the Southern region.

The next obvious choices are the interim regional languages of cultivation - RLSa, RLWa and so on. These are important not only because they have 'won out' regionally (in the process of language and norm determination), but also because they come to reflect the ethos of the regional lects and languages, and through them, of their speakers, whom the process of linguistic cultivation is intended to unite.

The next best source of cultivation for the NL are the national 'best losers' - those languages that lost out to the NL. Naturally, in order to maintain the mass orientation of the process, it is to their basilects one would turn before reaching out to the acrolects. For reasons given above, the genetically-related languages should not be a source of enrichment, until and unless all the other sources have been exhausted.

A fourth source of enrichment are the mesogenous varieties, existing or emerging, along the regional borders. These are important at the
national level, first of all, for the same reasons that mesolects were important at the regional level: they provide a model of linguistic mis-

cegenation, bring into the communicative and participatory process segments not so welcomed earlier, and serve to strengthen the basilectal base of the intended L-cultivation. But more important, they cannot be tapped at the regional level, because they are, by definition, supra-regional.

There is another source that the NL cannot or should not ignore. This is the L-exo, or L-exos, which came to be excluded from an active role in the development paradigm, as the first step in language determination, for reasons given in 8.3. The arguments in favour of including the L-exo now are the same as those advanced in favour of including the acrolects above, namely, (1) the socio-political need to bring back to the communication network a group of people kept out thus far, although so done for good reasons, (2) the ideological need for the 'cultivation of all', (3) the humanistic or psychosophical need to help the CA 'liberate' themselves, (4) the linguistic advantage of it being adaptively grown more than the L-endos, and finally, (5) the strategic need of undermining a potential base of opposition, namely the CA, even though they would have lost some of the prestige enjoyed earlier when the L-exo was ousted from the developmental paradigm under 8.3.

If the L-exos, then, are to be included as a resource, care must be taken not to allow it 'undue' importance, but rather to treat it as just one of the many resources. In furtherance of this, it is important to reach out to it only after reaching out to the RL's. Such care is necessary in view of the historical role played by the L-exos in the continu-
ing underdevelopment of PCN's (2.3).

While L-exos should be included as a resource at the national level, it would be difficult for the regional languages of cultivation to handle them, primarily because the L-exo users would be geographically spread out nationally, rather than concentrated regionally. Naturally, it would be the local variant of the L-exo that would be sought out rather than the original version.

In relating to Utonia, then, what has been proposed is the cultivation of the NLa in relation to

(a) NLa, Nlb and Nlc (in the Northern, Southeastern and Southern regions respectively).
(b) the interim regional languages of cultivation RLSa, RLWa, RLNa, RLNEa, and RLSEa,
(c) the national best losers,
(d) the interregional mesolects S-W, W-N, N-NE, NE-SE and SE-S, and
(e) the L-exos in the Northern and Southeastern regions.

If at the regional level, the outcome of a similar process was the laying of a foundation for a single regional speech community, now the foundation can be said to have been laid for a single national 'extended speech community'.

10.5 The Process of Cultivation Revisited

The process of cultivation discussed in 10.3 or 10.4 in relation to the sub-national and national levels respectively can be summarized in the following figure:

7. By this is meant the variety that has emerged in a PCN as a result of linguistic interference of the L-endo(s) on the L-exo(s). Examples are Latinized Spanish in Latin America as contrasted with Spanish Spanish, i.e., Standard Spanish, Pidgin English in Liberia, etc.
Figure 10.2 Steps leading the contact lec of the (regional or national) interim L-cultivation to L-cultivation.
Figure 10.2 represents the process of evolution of a single regional (or national) speech community, as the contact lect of the interim L-cultivation comes to establish links with sibling lects and other languages as described in 10.3 (and/or 10.4). Step one in the figure (row 1) represents the situation where out of the many L-endos used in a region or country, one language has been identified as the interim L-cultivation. This language, labelled L1 (to represent, as an example, the 'Southern Regional Language' (RLS) in the map of Utonia (or the National Language (NL)), is symbolized by the four 'attached houses', with each of the 'houses' representing the four sibling lects of L1. The thick baseline is intended to show that the four lects belong to the larger 'house' called L1. Of the four lects, lect 'a' has been also decided upon as the contact lect. This is shown by the thick 'roof' on house 'a'. In addition to L1, there exists in the Southern region of Utonia, six other languages. These are represented by 'houses' L2 to 67. Then there are also in the region two mesolects in the form of pidgins, shown as M1 and M2. Finally, there are the other mesogenous varieties (twelve in number) (see 'map') that emerge through contact of each of the linguistic varieties with each other, all represented by the house M3. The fact that the languages and mesolects are unrelated to each other as well as to L1 is indicated by placing them in 'detached' houses.

At step 2 of the figure, all the sibling lects of L1 have come to be houses under a 'single' roof, meaning that the differences among these sibling have been minimized through enrichment and dissemination; the
'walls' between the 'attached houses' have 'collapsed', and are thus not shown. The rest of the linguistic varieties, however, remain as they were earlier - unlinked to each other. The fact that L1 has grown, or is growing, adaptively is shown by the thick line marking the expanded house.

The thick baseline in step three, extending from the extended house (e.g., RLS) to L7, indicates that the interim regional L-cultivation has been linked with the other languages. The mesolects, however, are still unlinked. By step four, an extended speech community, which incorporates L1 to L7, has evolved (shown by the extended and taller house), and is further adaptively grown (thick lines) as an outcome of the cultivalational process the languages have been subjected to. This extended language is now linked to the mesolects as well, as shown by the thick baseline extending all the way. By step five, the contact lect of L1 has evolved into a single extended speech community which is coterminus, as, for example, with the entire Southern region of Utonia, incorporating all the linguistic varieties of the region. At the regional level in this example, and at the national level by extension, then, step five represents the L-cultivation.

The figure shows that the house 'at the left' has grown adaptively increasingly, as it came to be cultivated in relation to the other varieties. The mutual process involved here can be shown in relation to the sibling lects, for example, in the following figure:
Figure 10.3 The three-stage process of the symbiotic relationship between the contact lect and the sibling lects.

At stage one of the figure, the 'petals', representing the lects of, say, L1, contribute to the enrichment of L1 (shown with arrows going towards the 'stigma', representing the contact lect). At stage two, the 'stigma', as it opens its 'doors' (note the dotted line marking it now), has grown in size (e.g., enrichment), as it continues to 'underdevelop' the sibling petals in the process. This 'underdevelopment' can be seen from the smaller size of the petals and their tapering at the outward edges. But at the same time, as the arrows going out from the stigma show, the 'cultivated' stigma goes out to fill the hiatus created by the 'underdevelopment' of the petals (i.e., 'dissemination'). At the final stage, the 'high walls' around the petals are 'pulled down' (or their 'doors' opened to 'intrusion' from the stigma), and a solid line (e.g., speech community) has emerged, 'encasing' all the lects.

The same process, then, can be said to repeat itself at the various
steps in the evolution of the extended speech community shown in figure 10.2.

If the above discussion used the Southern region of Utonia as the 'case study', the same process takes place in other regions as well, resulting in the full flowering of the other regional languages of cultivation (RLW, RLN, RLNE and RLSE). The L-cultivation at the national level, then results from a duplication of the same process, as it cultivates in relation to the Regional Languages which have thus emerged, and the mesolects.

The process through which the contact lect of the interim L-cultivation has led to the L-cultivation can be characterized, by putting together two concepts, one by Hymes (1973:78) and another by Gulutsan (1974:7) as adaptive growth through contactual multilingualism. The term 'adaptive growth' has been used above and needs no explication here. According to Gulutsan, 'contactual bilingualism' exists when a speaker 'uses a variety of language which results "from the contact between two languages" (e.g., Lithuanian and Russian, to give Gulutsan's own example). In the entire cultivational process outlined above, this is exactly what takes place. As the contact lect comes into, and maintains, contact with one or more linguistic varieties in a given geopolitical region, there emerges a 'mesolect', or a 'mixed language', which has resulted from the contact of the two linguistic varieties and reflects the features of both the contact lect and the other, which is then what comes to be spoken, by the next generation, although it will have had its beginnings within this generation. In our case, such adaptive growth takes place in relation to not just

8. Non-contactual bilingualism, by contrast, is when a speaker simply uses two different languages.
one another, but to many others. Thus, it is a 'contactual multilingualism'.

The linguistic outcome of such 'adaptive growth through contactual multilingualism' is that the language, and the lect of the language, chosen to be the interim lect linguistic-leader (supra) comes to be enriched in such a manner that, as it also establishes links with other linguistic varieties through dissemination, it will increasingly move towards the 'aristocratic' end of the continuum (but see two paragraphs later for a caveat). Its vocabulary will be more extensive as it comes to draw upon other varieties, and new and specific terminology develops to meet the needs of specific institutions arising in the changing society, resulting from increasing communication (see later), and more flexible as the language comes to be used for different functions, and by all, or a wider segment, of the population, in line with culture change. As the speech community widens and more people come to use the language, it comes to be 'modernized' (8.31.3).

That is to say that an orthography comes to be developed, or improved if one exists already; or a literature, oral and written, comes to be developed, or extended to if it already exists, not only religious and artistic literature, but also for secular and descriptive literature (see again 8.31.3 for these types), which includes philosophy, logic and the like.

This feature of the emerging L-cultivation, then, can be called, borrowing from Garvin (op.cit.:27) flexible stability. For a standard language (which the L-cultivation will have become by now) "to function efficiently, (it) must be stabilized by appropriate codification; it must at the same time be flexible enough in its codification to allow for modification in line with culture change" (ibid.).
Given the basilectal base of L-cultivation - if we remember that the contact lect was a basilect variety - and the fact that if has been cultivated in relation to the basilectal variety wherever possible, the L-cultivation is a 'folk' language. But it is also advanced along the extrinsic criteria (8.31.3), as well as in terms of range (cf. range extensions). Thus, L-cultivation can be characterized as an advanced folk language, which, to adopt from Haugen (1966b:173-5), is both 'adequate' in terms of its ability to put the needs of all its speakers, and 'efficient' to the extent it meets such needs well.

The emergence of a single 'advanced folk language', then, is the linguistic outcome of the process of cultivation of the contact lect.

If the L-cultivation that has emerged in the process of cultivating the contact lect of the interim L-cultivation is an 'advanced folk language', its corresponding (extended) speech community comes to be the entirety of the population inhabiting the given geopolitical area for which the L-cultivation was intended.

10.6 Some Examples

The language policy outlined above suggests a basipetal tendency - i.e., a reliance on the language varieties of the masses, or basilects in preference to the acrolects. Historical examples of such basilects now enjoying positions of dominance are indeed not lacking. Malay, e.g., in Indonesia, when adopted as the national language in 1928, was neither the largest nor the culturally most important language *(Alisjahbana, 1971:392). What has turned out to be the official language of Indonesia, namely, Bahasa Indonesia, is the variety called market Malay (malayu pasar) *(ibid.)*. Afrikaans, in South Africa, is another example. Now a
full-fledged language and the official language, it was "originally at least a semi-creole patois" (Reinecke, op.cit.542). So was Swahili in East Africa. China and Japan provide two other examples of the colloquial variety developed for high functions (Passin, 1963:91-96), as well as Norway (Haugen, 1959) and Serbia (Haugen, 1965:192), the latter being the base for the present Serbo-Croatian standard in Yugoslavia. Sri Lanka provides a historical example, where the language of poetry, literature and official documents up to the 10th century AD was the language of the masses. Perhaps the best futuristic example comes from the Philippines where Section 2 of the New Philippines Constitution is seen to echo my approach, word for word. It proposes that

A common national language, to be known as Filipino shall be evolved, developed and adopted, based on existing native languages and dialects, [but] precluding the assimilation of words from foreign languages (Sibayan, op.cit.249).

10.7 Summary and Lead-on.

In this chapter, the process of arriving at the single L-cultivation at the regional and national levels was examined. Some examples of the type of L-cultivation envisaged in the approach proposed were also given.

In relation to the total study, this chapter also covers the same lap - 2a and 2b to 1a - of the figure as was covered by chapters seven, eight and nine, but 2a in particular (see next page).

The chapter, then, completes the discussion of the different aspects of the model of national development proposed in this study (section 3.4 and

9. See Paramavithana, 1956, for an excellent analysis and interpretation of the poetry engraved on the rock of Sigiriya (6th to 9th centuries).
figure 3.5). In the next chapter, an attempt will be made to pull together all the threads contained in the chapters so far.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

WEAVING THE NET OF NATIONAL COMMUNICATION FOR HUMANISTIC NATIONISM THROUGH LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY

Once upon a time, there was a bird-hunter, and he would get his catch by casting the net on a flock perched on the ground. As the net was cast on them, each bird, by itself, struggled in vain to fly to safety. As time went by, the birds began to realize their dwindling numbers, and one day, they met in session and decided upon a course of action. The next day, when the hunter cast his net, instead of each bird trying to struggle its way out by itself, they signalled to each other as planned, and, in one heave, carried the net and placed it on the branches of a tree. Then, one by one, the birds escaped from under the net, leaving the hunter with no catch.

--- An Indian fable.

11.1 Introduction.

The birds in this story are comparable to the PCN's, and the bird hunter and his net to whatever ills that afflict these PCN's and which keep them in a state of underdevelopment. The "course of action" is what has been proposed in Part IV of this study (chapters seven to ten, and, of course, the earlier chapters leading up to Part IV). In this chapter, then, I want to examine how the discussion so far can be tied together in such a way as to lead to humanistic nationism, identified in this study as (the path to freedom of the "birds" and) the goal in national development (3.4), through communicative development, identified as the homogeneous condition of humanistic nationism (chapter four). Towards this, I first review the content of each chapter (11.2), and then re-introduce the "development cycle"
presented in 3.6 (figure 3.5), in an attempt to show how the proposed "course of action" can indeed help PCN's come out of the underdevelopment cycle and cultivate themselves towards national development (11.3). The chapter concludes with a consideration of the psychological and sociological processes involved in achieving humanistic nationism (11.4).

11.2 The view so far.

Claiming, first of all, that the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Oceania, or PCN's as I have called them, are at least not developing, if not actually underdeveloping (1.3), such underdevelopment was characterized in terms of three gaps: the widening gap between the PCN's and the core nations, the "social gap" between the masses and the CA in PCN's, and the "value gap", first between the masses and the CA, then between the PCN's and the core nations, and finally between what man has achieved materially, or outwardly, and what man has achieved internally, that is, in terms of humanizing himself. The presence and the continuation of the three gaps was then seen (in chapter two) as being conditioned by the presence of the "new colonial situation", wherein the rural masses come to be underdeveloped by the rural elites, the rurality by the urban metropolis, and PCN's by the core nations and the global corporations (figure 2.3). On the basis that the three gaps and the new colonial situation represent an unjust condition of man, and on the further assumption that development theories advanced so far themselves may have contributed to the maintenance of this unjust condition, an alternative model of national development was then proposed, under the label "Humanistic Nationism"(3.4). The model is based on the premise that at the heart of the development process of a nation must lie the maximization of the humanness of the individuals that live within it. Calling this process and out-
come in relation to the individual "personal cultivation" (3.31), such personal cultivation was seen as being in a conditioned origination relationship with "milieu cultivation", the two together being called "human cultivation" (3.32). The maximization of personal and milieu cultivation, then, makes up the "humanistic" aspect of the model. "Milieu" can be understood at different levels, but people have found the need for a level of organization that goes beyond "primarily local self-concepts, concerns and integrative bonds" (Fishman, 1973:5) but one that is smaller than the entirety of mankind. This is the "nation", comprised of a geopolitical dimension and a sociocultural dimension (1.21). Combining these two complementary dimensions, sociopolitical integration at the national level was taken to make up the other aspect of the model, namely "nationalism". Thus, the model of "humanistic nationalism".

Getting back to each of the dimensions of the model, humanness, at the highest level, was seen as being comprised of "compassion" and "wisdom" (3.31), both of which are based on increasing information, and action based on this information, that is "communication" between information and action (figure 3.3). Likewise, nationalism is also based on communication, given that society is a system, the extent of the maintenance of the systemicity of a society being a function of the extent of communication among its different parts. Given the importance of communication in both the humanistic and the nationistic components of HN, "communicative development" was seen as the "crux of HN", or, its homogeneous condition (4.4). Communication, which lies at the centre of communicative development, is a process wherein two or more people come to talk of some content common to them at a given time using the medium of language. Thus, communication was seen as a simultaneous people-, contentual- and linguistic process (4.4).
Taking communication as a people process, it was seen that "empathic participation" is the necessary condition for such a "people process" to prevail (4.5). Contentually speaking, an overarching national ideology was seen as providing the necessary basis, and sufficient (contentual) condition, for national communication (i.e., sociopolitical integration) (5.3). And, given the historical reality of the new colonial situation on the one hand and the need to overcome it on the other, the content of this ideology was argued to be a dyadic concept (5.43), the two sides of which were "humanistic decolonialization" (5.41) and "humanistic incrementalization" (5.42). By "decolonialization" was meant the need for attitudinal and behavioural change (figure 4.3), and the need to "go back to history" in search of new solutions to meet the increasing needs of humanization and nationism. By "incrementalization" was meant the need for increasing control of one's environment, gained in small steps in relation to the level a system (e.g., an individual, a society) is at at a given time. The addition of the term "humanistic" to each of these aspects was to underscore that both of them be achieved with a view to maximizing the humanness of man in a given society. Finally, taking communication as a linguistic process, it was shown that language constituted an essential part of being human, and, as such, it was the most human means of communication (6.3). As well, the effective use of language was argued to be based on a shared psycho-praxic base (6.4).

Against this "theoretical" background, chapters seven to ten served as an exercise in "praxis", wherein an attempt was made to "do something" about the initial "problem" we started out with, namely, the presence of the widening-, social- and value gaps. Essentially, establishing a relationship between the question of achieving humanistic nationism and language plan-
ning (7.2), the need for a single "language of cultivation" was argued for in 7.3. In developing such an "L-cultivation", it was argued that the exogenous languages (L-exo) must not be allowed any official role in PCN's, given that communication is a linguistic process (4.4 and chapter 6), and that one of the features that condition the social and the value gaps in PCN's is the use of the L-exos by the CA (composite aristocracy) (figure 2.1) preferentially, that is, whenever and wherever they can, while the masses used only the L-ends (endogenous languages). Arguments for this position were advanced from the three points of view of communication, namely communication as a people process (8.31.1), as a contexual process (8.31.2), and as a linguistic process (8.31.3). By contrast, it was argued that the use of L-ends in PCN's served as the necessary condition for communicative development (8.32). Criteria that would help a PCN select the (interim) L-cultivation from among the many L-ends were then suggested (9.2). Making a distinction between a "high variety" of a given language, or acrolect, and a "low variety", or basilect, it was then argued that the choice of a "contact lect" from among the basilects served as a further necessary condition for national communication, given that the CA used the acrolect preferentially, and for higher functions, while the masses used a basilect exclusively (9.3). Criteria were then proposed that would help determine this contact lect (9.31). The process and outcome of determining the contact lect of an interim L-cultivation was then shown as a potential base for an "extended speech community" (10.5) that was coterminous with the geopolitical boundaries of a nation. This was seen as the sufficient linguistic condition for the bridging of the social and value gaps in PCN's, given, of course, the presence of the other sufficient ideological condition, namely the adoption of HN as the national ideology (5.3).
This is the line of argumentation thus far. Let us now examine how the presence of these two sufficient conditions lead to HN.

11.3 Achieving Humanistic Nationism through the Sufficient Linguistic and Ideological Conditions

Like most of the processes we have examined in this study, the process of the two sufficient conditions leading to the goal of HN is a cyclical one, and can be shown in the form of a "model"—the same one introduced as figure 3.5, the different "lapses" of which were "covered", or examined, in the different chapters. All I am doing here is to examine briefly the actual process by which the two sufficient conditions serve to eventually narrow, or bridge, the three gaps and lead to communicative development, and eventually to HN.

Here, then, is the model again:
Figure 11.1 The language and ideology-based national developmental cycle.

**Key**

→ "in a conditioned origination relationship".

↻ "leads to", or "serves as a condition".
While communication was seen above as a simultaneous linguistic, contentual and people process, language and the content (i.e. the ideology) must surely serve as the cooperating conditions in bringing people together in communication. The language provides the medium and the ideology provides the "unifying" substance which comes to be discussed and acted upon through that medium. It is precisely for this reason that the identification of the ideology of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization was seen as the sufficient ideological (or contentual) condition, and the identification of the L-cultivation as the sufficient linguistic condition for communication to prevail. Thus, the model "begins" with the L-cultivation (step 1a) and the ideology of HN (step 1b). The bi-directional arrow between 1a and 1b indicates the necessity for the presence of both sufficient conditions.

The label "L-cultivation" implies three things:

a. that the government of a given PCN is committed to language planning as a conscious form of social intervention, and has adopted, and is committed to, the principle of a single national language, and not more than ten subnational languages (see 7.3 for the justification);

b. that a contact lect (9.3) of an interim L-cultivation (7.3) has been identified (where necessary) at the national and subnational levels; and

c. that the process of cultivation (that is, enrichment and dissemination (10.5)) of the identified L-cultivation has begun, or at least the machinery set up for it to begin.
The label "ideology of humanistic nationalism" likewise implies:

a. that the government is committed to what may be called "political planning" as a conscious form of social intervention, and has adopted, and is committed to, the principle of a single national ideology and no more than four subnational ideologies (see figure 5.5);

b. that the dyadic concept of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization (5.43) has been accepted as the content of the ideology at the national and subnational levels (see 11.4 later); and

c. that the process of cultivation (that is, enrichment and dissemination) of the ideology of HN has begun, or at least the machinery set up for it to begin.

(This last step, in regard to both L-cultivation and the ideology of HN, then, takes us from the first step in planning, namely policy, to the second step in planning, namely implementation. See figure 7.1.)

There are two outcomes of the adoption of an L-cultivation and the ideology of HN. The first is sociolinguistic (step 2a) and the other is sociocultural (2b). Let us first examine the sociolinguistic outcome, namely, "access, range and repertoire extension".

1. The label is developed here to match the notion of language planning.

2. The notion of "cultivating the ideology", though never formally proposed in this study, is implied in my notion of "stagewise approximation in arriving at HN" (5.5). The process involved here is the same as in relation to the process of cultivating the language (chapter 10). The subnational ideologies (see figure 5.4) contribute to the national ideology ("enrichment") which, in turn, "reaches out" to the subnational ideologies ("dissemination"). And, in the process, dissimilarities between and among the ideological varieties come to be minimized, thereby providing an increasingly consensual base for communication.
It was observed in 2.3 that traditional language revealed "access restriction", "range restriction" and "repertoire compartmentalization" (Fishman, 1974:87). By contrast, L-cultivation can be characterized as allowing for access, range and repertoire extension. That is to say that an increasing number of speakers of a given language has access to all the different functions for which the L-cultivation comes to be used (access extension), the functions for which a language is used comes to be expanded (range extension), and the lect-function correspondence comes to be minimized as well (repertoire extension), all in a cyclical relationship, as indicated by the arrows.

Such extension is made possible as a result of selecting the L-cultivation from among the endogenous languages - the only language(s) spoken by the masses - and from among the basilect variety - again a "mass language". Even if initially such access is open only to the speakers of the particular L-endo selected for interim L-cultivation status, it becomes open to an increasing number of people as the selected lect and the interim L-cultivation comes to be less and less different from all other languages and lects through enrichment and dissemination, and as an extended (or extending) speech community emerges.

As access extension takes place, the L-cultivation comes to be used first for private purposes (8.22), and gradually for all public purposes as well, as the L-cultivation, as the "official language", comes to be extended for all public functions. This, then, results in range extension, because the range of functions for which the L-cultivation comes to be used now far exceeds that for which any single given language (L-endo or L-exo) was ever used earlier (see column 5, figure 12.2). The common ideological base plays a role here as well, because it both adds a further function -
namely, a unity function, as well as helps keep all the public functions
directed towards the same national, i.e., public, goal.

The basic condition for repertoire compartmentalization was seen as
the existence of diglossia (2.3) under which different varieties of lan-
guage come to be used for different functions by different societal classes.
But with L-cultivation coming to be used for an increasing number of func-
tions, and eventually for all, public and private functions, and by an in-
creasing number of people (Accessa extension), diglossia comes to be mini-
mized, resulting in repertoire extension. The variation within L-cultivation
becomes increasingly less and less as it comes to be enriched and disseminated
in relation to all other languages, and the question of compartmentalization
comes to be increasingly less meaningful. Repertoire compartmentalization
comes to be further minimized as the language becomes more flexible and
"supple" through range extension (it is now a more flexible tool), and its
users also become less rigid in their language usage, and come to be
"linguistic entrepreneurs" in their attempt to meet the "creative situation"
(6.3) produced by the challenge of new communication and the new ideology of
HN.

This, then, is the sociolinguistic outcome of the adoption of L-cultiva-
tion and the ideology of HN. The sociocultural outcome is an increasingly
shared psychopraxic base, i.e., culture³ (step 2b). Given that language
conditions a people's perceptions and praxis (6.3), an increasingly common
language usage means an increasingly common psychopraxic, or cultural, base,
with the conditioned origination relationship (6.3) resulting in the in-

³. In terms of my analysis, both language, and perception and praxis
(behaviour) are component parts of a culture. Thus, since I am talking
only of the last two, I cannot, strictly speaking, refer to it as
"culture". However, I shall use this more familiar term, remembering
that I am talking of only a part of culture.
creasing commonality in both the language and the culture. Such an increasingly shared culture also comes to be enhanced by the decreasing diglossia-related differences in society. Another source for an increasingly shared cultural base is the access, range and repertoire extension itself, because such extension allows for more people to use language for more functions and in less compartmentalized ways, allowing an increasing number of people to perceive and prax along comparable lines. The adoption of a common ideology strengthens the increasingly shared cultural base as it provides another, and a concrete, basis for shared psychopraxic behaviour.

An increasingly shared culture base on the one hand, and the extension of access, range and repertoire extension on the other, then, are the twin reciprocal outcomes (note the bidirectional arrow in the model) of the adoption of an L-cultivation along with the ideology of HN (steps la and lb, respectively).

The overall outcome of step 2 is that an increasingly facilitative base for communication and participation comes to be established. There is, first of all, an officially sanctioned common, and specific, task to be done, namely, decolonialization in relation to incrementalization, and vice versa. In order to achieve this "dyadic" goal, each individual and collective has to go back and "examine history", recover aspects of tradition selectively, in a manner suitable for meeting the present day needs of individuals and collectivities (modernization and humanization), and apply incrementally (i.e., in manageable proportions) the principles and methods extracted from tradition (see figure 5.2 and sections 5.41 and 5.42). As an outcome of this common, specific task, there emerge "new methods and principles", and further, "new traditions" (figure 5.2) — i.e., a general
content. Such an ideology-based general content of communication comes to be further expanded, and fortified, through a very complex process, as detailed in chapter six, as people come to use a common language, namely L-cultivation. To draw from that discussion, then, what we have here is a "creative situation" (6.3) where a new, general content is emerging. Faced with this creative situation, the "linguistic entrepreneurs" among both individuals and collectivities, develop new linguistic forms, and "give direction" to the emerging L-cultivation. Given that L-cultivation comes to be enriched by both regional languages of cultivation and other mesogenous linguistic varieties as well (10.3 and 10.4), such linguistic entrepreneurs come not only from among the members of the "original" speech community, but from among speakers of other languages as well. Thus, the emerging language comes to reflect the psychopraxic behavior of several speech communities, and begin to expand further the psychopraxic base, beyond the original speech community (see figure 10.3).

The emerging language comes to be shaped by the increasingly common environment as well. Although the physical environment of the people still remains unchanged, the determination of an L-cultivation and a contact lect, and its cultivation through enrichment and dissemination, and the adoption of the new ideological dyadic concept of decolonialization and incrementalization, bring to PCN's a changed psychological environment. This "immediate past", then, comes to be reflected in the emerging L-cultivation as well, given the historical correlation hypothesis (6.3).

Following arguments advanced in 6.3, we can surmise that the perception and praxis of the "mass mind" or the "average person" come to be conditioned by the emerging new language that reflects the new psychological environment and the expanding psychopraxic base. And, as more and more "average
persons”, i.e., the majority of the people, come to use the L-cultivation, and their thought-behaviour, or perceptual-praxic continuum comes to be guided by such use, that is, share a common cultural base, the ideology-based general content of communication comes to be expanded, with the addition of a general cultural content, given the conditioned origination relationship between the cultural sub-sets, language, perception and praxis (6.3).

The expanding common content, then, provides the first condition for the emergence of an increasing facilitative base for communication and participation. This, in turn, is supported by the presence of the L-cultivation. As L-cultivation comes to be increasingly less dissimilar to other languages in the process of cultivation in relation to these other languages (and lects) (10.5), and gains prestige through official sanction, it becomes psychologically less threatening, and indeed more prestigious, for people to seek, through “instrumental”, if not “integrative”, motivations (Lambert, 1963), facility in the L-cultivation. The adoption or the learning, of L-cultivation by individuals is also made easier by the fact that it is potentially, if not in reality as yet, “everybody’s” language.

If the adoption of the ideology of HN and of L-cultivation thus provides for a contentual and linguistic base for communication, between them, they also provide for a psychological frame of mind that is further conducive to communication and participation. First there is the developmental ideology of decolonization and incrementalization, which, as an ideology, “meets the sociopsychological needs” of an emerging society (5.2), namely,

4. By “instrumental motivation” is meant that a person acquires a new language, behaviour, etc., so he can get a job, earn a promotion, etc., without necessarily allowing himself to be absorbed into the target culture.
to pull together as a nation (i.e., sociopolitical integration). As outlined in the characterization of an ideology in 5.2, as the possibility of meeting such needs, if not the actual meeting, looms in the horizon, there is "psychological arousal", which then "reduces psychological strain". The fact that the ideology, in its totality, also serves as a psychopraxic guide (5.2) for the entire country comes to be further conducive to communication in that its very presence gives a feeling of security and of cohesion, in the thought that it guides everybody's life and thus each individual can potentially seek refuge in all others, if the need so arises.

Such a facilitative psychological process comes to be enhanced further by the confidence that the two contentual aspects of humanistic nationalism bring to individuals and collectivities actually engaged in activities relating to going back to tradition, recovering selective aspects of it in relation to incrementalization needs, and incrementally applying methods and principles so extracted (figure 5.2). On the one hand, the myth of their natural inferiority, perpetrated during the colonial period and in the post-colonial period by the composite aristocracy (2.2), comes to be exploded, as the masses reach out to tradition, and realize its strength, both as a form of psychopraxic behaviour, as well as as a potential and real "reservoir of wisdom ... [which] represents the collective experience of the race" (Jung, referred to in Funk and Wagnell, op.cit.:7296). Such confidence comes to be enhanced as individuals and collectivities realize their own potential and capacity for growth, and when for the first time perhaps in their life in the case of the individuals, and, for the first time since colonialism in the case of the collectivity, the masses can conduct their own affairs successfully, and gain increasing control over the environment.
(i.e., "incrementalize"), as "subjects" (Freire, 1970), at their own
direction, and not at the behest or guidance of the CA as in the new
colonial situation. Then there is the confidence that is gained by the
adoption of "incrementalism", which calls for steps small enough to be
manageable but large enough to bring about at least minimal change (5.42).
Since every "frame" of incrementalism, to use an analogy from programmed
instruction, comes to be successful, as in the case of the student using
programmed instruction material, there is psychological satisfaction that
stems from success.

Finally, there is a further form of psychological satisfaction. L-
cultivation has a basilectal basis, given that the contact lect which
served as its original base was selected from among the basilects. Thus,
L-cultivation is already "close to the hearts" of the majority of at least
the original speakers. And as it also comes to be enriched in relation to
the basilects of the unselected languages and other mesogenous linguistic
varieties (10.3), the L-cultivation comes to be seen as "our language",
because it indeed has elements of other linguistic varieties incorporated
in it.

The extension of access, range and repertoire (i.e., a medium of com-
munication), the adoption of decolonialization and incrementalization as
the content of ideology and the emergence of an increasingly shared culture
(arising from a specific ideological content and leading into a general con-
tent of communication) together, then, serve as a potential facilitative
base for communication and participation. If the adoption of the ideology
of NN so far has resulted in reducing the psychological strains associated
with making new communicative links (supra), such reduction further prepares.
the already psychologically aroused (supra) individuals and collectivities for "psychological action", or "commitment" (5.2). The final step in my characterization of ideology is that such "psychological action" leads to "physical action" (5.2). In the present situation, such physical action manifests itself, or finds an outlet in, or put another way, the "psychological push" for such physical action is met by, the already identified task of decolonialization and incrementalization. As an increasing number of individuals and collectivities thus "come around to" action, there results at step 3a (of the model in figure 11.1) "participation". There is now a common task to be done and a common goal to be achieved. There is also an increasingly common medium to communicate in, as the access, range and repertoire come to be extended (2a). The new participation also brings further psychological satisfaction, as the incremental approach brings visible results (supra). And since success begets success (see footnote 10, chapter 4), there results "multi-participation" (4.5), resulting from a sort of spreadover effect. Since the basis of such participation is humanistic (given that the ideology of decolonialization, incrementalization and nationalism is humanistic), such participation comes to be motivated not by exclusive self-concerns but by a high level of what philosophers call "other-regarding" concerns as well. Thus, what results at step 3a is empathic participation.

Empathic participation is in a conditioned origination relationship with a change in the attitude-behaviour continuum (3b1 and 3b2), as each of attitude and behaviour come to be influenced by the other (figure 4.3). This, then, is what is implied in the bidirectional arrow between 3a and 3b, and 3b1 and 3b2.
There is now in a given country a common language (1a) and a common content (1b) on the basis of which people have come together in empathic participation (3a) and which has provided conditions for an attitudinal and behavioural change (3b). Thus, all three conditions facilitative of communication (see 4.4) are now present, and this can be said to result in societal and personal communicative development (steps 4a and 4b); through what has come to be known in the literature as "new interest aggregation", "new socialization" and "new interest articulation" (e.g. Lerner, 1963:348).

New interest arises from several sources. The ideology of decolonialization and incrementalization is one. The humanistic goal is another. Another is the "linguistic mobility" stemming from the progressive extension of the access, range and repertoire, and a fourth is the corresponding change in attitudes and behaviour. A fifth is the new feeling of self-worth and identity arising from the basipetalism - the recognition of the lower rungs of society - implicit in the selection of the basilect as the contact lect, and an L-endo, to the exclusion of an L-exo, as the interim L-cultivation. The opportunity for everybody - including, and particularly, the masses - to be meaningfully engaged in "developmentally profitable activity" (footnote 4, chapter 3), results in individuals coming to be interested in things, people and areas which had not attracted them earlier.

To the extent that this new interest is realizable or actualizable in relation to others, there results an increasing interest in meeting and interacting with such others - more of them, and different ones. The availability of a common language to communicate in allows for such interaction with even people outside the traditionally determined roles and relationships. The outcome is a new socialization.
As such interaction develops, people begin to articulate their interests more loudly and clearly, as they learn and discover, in relation to other people and things, their own strengths (and weaknesses), needs, rights, duties and obligations. They not only have a new interest, but a medium to express themselves in and an increasing capacity for expression as well, gained through the new psychopraxic freedom, and the experience gained in exploring that freedom.

Needless to say, the new interest, new socialization and new interest articulation are in a conditioned origination relationship. And as more and more individuals come to be guided by this "cycle", there results societal communicative development, that is, increasing communication and qualitatively better (= developmentally profitable) communication, among members in society.

To the extent that societies are made up of individuals, societal communicative development entails personal communicative development (4b). Individuals now have more information, and better, that is, developmentally profitable, information, and come to be guided by the cycle of new interest aggregation, new socialization and new interest articulation.

If the adoption of an L-cultivation and the ideology of HN served earlier as the (sufficient and) "cooperative conditions", for national development (see chapter headings of chapters 5 and 6), now we find the homogeneous condition of communicative development emerging. Thus, at the "next" step in the model, we find societal and personal communicative development leading to personal cultivation (5a) and milieu cultivation (5b) in relation to each other.

Communicative development in relation to society, by definition, entails more communication and qualitatively better communication (4.4). Such
communication brings to the individuals more information and developmentally profitable information, because the content of communication in society is ideology-related and humanistic. If on the one hand such information serves as a basis for ascending wisdom, it also serves as a basis for ascending compassion (figure 3.3), because the ideology-related societal communication has both an informational and a praxic dimension. The communication has resulted from participation, and from an attitudinal and behavioural change. As more such information comes to be synthesized in relation to praxis, and gathered and used in a developmentally profitable manner, there results personal cultivation (step 5a), the "seed condition" of development (3.31).

Increasing societal communicative development, then, produces in society more, and more cultivated, individuals. And, as such individuals interact with each other in a "multiple helix" (Hampden-Turner, 1970:33), the communities of which such individuals are members come to be cultivated as well. In turn, the entire milieu (step 5b), or the nation made up of such cultivated communities, comes to be cultivated (that is, results in human cultivation (3.32)).

At the "next" step, the presence of cultivated individuals and cultivated communities and a "communicating society" can be said to provide conditions for the emergence of the simultaneous process of bridging the gaps and undermining the new colonial situation (6a), as well as achieving the goal of humanistic sociopolitical integration, or HN (6b), in the process.

The social gap comes to be progressively narrowed because now the only officially recognized language is L-cultivation, and thus the opportunities (economic, political, sociocultural and so on) in society are not only equally open to all, at least potentially (as in the political ideal of government of the people, by the people and for the people), but there is a
real practical possibility of achieving them, given also that all segments of society are governed by the same ideology and a related humanism. Further, everybody shares the same type of information and are at roughly the same level of information (see figure 3.3). Again, the relationship between the governed and the governors is one of led-followers being led by led-leaders (8.32).

The incrementalism of the ideology and the recognition of subnational ideologies and subnational languages of cultivation will have served to undermine the tendency for centrisism, the associated urbanization and industrialization, and conspicuous modernization (2.2). The exodus to the city comes to be stymied as well, along with an undermining of the exopetalism (2.21.2) which is already undermined by the exclusion of the L-exo from the developmental paradigm. The resulting endopetalism comes to be associated with a basipetalism (as contrasted with the earlier acro-petalism (2.21.2)), with the adoption of the basilect as L-cultivation and the increasing recognition gained by the masses through increasing empathic participation. With exopetalism and acropetalism undermined, the maxipetalism associated with big industry, big government and so on comes to be gradually replaced by a minipetalism.

As the differences between the governed and the governors, and between the rurality and the metropolis, come to be minimized, not only the social gap, but the value gap, too, comes to be minimized. The process is further enhanced by the emergent common value system arising from the adoption of a common ideological content and an emerging common linguistic, perceptual and prxicic base. As both individuals and the environment come to be humanized, exploitation, rural or urban, comes to be increasingly difficult to be
"pushed" by the "doers", or tolerated by the "receivers". With decreasing exploitation, conditions can be said to have emerged for the gradual demise of internal colonialism (2.21). The same process will have given rise to increasing sociopolitical integration of PCN society, along humanistic lines, or HN, as well, with more and more increasingly cultivating individuals and communities seeking, gathering and using developmentally useful information through, and on the basis of, a common language, and transforming such information into praxis on the basis of a common ideology, resulting in communicative development.

The outcome of the demise of internal colonialism and of increasing sociopolitical integration with a humanistic base is an increasingly united and strong society, i.e., an "autonomous cultural system" (Redfield, op.cit.: 40), with increasing confidence in itself and, like the birds in the story retold at the beginning of this chapter, able to "fly to safety" from the net of external colonialism (2.22), which has already lost its "local" ally, internal colonialism. Both, shielding itself from the external colonialism as well as pulling out of the "international race", a PCN can now go towards "nationized" development, at its own pace and in relation to its own culture base, reflecting an increasing maturity. Gradually, the level of development rises, and as PCN's collectively "raise their heads", that part of the widening gap to which the PCN's contribute - for the extent of the gap is a function of the low level of development of the PCN's and the high level of the core nations - comes to be minimized. The part relating to the core

5. An "autonomous cultural system" is "one which is self-sustaining - that is, it does not need to be maintained by a complementary, reciprocal, subordinate or other indispensable connection with a second system" (Redfield, ibid.)
nations comes to be minimized as well. First, with increasing numbers of PCN's pulling out of the international race, the benefits that had accrued to core nations and global corporations by keeping the PCN's in the "race" (e.g., raw materials, markets and so on (2.22)), come to be minimized, and their economies come to be affected negatively, along with corresponding societal dislocations (in core nations). Secondly, since liberation cannot be won alone (Freire, Fromm), and with PCN's becoming increasingly humanized the core nations, and eventually the global corporations, come to be increasingly humanized as well, both as an outcome of the attempts of the PCN's to liberate itself, as well as the core nations and the corporations coming to respect the PCN's, and the more humanistic-prone elements of the core nations (and corporations?) reaching out to the PCN's for information and praxis relating to the PCN's approach to humanization. As the core nations contribute its part, the widening gap comes to be gradually minimized.

Now, as the three gaps come to be narrowed, if not actually bridged, the new colonial situation comes to be undermined (6a) in the same process that increasing humanistic sociopolitical integration (6b) takes place, just as much as, as earlier, the new colonial situation grew in the same process of underdeveloping the PCN's.

This, then, completes the process of national development which began with adopting an L-cultivation and the ideology of humanistic decolonization and humanistic incrementalization. The cycle of development, as represented in the model, however, doesn't stop there. The joint processes of bridging the gaps and achieving humanistic sociopolitical integration

6. A historical example here is the eagerness presently shown by Western countries to visit, "learn from" and appreciate the People's Republic of China, and other countries such as Tanzania and Cuba.
leads on the one hand to an even higher demand for (developmentally profitable) language usage (step 7), as more people are brought into the national fold and newer and more complex institutions emerge, whose activities come to be conducted in the L-cultivation. This leads to the further development of the L-cultivation, an emergent variety (7.4) through further adaptive growth. At the same time, the increasing demand for language usage is met by the further extension of access, range and repertoire (step 2a), thus completing one route of the cycle.

The undermining of the gaps and the approximation of the goal of HN also leads back again to the further development and enhancement of the ideology of HN. This is because the ideology of humanistic decolonization and humanistic incrementalization is, like the L-cultivation, an emergent variety. Which aspects of cultural history are to be applied in meeting such incrementalization needs, and what constitutes incrementalization itself are determined in relation to the needs of a given situation, time and locality. Thus, while during the process of the cycle envisaged in the model, a particular variant of the ideology will have emerged to meet such changing and emergent needs, the approximation of the goal of humanistic nationalism itself will bring in its wake certain other needs. Thus, the model shows steps 6a and 6b leading back to step 1b, thus completing the other routing of the final "lap".

The "last" lap of the model (steps 6a and 6b) was seen as leading to steps 1a and 1b (although through different routes). This, then, makes the model of development envisaged here a cycle, wherein the "effect" of an earlier step turns out to be the "cause" of a succeeding step. In that sense, the model is one big "conditioned origination relationship", with each of the steps serving as the necessary condition for the very next, but also serving as "other" conditions for every other step.
This, then, is how the adoption of an L-cultivation and the ideology of HN can bring about national development. Needless to say, it is well-advised to remember that each step, sub-step, or the entire cycle itself "works" in the manner envisaged in the discussion only "if all conditions prevail". The extent of the realizability of the model, then, is a function of the extent of the prevalence of the conditions.

11.4 The Psychological Process of Achieving Humanistic Nationism Through Stagewise Approximation.

The discussion of the model of development in the last section seemed to assume that the process involved therein applied only to one level of sociopolitical integration, namely, the national level. But it has already been pointed out in 5.5 that there is a need for "stagewise approximation" in arriving at HN, and for sub-ideologies to serve as "linkages" in the process (see figure 5.4). In this section, then, let us examine, with the help of a figure (11.2), the psychological process underlying increasing sociopolitical integration, from band through clan, ethnic group, nationality, to "society".

The figure presents the process in relation to each level (column 1), visually (column 2) and verbally (column 3), and is to be read bottom up.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage 1a</th>
<th>Stage 1b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Image]</td>
<td>[Image]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. All the quotes in the column are from Schreiber & Harvey (1967). The sequence of systemic development from band to society in the schema (Schreiber & Harvey, op. cit.: 136-7) is represented by the flowchart below. The diagonal arrows indicate the direction of development.

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>System</th>
<th>Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Conflict Between</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Ethnic Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Society</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.2: The sequence of systemic development from band to society in the schema (Schreiber & Harvey, op. cit.: 136-7).
```
Essentially what figure 11.2 shows is the process through which a "system" called a PCN moves from a simple to increasingly complex levels of organization (integration). The specific details of this process (of bands integrating into a society) can be understood by reading column 3 (bottom to top). But there are certain other general features that apply to all systems, and thus to PCN's. These features would help us understand the process of sociopolitical integration in PCN's better. The first of such features is that, in line with views expressed by several scholars (see Schroder & Harvey, op.cit.:135 for a list), the system called a PCN society passes through several stages of phases of "refined articulation of component parts" (Schroder & Harvey, ibid.), before the different segments living in it integrate themselves into the more super-ordinate framework of "humanistic societism".

The number of stages involved in this process, although shown in the figure to be five, varies. There is evidence from other disciplines that suggests such a variation. For example, Schroder & Harvey (ibid.:136-7) come up with four stages in relation to, for example, "a tone, person, or a group", while Kohlberg (1973), in relation to moral development, posits three "levels" made up of six "stages", with a possible seventh stage. Rostow's (op.cit.) model of economic development has four stages, while the Buddha's scheme for moral development has seven (Saddhatissa, op.cit.: 183-4). Thus, we can say that the number of stages through which a PCN has to go through in achieving HN can range from one to five (see figure 5.4). The actual number of stages would be determined internally, and depend on factors such as the level of sociopolitical integration a PCN is presently at, the number of sociopolitical groups in the country, size, history, sociocultural differences, and so on.
The stage at which a PCN is at at a given point of time comes to be likewise determined by a multiplicity of factors, such as, for example, the environment, history, the culture base, and so on. On the basis of this, then, we can hypothesize that, at a given point of time, PCN's, and by the same token individuals and collectivities within the PCN, are at different stages of growth, which means that they can be "strung on a continuum", as Apter (1965:22) would claim in relation to nations, and Kohlberg (op.cit.), for example, would allow in relation to individuals (supra).

As has been established by Turiel (op.cit.) in relation to Kohlbergian stages, however, while a segment of the population, or the entire society, "performs" at one predominant stage at a given point in time, it also exhibits some traits of the immediately lower stage which it despises and rejects as an inadequate model of psychological organization, and some other traits of the immediately higher stage which it prefers. In other words, what we have, at any given level, is a "stage spread", or as Turiel (op.cit.) calls it, a "stage mix", rather than a "frozen" stage. Thus, while an ethnic group, for example, would exhibit behavioural patterns reflective of stage 3, it (or its members individually) may at times behave as if it (they) were still at stage 2, or at stage 4. But, if such an individual or a community is asked to choose from among the three different stages, it will reject stage 2 outright as an inadequate model of behaviour, and prefer stage 4.

The presence of stages such as above, then, suggests a step-wise movement up the ladder, and such movement is "directional". That is to say that, unless there is a complete change in the environment affecting
the (system-called a) PCN drastically, movement is from simple to complex, "fused" to "diffracted" (Riggs, op.cit.) etc. In our case, this means that a clan, for example, becomes an ethnic group but never an ethnic group a clan. This, however, is not to say that what we have is the process of a Thomian unilinear evolution. Rather, "there are a variety of evolutionary sequences along different dimensions", as Farrell (1969: 280) and others (e.g., Steward, op.cit.) suggest. Thus, for example, stage 2b could be

```
     C_1  C_2
   /     \
B_1    B_2    B_3
```

as shown in the figure, or

```
     C_1  C_2
   /     \
B_1    B_2    B_3    B_4
```

Another feature of the band to society process, as can be drawn from the Buddha, Kohlberg (op.cit.), Skinner (in relation to programmed learning) and Farrell (op.cit.), is that a lower stage is a necessary pre-condition for a PCN society to arrive at the next stage. This, in fact, is a commonsensical observation: the higher step in a stairway is necessary supported by the immediately lower (and every other lower) step. This, however, does not mean that a stage cannot be "skipped", as Young and Larsen found in relation to small Italian communities (reported in Farrell, op.cit.: 273). It is possible for one (with long legs, for example) to "skip" an intervening step in walking up a stairway. Similarly, in programmed learning, the bright student may be able to skip one frame. Such skipping may be explained in this manner. Schroder & Harvey's (op.cit.) schema, as well as my own figure 5.4, show "transitory" steps (stages 1b, 2b and so in figure 11.2). Now what a system is able
to "skip" may be such transitory steps rather than a "stage". (Let us also remember that there may be more than one evolutionary sequence.) Or it may be, as in the case of the bright student and the long-legged stair-walker, conditions are so conducive to accelerated growth that a system can go from, say, clanism to nationalism, not waiting to pass through a "natural" growth sequence, i.e., through ethnicism. However, since a system is never at one stage, i.e., the different sub-systems of a system (e.g., culture, education, economic development, etc.) are at different stages (supra), it is possible that it seeks to fill in the "gaps" by seeking some of the features of the stage that was "skipped", as Farrell (op.cit.:273) suggests in relation to the Young and Larsen data. However, "returning" to pick up the "gaps" is an indication that a step taken having skipped an obviously necessary one is not sufficient for a higher level schematization. For, if it were, there would be no return. Thus, we can say that "humanistic societism" is incumbent upon the achievement of "humanistic bandism" to "humanistic ethnicism", thus providing further evidence for the stagewise approximation hypothesis. Other aspects of the directionality discussed above must be noted. First, it may be noted that under skipping circumstances, there is the distinct possibility that for at least a short while, one should expect to see a bimodality in terms of stage dominance, as a clan or ethnic group that has skipped a stage attempts to stabilize its balance. To take up another aspect, as Schroder & Harvey (op.cit.), and Kohlberg (op.cit.) observe, although a lower stage is the precondition for the next stage, arrival at the given lower stage is no guarantee that a PCN society will of necessity reach the next stage. In other words, there could be
"arrestation" at a given level, in the absence of a "best-fit" (Hunt, 1971:239) between the system and the environment.

These then are some of the universal features, or "evolutionary universals" as Parsons (1966) would call them, that emerge from an analysis of the band to society process shown in figure 5.5 and 11.2. Among them, however, were certain non-universal features as well. There are certain other non-universals, as well, to which Farrell (op.cit.:281) draws our attention. One of them is that all systems (PCN's, in our case) do not necessarily experience a pattern change at the same time. This is because behaviour (read: pattern change) is a function of the best-fit between the system and the environment (supra). It was two and a half millenia ago that the Buddha drew our attention to the reality of multicausality, and given the fact that no two systems are identical, it is almost natural that different PCN's should experience pattern change at different times, and in different ways, subject however to the universals as above. All the necessary conditions for such change may not occur in two given PCN's at the same time and in similar ways.

A further non-universal feature is that some growth patterns, or sub-patterns, may be more subject to change or modification than are others. Carneiro & Tobias (1963:205-6), for example, have suggested that their data indicate a higher degree of unilinearity among social organizational traits than among technological traits. Thus, depending on the levels of organization and technology achieved by a PCN at a given time, the further growth pattern of such aspects, and thus of society, may vary from PCN to PCN.
A third non-universal feature, one related to the universal feature of arrestation (supra), may be that the length of time different PCN's "spend" at each given stage may be markedly different. Rostow (op.cit.) for example, points out that a nation could be at the "take-off stage" for as long as a century. History tells us that Latin America, as a region, has been at the "preconditions for take-off" stage for over 350 years, while Japan's take-off stage began well after the second world war, and the next stage of "drive to maturity" was reached by the sixties, and even perhaps earlier.

I have examined the universal and non-universal features of the process of sociopolitical integration in a PCN from band to society with evidence from general systems analysis on the assumption that systems development is a useful metaphor in understanding it. But Farrell (op.cit.:281) raises a basic question as to whether it is "useful to continue to use the evolutionary metaphor" in thinking about such systems development. It is true that there are features of the theory that may vary from system to system. But there are other features, in fact more of them, as the above analysis shows, that are non-variant across systems, and even across disciplines (e.g., moral development, economic development, psychological development (Piaget); spiritual development in Buddhism and so on). The Gestalt view of psychology may appear to question the validity of linearity implied in the stage theories, but, if a stage is viewed as a "gestalt" rather than a "point", still one can establish the validity of stage theories. Thus, then, I conclude that at least for the time being the "evolutionary metaphor", or the stage theory, is a useful way of looking at systems development in that it helps...
us to understand the process through which a system called the FCN grows towards psychological and organization complexity and maturity.

The above analysis was done in an attempt to show how communities at different levels (i.e., band, clans, etc.) organize themselves towards HN. However, the process discussed above applies equally to individuals. This brings us to the question as to what extent analysis across levels is valid.

In the sense that scientists (e.g., Schwab, *ibid.*) analyze it, an individual is a "system" in that a person is made up of sub-systems (e.g., psychological and corporeal sub-systems in my own analysis of a human being (3.31), or the respiratory, digestive and such other systems from a functional point of view). And, of course, a society is a system, too (4.2), in that it is made up of other sub-systems. Thus, there does not seem to be any difficulty in generalizing from the collectivity to an individual. However, Sjoberg & Nett (1968:284) observe how "conclusions based on individuals and conclusions based on collectives can differ considerably" and cites evidence from social scientists in support of their position. But perhaps the major criticism of their view may be related to the very words used by them to express the objection. As expressed by Sjoberg & Nett (*op.cit.*:286), it reads as follows: "**certain** characteristics of collectivities cannot be determined by adding up the characteristics of individuals or individual roles" (underline added). First of all, what is claimed here is that "**certain** characteristics" cannot be thus determined. This, then, concedes the possibility that **certain others** can be generalized across levels. Secondly, it is doubtful that anyone is seriously claiming that collective
features can be determined by simply adding up individual features. The fact that a particular trait obtains in a given individual in a given environment is a good indication that the same trait, generally speaking, obtains in other "normal" members (and thus in the collectivity) which shares the same environment. Arguing the other way around, if we can accept the premise that a particular trait in an individual is, to begin with, a function of the environment, then the same environment is likely to bring about a similar trait in everybody in the same environment, and collectively in the collectivity, too. It is thus not a question of simply "adding up", but rather a common environment conditioning common features.

This, however, need not mean that the trait in one individual will not undergo change in relation to certain factors in the system (i.e. person or the environment) different from others, but in such a case, all individuals will eventually come to share the modified trait. Nor need it mean that a collective trait that results from putting together a thousand individual traits is identical in all respects to the individual traits taken by themselves. The collective trait may manifest itself in terms of certain sub-aspects when an individual is in relation to another. But that is not to say that the given sub-aspects of a trait in an individual are not present in the collective trait itself, merely that the trait in question has sub-aspects shared by some individuals but not by others.

Assuming, on the basis of their discussion of conceptual systems, "that generalization can actually be made across levels of analysis, from individual to social systems", Schroder & Harvey (op. cit.:135) reiterate that
... it is not at all improbable that certain structural aspects of systems dispose toward a particular kind of operation, irrespective of the specific content of the system. Hence as long as organizational or structural features of systems and not content are treated, then possibly the parallels may be more real than just analogous. Without making it explicit, perhaps even without recognizing it, the reason for the historical reluctance to attempt generalizations across levels may have been due to the heavy concentration of concern with content rather than with organizational aspects of system functioning (emphasis added).

The systemic approach taken in this study allows such a cross-over from individuals to the collectivity. Both an individual and a collectivity is each a system. As such, they, as systems, share certain common features. And, as the above discussion shows, not all features are common across systems. But to say, therefore, that generalization across levels is not possible is not to recognize the common features of all systems.

I shall then claim that the process entailed in figure 11.2, shown and discussed in relation to an increasing complexity of sociopolitical organization can equally represent an increasingly complex psychological organization at the individual level. Considering that it already relates to a social system, it can also be taken to represent an increasingly complex psychological organization of collectivities, i.e., in achieving societal compassion and wisdom, and societal communicative development. Thus, the figure also shows the process entailed in achieving personal and milieu cultivation (3.32) and combined human, and national cultivation. As individuals and collectivities come to experience increasingly complex psychological and social organization, increasing cultivation and sociopolitical integration, through an advanced folk language, and an attendant psychological flexibility (7.4), increasing humanistic nationalism can be said to result.
In this section, then, I have analyzed the underlying psychological and sociological processes that serve to bring about the eventual socio-political integration as an outcome of the adoption of an L-cultivation and the ideology of humanistic nationism. It may also be noted parenthetically that the process envisaged in figure 11.2 may well represent the process by which the sub-national languages of cultivation gradually give way to a "higher level" national L-cultivation.

11.5 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have given an overview of the content of chapters one to eight (11.2) with a view to leading up to the model of development outlined and discussed in 11.3. The psychological and sociological process involved in achieving the "final" step in the model, namely, \( HN \), is examined in 11.4.

This, then, concludes the study, the major aim of which was to provide a model of national development that can help PCN's to come out of the morass they have been forced into as an outcome of their colonial past. Figure 11.1 presents this model, which is expected to be able to usher in the new societal paradigm, in the Kuhnian (1962) sense, following a period of questioning the present, formulating hypotheses about alternative methods and practices, and evaluating them with a view to selecting the "best" for a given PCN at a given time.
PART V

CONCLUSION

Chapter Twelve: Implications, Applications
and Further Research
CHAPTER TWELVE

IMPLICATIONS, APPLICATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

12.1 Introduction.

This concluding chapter is not meant as a last test of endurance of the long-suffering reader. It is intended, rather, to

12.2 provide an analytical overview of the study;

12.3 discuss some theoretical considerations;

12.4 present some thoughts towards praxis; and

12.5 suggest further research.

12.2 Analytical overview.

A summary of this study has already been presented in 11.2. All that needs to be done here, therefore, is to view the study from an overall perspective.

The Buddha has provided an analytical paradigm for research in his teaching of the Four Noble Truths (caturarīpa saṁsāra). Claiming himself to be an "analyst" (vibhajāwañā) (Jayatilleka, 1963:278), he presented his findings of his six years of (re)search for the meaning of life in terms of

the condition, or reality, of "suffering" (dukkha) (first Noble Truth)

the cause for suffering (saṁsāra) (second Noble Truth)

the possibility of the cessation of suffering (niro̯dha) (third Noble Truth)

the path to liberation (magga) (fourth Noble Truth)
In terms of this "research paradigm", I have, in this study, indicated "the condition, or reality, of suffering" of PCN's in terms of the widening gap, the social gap and the value gap (chapter one). The "cause for suffering" was shown in terms of the new colonial situation (chapter two). The "possibility of the cessation of suffering" was shown in terms of the model of HN (chapter three). The process envisaged in figures 3.5 or 11.1, beginning with the adoption of the ideology of humanistic decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization (chapter five) and of a language of cultivation (chapter nine), eventually leading back to further changes in the ideology and the language (chapter eleven), served as "the path to liberation". (Chapters four, six, seven, eight and ten provided more contentual material for the understanding of the process of "liberation".)

Under the guidance of such an analytical mode, the study sought to specifically answer three questions (1.1):

1. What is "national development"?

2. Is there a relationship between the language policy of a nation and its "development"? and

1. While calling the Buddha's Four Noble Truths a "research paradigm" may appear to be stretching the point, the analogy has been drawn for good reasons. For example, it is not accidental that his 'very first discourse after attaining Enlightenment (following the six years of search) was the teaching of the Four Noble Truths. He chose his audience carefully (this audience being five others who had themselves left the household life in search of the truth at about the same time as he did), and awaited a suitable time. It was as if the "scientist" Buddha (cf., his claim to be an "analyst" (supra)) was announcing to his "scientific community", engaged in a similar pursuit, the results of his years of search. All of the teachings of the Buddha, over the next 45 years, can be said to be an elaboration of one or the other themes/aspects of these Four Truths. For example, the teaching of the Noble Eightfold Path (figure 3.1) was an expansion of the Fourth Noble Truth.
3. How do we arrive at, in a given nation or nations in general, a language policy that would maximally contribute to such (individual and national) "development"?

The answer to the first question that emerged from the study was that the cultivation, that is, the maximization of the humanness, of individuals and collectivities in relation to increasing sociopolitical integration constituted national development (3.3). The answer to the second question, as shown in chapters seven through ten, was in the affirmative. The adoption of a sound language policy was indeed seen as a necessary condition for national development. But it also became apparent through the study that that itself wasn't enough. While it served as the sufficient linguistic condition, there was also, as seen in chapter five, a need for the adoption of a sound "political policy", that is, an ideology, as well. It was in this light that "humanistic nationalism" came to be seen as the necessary ideological condition.

In answer to the third question, the process of arriving at a language policy contributive to development was seen in terms of a language planning process made up of several steps:

a. the recognition of the need to select a single language of cultivation (7.3);

b. the exclusion of exogenous languages from the development scene (chapter eight);

c. the selection of a single language of cultivation and several sub-national languages of cultivation (9.2, 10.3 and 10.4);

d. the selection of a basilectal variety of the selected language of cultivation to serve as the foundation for an extended speech community (9.3); and
e. the cultivation and dissemination of the selected lect of
the selected language of cultivation (7.4 and 10.5).

12.3 Theoretical considerations.

In this section, a few theoretical issues arising out of the study
will be discussed, two in some detail and the rest in skeletal form.

12.3.1 Humanistic nationism: a flexible model.

The unit of sociopolitical organization recognized in this study,
or upon which the model of development is built, is the nation. In
addition to, being a brainchild of the West, and by that very fact sus-
pect as a concept, the concept of nationism has come under attack not
only at the hands of the global corporations (2.22.2) and the inter-
nationalist Marxists, but by other thinkers as well. Einstein, for
example, sees nationalism (= nationism) as "mankind's measles".

But the major reason why this study has adopted the nation as
the unit of analysis is that it is the sociopolitical reality recognized
by the present international order. It is merely a question of "setting
a thief to catch a thief"! Like it or not, PCN's are all nations.

Such a seemingly off-handed attitude towards a major component of
the model hardly makes it vulnerable or less useful. On the contrary,
it makes the model even more useful by its flexibility. If the exper-
ience of a people, attempting to achieve humanistic nationism, for
example, tells them that nationism is unachievable, unrealistic or un-
necessary, it need not undermine their own cultivation, individually or
collectively. Indeed the model, in its stagewise approximation approach
(5.5 and 11.4), not only allows but calls for sub-national levels of
sociopolitical organization and sub-national ideologies (figures 5.4 and 11.2). In terms of language policy as well, the model allows for the selection, cultivation and dissemination of sub-national languages of cultivation (7.3 and 10.4). Given the position emphasized in 3.32 that the individual, not the collectivity, is "at the centre of the process of milieu cultivation", the level of organization hardly matters. Thus, it can be seen that the flexibility built into the model allows for cultivation, whatever the level of sociopolitical organization.

The nation-state, then, is only one possible terminal level of sociopolitical integration. This means that we have to allow for other terminal levels of organization to suit the needs of individual conglomerations of collectivities. Using a term suggested by Znaniecki (op.cit.:X), we can think of a narodnost² state as one such alternative level. Another alternative would be a village-state.³ Each of the "state-types" above represents an increasingly lower level of organization, as can be seen below in relation to the sociopolitical dimensions shown in figure 5.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nation-state</th>
<th>society ➔ polity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>narodnost-state</td>
<td>nationality ➔ suprávillage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ethnic group ➔ village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village-state</td>
<td>clan ➔ subvillage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bands ➔ nonvillage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 12.1 The different levels of terminal sociopolitical organization in relation to the different sociocultural and geopolitical dimensions.

2. "Narodnost" means "a socially solidary collectivity united by a common national culture ... the word nationality approximates its meaning" (ibid.:X)

3. A "narodnost-state" would be roughly equivalent to a Provincial
In the case of the nation-state, the authority of the state extends to the entire country. By contrast, a narodnost-state or a village-state wields authority only over parts of a country - the territory occupied by the given collectivity. That is to say that in a given country, there would be more than one central authority. However, each such authority, be it at the narodnost level or village level, would be part of the same country, allowing us to define such a country as a "federation of narodnost- and/or village-states". In such a country, while jurisdiction over matters pertaining to the given geographic area would be vested in the given narodnost-/village-state, jurisdiction over matters affecting the entire country would be vested also in the narodnost-/village-states, but collectively.4

Now within a country, there could be only narodnost-states or only village-states, or a combination of narodnost- and village-states operating side by side. Which of the varieties prevail in a given country at a given point in time, of course, would be a function of the level of sociopolitical integration of the given collectivity(ies).

Whether a collectivity is at a narodnost-state or a village-state "terminal" level, it does not remain a terminal one forever. As a people find a particular level unsatisfactory, although agreed upon earlier, the model allows them to decide upon another suitable level (higher or lower), through the same principles of empathic participation and communication discussed in 11.3.

4. To that extent, what is envisaged is different from the federal form of government in Canada or a State government in the US. A "village-state" would be roughly equivalent to a commune in China. But see next paragraph for differences.
But how would a given collectivity decide in the first place as to what level it would like to opt for, or move out of and into? This would be a decision to be made by the relevant collectivity, and the model of Humanistic Nationism would allow for such decision-making. This is no different from the provision in the model for individual freedom.

Given the power relationships between the PCN’s and the core nations (not to mention the multinational corporations) as depicted in the international-metropolis satellite pyramid (figure 2.2), it may be questioned as to how a PCN opting for a lower terminal level of sociopolitical integration could survive. Would not such a state be kicked around, or used to fight proxy wars for the big powers or the bigger countries? The answer to such questions is that the fate of a PCN would indeed be the same in the international power arena, as we have seen in chapter two, regardless of their terminal level of sociopolitical integration. However, the only way a PCN at a lower terminal level can withstand the onslaught of new colonialism would be to cultivate itself, through a common ideology and language. The extent to which such a PCN would be so able to withstand, then, would be, as in the case of a PCN at the higher terminal level of a nation-state, a function of the inner strength and the maturity gained in the process. The process of the maximization of humanness envisaged in the model is also expected to contribute towards such strength, as well as minimize external threats.

Needless to say, deciding upon a particular lower level of sociopolitical integration, and maintaining it, of course, is no easy task. It is as beset with problems as attempts at sociopolitical integration at the nation-state level. And if such flexibility is to be provided for, and maintained, there would obviously be the need for other cooperating
conditions, such as, for example, the recognition by international agencies such as the UN\textsuperscript{5} of the right to opt for such lower levels.

It has already been observed that whatever the sociopolitical level is a people aspires to or has achieved, the humanistic dimension of the model need not be affected. For the model calls for the maximization of the humanness of all individuals, be they members of a band or a "society". In other words, one need not await the collectivity to reach a particular level of organization before one begins to work towards maximizing one's own humanness. The particular view of man given in this study, namely, as one who cognizes, reflects and praxes (3.31) in relation to others (3.32) allows for this. Man cultivates himself incrementally in his daily cognitions, reflections and praxes in relation to others. The level of organization is merely a convenient tool in this process.

Now to consider the concept of HN in its totality, it is both a universalistic and a particularistic model at the same time. It is universalistic because it provides a framework which can be adopted in a developmentally profitable manner, by any nation in the world, be it a PCN or a core nation, or be it organized at the village-state level or the nation-state level. It is particularistic because it allows each such nation to adapt the model to suit its own requirements. The ideological content (that is, which aspects of the history of a people must be invoked, and what steps should be taken towards incrementalization), is to be determined by the people of the given country. So is the choice of an L-cultivation. The flexibility of the model, then,

\textsuperscript{5} A possible mechanism for this might be the setting up of the international agency at three levels: the "United Nation-states", the "United Narodnost-states", and the "United Village-states".
is what allows it to be particularistic.

12.32 Proposed language plan: one phase in the linguistic change cycle.

The linguistic approach in this study can be said to be one of multilingualism to monolectalism. But this must be seen as only one phase in an ever-continuing process of linguistic change that takes place in the history of a country. Perhaps the phase proposed in this study can best be understood in relation to the preceding and following phases. In the diagram below, we see these phases (horizontal axis) in relation to the functions (vertical axis). The numbers along the vertical axis represent the entire range of functions in a country, with 1 representing the "lowest" functions (e.g., family discussions, addressing a domestic servant, etc.) and 10 representing the "highest" (e.g., tertiary education, international relations, use in superior court, etc.). The vertical axis shows the different phases of a country's history.
Figure 12.2 The historical process of unplanned and planned linguistic change.
Relating figure 12.2 to our hypothetical country of Utonia (figure 10.1), the number of functions during the precolonial phase is lesser (shown arbitrarily as 5 for column one) in comparison to, say, the post-colonial phase (columns 2 or 3). The "north east" to "south west" diagonal lines indicate the extent of such use, with the letter "n" standing for L-endo. During this period there were no L-exos, particularly of the core nations, in the country. During the colonial phase (column two), however, a core L-exo has been introduced, and comes to be used for continuing, and newly introduced, higher functions (e.g., government administration and higher education respectively). This is shown with "north west" to "south east" diagonal lines extending from function 3 to 8, marked "x" (for L-exo). There is also overlap between L-endo and L-exo functions (shown with criss-cross lines and "n" and "x") (e.g., primary education). However, the number of functions for which the L-endo is used comes to be decreased (e.g., no literary activities) as shown with the "n" column ending at function 4.

During the first post-colonial phase, no important changes take place in the linguistic situation, just as in the other areas of activity (economics, politics), as the early political elites are kept busy establishing themselves as rulers. In the second post-colonial phase, however, the number of functions comes to be extended (e.g., tertiary education is introduced and works in literary criticism, extended international relations, etc., appear). In the process, the L-exo comes to be used for the highest functions. But at the same time L-endo comes to be put to increasing use as well (e.g., in secondary education), with functional overlap (and bilingualism) still continuing.
In the "proposed phase", LP activity comes to be introduced for the first time, and the L-cultivation (an L-endo) comes to be used for all functions, with L-exos having no place at all. Two important changes appear during the first post-proposal phase. While the L-cultivation, carefully and consciously united linguistically during the proposed phase, continues to be used for all functions, it will begin to diversify linguistically, as lectal varieties begin to emerge. Such a multilectalism is not only natural and healthy, but also poses no threats to national development or national unity as did the multilingualism of the pre- and post-colonial eras. The society is now increasingly bound in a bond of humanism and ideological unity, and the multilectalism is a sign of increasing maturity in individuals and individual collectivities as they come to increasingly express their personalities. Both as a result of this increasing maturity, as well as to meet the emerging needs of communicating with other nations of the region (a "high function"), a single L-exo also comes to be introduced, but this would be a regional "pan-L-exo" and not a L-exo of the core nations. Such a "regional pan-L-exo", as the name suggests, could well be an emergent one, born of the miscegenation of the languages of cultivation of the "participating" nations, through an identical process of identification, cultivation and dissemination outlined in chapter ten. (See also 12.52.4.)

Finally, in the second post-proposal phase, more L-exos are introduced, now including a core L-exo as well. Now, Utonian society is well-integrated, self-reliant and mature, and is in a position to say, with Ghandi: let "the cultures of all lands be blown about my home as

6. It may be noted that this is an extension of the linguistic policy initiated by the CA themselves during the second post-colonial phase to extend the use of L-endos for more functions.
freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

While the L-endor would continue to be used for all functions, L-exos
come to be used selectively for different functions (e.g., as a sub-
ject at the secondary and primary levels).

Viewed in relation to the different phases, then, the "proposed
phase" represents only one station-in the multilingualism to multi-
lectualism process. While it envisages (planned) linguistic and psycho-
praxic unity, it is merely a preparatory planning stage for an eventual
goal of linguistic diversity in psychopraxic unity.

12.33 Other dimensions of the model.

a. Perhaps the single most important theoretical contribution of this
study is that national development has been brought within the fold of
humanism, a dimension sorely neglected in other theories of development
(see the review of literature in 3.21).

b. This study has defined development in terms of "cultivation", that
is, natural growth and intervention. This puts the responsibility for
national development squarely on the individual, the individual collec-
tivity and the institutional structure. For, while the individual and
individual collectivity alone is responsible for bringing their own
capacity for growth to bear upon the situation, "intervention" becomes
the responsibility of others around you and the institutions. But,
again, making use of the intervention to maximize growth becomes the
individual's responsibility.

c. Although the term "incremental" has come to be used in this study
only in connection with the "going forward", or "modernization" (5.42),
the concept is inherent in the notions of "cultivation" and "stagewise
approximation" (5.5) as well. It is an important concept in the model also because it is another feature that allows for participation by each individual. To the extent that manageable change has a good chance of success, the concept and praxis of incrementalism serve as a condition for and a source of psychological satisfaction.

d. The ideology of decolonization takes one back to one's culture (5.41), and language is in a conditioned origination relationship with culture (6.4). To the extent, then, that ideology and language serve as the cooperating conditions for development, the model brings the cultural component to the development scene.

e. The model also represents an attempt to base development on the folk and rural culture. The experience of the colonial period, and the post-independent new colonial situation has shown that the urban culture and its value systems that have guided both colonialism and the new colonial situation are hardly contributive to the maximization of humanness in man. And the call to base development on the folk culture, then, is an attempt to see if the folk culture has features that are more contributive to HN.

f. To the extent that the model includes a strong cultural component, it represents a "cultural revitalization theory" (Paulston, op.cit.; 51). However, it encompasses aspects of all other theories of development advanced thus far (see 3.2), as identified by Paulston, namely, (1) evolutionary and neo-evolutionary theories, (2) structural-functional theories, (3) systems theories, (4) Marxian and neo-Marxian theories,

7. This approach is influenced by the "come and see" (e:hi pa:si:i:k2) approach of the Buddha in taking his message to the world. He asked the world not to believe in him, but merely to "come and see" if his teachings made any sense.
(5) cultural revitalization theories, and (6) Anarchist and Utopian theories.

The evolutionary perspective of the model is contained in the call for incrementalization (5.4.), stagewise approximation (11.4), cultivation (3.32; 7.4) and sociopolitical integration (5.5 and 11.4). It is also contained in the concept of "adaptive growth" in relation to language (11.3). The structural-functionalism is contained, again, in the incrementalism, and in the conscious process of planning advocated in the model, which is a form of modernization, one that implies that "development is made by developers" (Chodak, op.cit.:11). The model represents a systemic theory, to the extent that it employs a strong cybernetic, information and communication-process (see Paulston, op.cit.:29) base. The model also converges on a Marxian and neo-Marxian approach (Paulston, ibid.:3 ff.) to the extent that it calls for a class-based and history-based ideological component. The cultural component of the model pointed out earlier (item (c) above) puts the model into the cultural revitalization category. And, finally, to the extent that the model shares the "Marxian goal of radical [though peaceful] social transformation, and the concern for cultural revival and revitalization movements for individual renewal" (Paulston, ibid.:57), it is an "anarchist and utopian" theory. However, unlike such theories which do not "bother to validate their call to reform with the findings and methods of social science, or put their theory into practice" (Paulston, ibid.), the present model has a highly praxic and a social science and evidential

8. "A system imbalance in the structural-function theory should require no more than small incremental adjustments" (Paulston, ibid.:23).
base. To that extent, the model, it is hoped, is more than a "pious dream". It is a form of deus ex machina of "peaceful revolution ... in which the nominal holders of power discover that they have lost their power before they begin to fight" (Reimer, 1970:139).

g. While the model of HN may appear on occasion to be utopian, the society envisaged to emerge from applying the model is by no means a utopian one, or a conflict-free one. For example, as Wiggins (1966: 89) observes,

increased popular participation ... does raise a difficulty, sometimes acutely; for, as the populace becomes more active in politics, as educational opportunities expand and enhance group awareness of underlying social and economic differences, social (and individual) tensions and group (and individual) competition may increase.

But the proposed common ideological, linguistic and cultural base through which the envisaged society is expected to emerge, will serve as conditions for minimizing such tensions and competition, and make such competition healthy. Even then, such an emerging society, like any other society, is bound to have its share of problems and the entire range of "good" and "bad" people. However, the emerging common culture base and the humanism is likely to serve as conditions for both the lower and upper limits of this range to be higher, or closer, to the humanistic end of the continuum. There is obvious overlap, and how soon or how fast a society moves away from the present level, and towards the humanistic end is a function of how the model comes to be nationized and implemented.

h. Even the expectation of such an increasingly humanistic society is obviously based on the assumption that man is essentially or potentially good, and that the extent of the flowering of this goodness is a function of the environment, given that we are individuals-in-environment (3.32).
It is in this belief that the model has sought to set up a consciously-planned humanistic environment so that the essential latent goodness in man can unfold itself incrementally.

i. It may be noted that almost every phenomenon - individuals, collectivities, countries, languages, the psychic domain, the praxic domain and so on - is presented in the study in terms of a range or continuum, rather than as static entities. Likewise, I have talked of "increasing", "approaching", "approximating", "maximizing", "minimizing" something, rather than "achieving", "reaching" or "completing" it. This is both to convey the notion of continuing change as well as the reality of the processes. I have also talked of "co-factors", "combining factors", "conditions conducive to", "ruling conditions", "co-operating conditions", "necessary conditions" and so on, but not "factors leading to". Another important related concept is that of "conditioned origination", which implies both circular causality and multicausality (1.3f). The explanation of reality in terms of "conditioned origination" here is in sharp contrast to the linear and unidirectional basis upon which most western theories are based (cf., Rostow's stages of economic growth).

j. Language planning and what could be called, by analogy, "political planning" turns out to be the most important aspects of development in the proposed model. Economic planning, educational planning, health planning, "housing planning" and so on, turn out to play only a secondary role in development, though not an insignificant one.

k. The model of MN was developed in the study specifically in relation to the PCN's. But, aspects of the model, if not the entire model itself,
have relevance to the core nations as well. While most core nations, for example, are well advanced toward nationism (i.e., sociopolitical integration), they have much in the way of achieving humanism (see, e.g., criticisms of Western society in this study (e.g., 2.22.2)). Further, the concepts of incrementalism, cultivation, basipetalism, endopetalism, the need for an ideology and so on have much relevance to them. As in the case of PCN's, however, the model (or aspects thereof) may be more applicable to some (e.g., Spain, Portugal) than to others (e.g., USA, Denmark).

1. Finally, the present thesis is one that recognizes that man is made up of not only a psychic domain but a praxic domain as well. It also recognizes the need for academic theorizing to be action-oriented. Thus, chapters one to six serve as theory of which the praxic component are chapters seven to eleven.

12.4 Towards Praxis

Having examined some theoretical considerations, let me make some suggestions towards implementing the model contained in the study, at the international (12.41) and national (12.42) levels.

12.41 Gaining acceptance of the model internationally.

While there may be other ways of gaining acceptance of the model internationally, the following approach represents one of them. The items below are not listed in any order of application. Rather, they are suggestive of steps to be taken, and in general, the higher the number of suggestions implemented, the better. Here, then, is the list.
a. As a preparatory phase, develop an outline of the proposals contained in the study in less-scholarly form as a position paper. (Have versions of it in Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish (the five official UN languages), and other pan-languages such as Arabic and Swahili).

- Have the study published in scholarly form so as to make it available for those who would like to examine the original.

b. Working through governmental channels:

- contact governments directly, beginning with likely sympathetic ones (e.g., Tanzania, Buddhist countries, Asian countries, Scandinavian countries), to urge them to adopt the position paper.

- follow up with responsive governments (e.g., to issue a collective statement of support for the ideology of HN).

- urge the UN to adopt the position paper as the potential base for a new Humanistic World Order, and urge member countries to honour the resolution.

c. Working through NGO’s and others:

- seek active support for the position paper among agencies such as CIDA, Ford Foundation, Novib (Netherlands) and so on, and volunteer organizations like Sarvodaya of Sri Lanka and India, and the International Council of Adult Education.9

9. This council has already adopted a five-year “Design for Action” plan (Convergence, 1976, vol.X, 4:18-41), many aspects of which are in spirit, if not in detail, quite compatible with (aspects of) the present study, the humanistic and cultural components in particular. See, for example, Nyerere’s (1976) “Liberated Man -- the Purpose of Development” (ibid.:9-18), which seems to provide the philosophical base for the Design for Action, and the issue of Convergence (1977, vol.X, No.2) which is entirely made up of examples of how the traditional culture base has been actually exploited for modernization purposes (cf., my concept of decolonialization and incrementalization).
- seek support from responsive influential governmental leaders, and influential and ordinary private citizens in PCN's.

- seek academic and theoretical support from humanistic educators and social scientists such as Paulo Freire, Erich Fromm, Lankanaputra Hewage (a Sri Lankan Buddhist educator), Kenneth Galbraith, Ivan Illich, Carl Rogers, and so on.

- urge responsive universities and such other institutions to encourage their faculty and students to undertake research on aspects of the model which have relevance to themselves and to the country.

- urge individual scholars in the fields of axiology, development theory, education, language planning, philosophy, religion, science, sociolinguistics, and so on, to examine the position paper and undertake research in relation to their own fields of interest.

d. Other activities:

- set up an Institute for World Humanism (with headquarters in Indian or Tanzania) (a) to organize activities as under a, b and c above, (b) to receive, organize and disseminate reactions and information relating to the position paper, and (c) bring together, theoretically and physically, scholars in different disciplines with a humanistic perspective.

- organize regular international conferences on Building a Humanistic World Order as a forum for the exchange of ideas arising out of the position paper (endorsing, modifying or rejecting ideas contained in it).

12.42 Towards a 'humanistic national order'.

While it is important to gain acceptance or seek support for the model of Humanistic Nationism at the international level, it can surely
be only for the purpose of preparing the ground for action at the
tNationist level - the level which can really make a difference. The
very first step in this regard is, of course, for a PCN to adopt
Humanistic Nationism as its developmental ideology and goal. The
initial statement to this effect must come as a statement of intent
of the government, and the decision to adopt it must come on the basis
of discussion at the grassroots levels. (This, of course, means that
the masses must have the right to reject it as well.) While humanistic
decolonialization and humanistic incrementalization can serve as the
basic guidelines for national action, their content must also emerge
during the very same process of discussion.

Assuming that the people of a country will adopt HN as their goal
and ideology, there are many mechanisms through which such a decision
can be implemented. Education is one of them. On the premise that
education (in its broadest sense, and in contrast to schooling or
institutionalized learning alone) has been accepted by PCN's (leaders
and masses alike) as a potential tool of development, I shall restrict
myself to strategies in the field of education. The ideas are presented
here in bare outline.

My goal in this study has been the development of a humanistic
society based on communication and empathic participation; in essence,
a "learning net". Given the model of HN, there seems to be four key
areas of knowledge that would facilitate the emergence of such a
societal net. This can be shown in the form of a diagram:
The development of a humanistic society can hardly come without an understanding of the nature of man, his relationship to others and the environment and so on. Such a study can be called a humanology, or the "science of man". This contributes one "node" of knowledge.

Language was seen in this study as an essential part of man (6.2), and to that extent served as a cooperative condition for HN. Thus the importance of the "linguistics" component. The arrow leading from "humanology" serves to indicate this essential relationship. (The other direction of the arrow indicates the contribution linguistics makes to the study of man.)

The other cooperative condition in the model of HN was ideology, which was characterized in terms of a body of ideas leading a people to action (5.2). If we develop an area of knowledge which examines this process and its ramifications, we could call it the "science of ideas into practice", or ideopraxis. Given the much-ignored praxic reality

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10. "Humanology" is different from "philosophy" in that it does not cover the range of subjects covered in philosophy, nor is it restricted to mere "speculation" about man. It is rather a discipline focused on man which seeks to draw upon all areas of learning that have anything to say about man, such as, anthropology, language, philosophy, psychology, religion, sociology, science, value theory, etc.
of man, emphasized in this study, this is an area of knowledge that can hardly be ignored in any understanding of man. (Thus the arrows between humanology and ideopraxis.) Taken in relation to national development, "ideopraxis" encompasses several aspects: the concept and content of humanistic decolonialization (which includes the sociopolitical history of the country, the need for decolonialization, and principles of recovering history) and of humanistic incrementalization (which includes the directions of "future history" of the country as well as of international relations, the need for, and principles of, incrementalization; the process of conscientization (in the Freirian sense) in relation to the political processes; principles of empathic participation and community involvement, including the involvement of (sociological and numerical) minority groups (e.g., women, children, older peole, ethnic and religious groups, unorganized workers, etc.).

A learning society is, by definition, one in which learning must take place in the process of everyday human interaction, rather than at a special place or time or under special conditions. Only such a well-matched knowledge base can provide the conditions for a led-leader and led-follower cyclical relationship envisaged in the study (8.32), as well as participation and communication. Thus the final essential knowledge node is the "science of social learning", or what may be termed sociogy. The essential component here is the concept of lifelong education, emphasized in adult education, but which includes learning from birth to death, or, as the Sri Lankan Buddhist scholar Lankaputra Hewage (in personal communication) emphasizes, throughout the "life-cycle" "(samsa:ra), if one were to accept the Hindu-Buddhist-
Jain concept of rebirth. Again, "sociology" would include the need for, and principles and techniques relating to, such learning, including informal, nonformal, and incidental learning.

While "humanology", linguistics and "ideopraxis" all contribute to sociology, sociology contributes to each of them (thus the bidirectional arrows), just as much as each of humanology, linguistics and ideopraxis are in a reciprocal relationship with every other knowledge base.

To the extent that each of the nodes of the knowledge base are related to every other node, figure 12.3 has been labelled "a model of cultivational learning interchanges". The interchanges serve the process of learning which in turn serves personal and milieu cultivation.

While no attempt is made here to refine the "model of cultivational learning interchanges", it is important to identify certain institutional and other arrangements that will have to be made in order to sustain such a social knowledge base.

A. Institutional set-up:

If the above four nodes of knowledge provide the basis for a learning net, it is necessary that each of the nodes be equally developed, in a socially and individually productive manner. This calls for setting up an institute of learning for each of the areas of knowledge. Four such institutions may be identified: Institute of Humanology, Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Ideopraxis and Institute of Sociology.

There would be one institution for each discipline in each sociopolitical region (see later for a discussion). While each institute would

11. There is, incidentally, increasing evidence, empirically substantiated, for the possibility of the phenomenon of rebirth. See, e.g., the case of a teenager in New Hampshire who claimed to have been born in the nineteenth century in Jefferson, North Carolina, and
have the responsibility for its specialized area of interest, it would also include in its curriculum the other three areas of knowledge as well in an integrative manner. Thus, for example, the Institute of Humanology would have components of language, ideopraxis and sociology. The major role of the institutions would be "led-leadership" training. Such training would always be in relation to the work situations of the larger community and would last from three months to three years. Its staff will be recruited from the community, and will be mostly temporary, with only a few working as administrators on a fairly long-term basis. However, even the administrators would be working on a rotating basis. The primary mode of learning will be "integrative dialogue" and praxis, wherein the participants would discuss work-related issues in relation to all four areas of knowledge, with a view to using the dialogue both as a basis for and a follow-up of the ptaxic component.

Another feature of these institutes is that each of them will have three functions: "facilitating" (or teaching-learning in traditional terms), "discovery and development" (research and development in traditional terms), and field development. The term "facilitating" as

whose claims have been checked out and found to be substantiated (reported in the National Enquirer, June 20, 1978).

12. The model I have in mind here somewhat approximates the functioning of the brain. While the different parts of the brain hold primary responsibility for a given function (say, the left hemisphere for speech, rational thought, and so on), every other part plays even a minor role in every activity, as John's (op.cit.).recent research has shown.

13. This tripartite function is based on the structure of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, perhaps the only educational institute in North America faithful to the tripartite concept.
used here is not just another name for teaching. On the assumption that "nobody can teach anyone anything" (Wees, 1967), the function of these institutes would be to set up humanistic facilitative environments which would maximize learning and humanistic cultivation. This may or may not require formal training.

The term "discovery" is not just another name for "research" either. It is intended to take away the aura of respectability and sacredness surrounding the concept of research. Indeed it is intended to allow for "participatory discovery" wherein the intended "beneficiaries" ("knowledge clients" in traditional terms) are involved in the research project "from the formulation of the problem to the discussion of how to seek solutions and the interpretation of findings" (Hall, n.d. : 11). This approach views discovery as "part of a total educational experience" wherein the research process becomes "a dialectic process, a dialogue over time" which increases "awareness and commitment" of the participants and serves the "liberation of human creative potential and the mobilization of human resources" (the quotes being some of the guidelines in "participatory research" as summarized by Hall, ibid.: 10-13). Even more importantly, discovery comes to be of direct and immediate benefit to the community.

With such an approach to the discovery of knowledge, it needs hardly be said that "research" and "development" should go together. Since the only research done would be that which is of "direct and immediate benefit", the necessary next step in discovery would be the development of material usable by the community (immediate or larger), based on the research, but which will also influence research in turn.
The third function of the institutes would be "field development". This, in fact, stems from the first two functions. As we are all individuals-in-environment, there can hardly exist a facilitative environment within an institute unless the "outside" environment is supportive; or, if the institute is viewed as dysfunctional in relation to the larger community. Again, if in the first place the institutes came to be set up to facilitate the process of building a learning net, the discovery and development function can hardly be restricted to the institute community. The institutes' "electorate" being the community at large, the participatory discovery has to be extended to the community. Field development, then, arises out of the facilitating, and the discovery and development functions.

The field development function naturally has to take place in the larger community. But if it is not to be another form of "cultural imperialism" of institutional technocrats, it is mandatory that the eventual "beneficiaries" in the larger community be involved in the process. What therefore seems necessary are community-based participatory discovery centres - in relation to humanology, linguistics, ideopraxis and sociogy. In order that learning, discovery and development are not divorced from each other, each centre itself would, ideally, have all three functions: facilitation, discovery and development, and field development. There would be in a given region several such centres in relation to each discipline. This way, the institutes would be directly linked to the community, and all three functions of each institute would be both determined by the larger community who would also be the eventual beneficiaries.
Some basic skills.

In addition to the specific content areas, several other basic skills need to be part of the curriculum of all institutes. They can be identified as:

- participatory discovery skills
- communication skills
- curriculum development skills and "flexibility skills".

The most obviously needed among these are the "participatory discovery skills", given the emphasis placed on this function. Such skills are, of course, not "out there" to be learned, but must come through active participation. However, what is emphasized here is the need for institutes to be conscious of the need, and to incorporate it into its policy.

The major role of the institutes being leadership training (see (a) above), another obvious skill relates to communication. This is also important, given that communicative development is the homogeneous condition for the goal of HN (4.4).

Both L-cultivation, and decolonization and incrementalization were shown in this study, to be ever-emergent entities. What this means is that it will be impossible to develop textbooks which will be readily available for use by the leadership-trainees. Besides, textbooks developed by "outside" academics and scholars would likely be so far out in relation to the needs of the community, and possibly mitigate against the spirit of the facilitative and participatory approach intended here. Thus, a third skill would be skills in curriculum building.
This would allow the led-leaders to build their own curricula, "on the spot" as it often will be the case, once out in the field.

Models, theories, institutions, language and other forms of expression, and so on, emerge in the process of man's attempt to make sense of reality and help him interact with his fellow humans. However, once models, etc., come into existence, they come to be sacrosanct dogmas to be revered rather than be helpful tools. Both developers and their users come to be so attached to them that they then come to resist any change, ignoring the fact that change is the reality of life. Such an attitude, though understandable, results in stagnation, ethnocentrism, bigotry and war, and becomes a hindrance to knowledge and the progress of civilization. If we are to change such an anti-developmental attitude of mind, or, to use a parable of the Buddha, avoid carrying the boat which helped us cross the stream, it is of absolute importance that we have some flexibility built into ourselves - to accommodate the unsavoury, to tolerate differences of opinion, to do things differently, to adapt to change, to welcome a different environment, to maintain a vigilant and enquiring mind, and so on. It is in recognition of the great importance of this composite characteristic that a final suggestion is made here for flexibility skills.

B. Two other facilitative arrangements.

B.1 Knowledge dissemination.

Institutes and centres are obviously only nodal centres of learning. However sound and humanistic the principles may be that govern them, the totality of the society will remain untouched unless the basis of know-
ledge, principles and skills were disseminated throughout the society. Such a knowledge and skill dispersion calls for several activities designed to meet the needs at different levels. Among them are:
- a national media service;
- associations and journals, in the areas of humanology, linguistics, ideopraxis and sociogy; and
- lifelong education councils.

However extensive the number of institutes and centres may be in a given region or country, only a small segment of the population will have direct exposure to the learning, sharing and discovering of such institutions. Thus, there is a very important need for the dispersion of such learning, sharing and discovering. It is the media that will play this important role. As the information gets transmitted via the media, the task of the led-leaders, now "graduated" from the institutes, would be easier, as they find their "audience" more receptive. The "audience" has at least a rough idea of what the led-leader has to offer. There would likely be less resistance on the part of the community, because there is a match between their expectations and what is offered. There is also the other fact that the led-leader was originally recruited from among the community, and to that extent there is also a culture match between him and the community. Given this supportive environment, the led-leader can now serve as the "second step" of the "two-step process" (Katz & Lazarsfeld, op.cit.) of the flow of information. For reasons such as these, then, a national media service, run independently of the government but under the supervision of a "Media Council", is an essential ingredient.
Dispersion of knowledge and discoveries among the masses is one thing. But getting together those directly involved in the discovery procedures, that is, the "knowledge led-leaders" (or, in traditional terms, scholars and academics) on a more formal basis, either in an institutionalized setting or privately, is another. It is to bring such "specialists" together that associations in each of the areas of humanology, linguistics, ideopraxis and sociogogy would be necessary. Their functions would be the traditional ones: to meet, discuss and share their experiences with each other. Perhaps it is important that there be such associations in each region.

Journals provide another important forum for discussion and sharing for the "specialists". But if knowledge and discovery is to be socially productive, and not to be the monopoly of the few, the continuous flow of discovery must be made available to those among the masses who can read in a "language" they can understand, and in a relevant manner. Thus, we can think of three types of journals: (a) "scholarly-type" journals, which would itself be praxic and cultivation, (b) "practical-type" journals which seek to consciously extend the discoveries into the practical domain, and (c) journals for mass consumption, dealing with both theory and praxis, but at a level understandable by them.

Finally, there is a need for Lifelong Education Councils which would serve as an umbrella organization coordinating not only the dissemination but the learning and discovery activities of a given geopolitical region as well.

The medium of such journals, councils, institutes, etc., would be the L-cultivation nationally, and the sub-languages of cultivation regionally.
These, then, are some of the necessary adjuncts of the Institutes and Centres.

B.2. Boundary changes.

One of the major problems facing PCN's are the artificial and arbitrary national and regional boundaries imposed upon them at political independence. Given that establishing regional and national languages of cultivation is seen as a cooperating condition in this study, one of the most obvious administrative changes that needs to be done to bring people together in communication, is to redraw regional (and wherever necessary, national) boundaries along linguistic lines. Indeed after World War I, national frontiers in Europe were drawn as nearly along ethnic lines as possible, and as has been argued in this study, such linguistic homogeneity could have been a factor in their cultural (and economic?) homogeneity, and development/growth. Given such historical and theoretical factors, it seems only logical that PCN's consider having their regional boundaries as coterminous as possible with linguistic boundaries. The Institutes, Centres, Councils and so on would then be organized within linguistic boundaries. And the medium of communication would be the regional L-cultivation (and gradually, the national L-cultivation, as it emerges).

14. "An extreme case is Transjordan, whose formation was decided upon by Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, on a Sunday afternoon stroll through Jerusalem in 1922." (Rustow, op.cit.:97).
As an outcome of such boundary changes and the establishment of communication linkages through the institutes of humanology, ideopraxis, linguistics and sociogogy, and through other facilitators such as the media, associations, journals, and councils, individuals and collectivities come to be entangled in a communications web. In this process, there can be expected to arise a societal environment which would serve as a condition facilitative of engendering in every member of society, increasingly, and incrementally, wisdom and compassion through increasing knowledge and praxis.

12.5 Further research.

Given the scope of the present study, the possibilities for further research are enormous. However, I shall attempt to indicate here only the more obvious issues that arise from the study, directly or indirectly. These areas will be listed under four headings, and in the order of chapters under each heading.

12.5.1 Comparative research

12.5.1.1 Compare the analysis of society (chapter two) with the more traditional, both Marxian and non-Marxian, analyses to test out the validity of the present approach. This could be done either theoretically, or in relation to selected countries. Since my model is expected to be applicable to all PCN's, a starting point may be the application of the model to one country (selected under some criteria) in each of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Oceania.
If done in relation to selected countries, the research would fall under 12.52 (later).

Since my analysis is only in relation to PCN's, a further dimension of the research would be to relate it to the core nations, as well, to determine the extent to which the model is universalizable. A start may be made at the community level of selected core nations.

12.51.2 Compare the Buddhist view of man (3.31) with other views of man, both of the West and the non-West.¹⁵ One obvious purpose here would be to determine the soundness or otherwise of the present analysis. But a larger goal would be to develop a comprehensive view of man. I think there are now enough views of man expressed by philosophers (e.g., Rawlinson, Husserel and Heidegger), psychologists (e.g., Freud, Maslow and Rogers), and others to allow us to undertake such a venture. Obviously such an examination would include religious as well as non-religious views. The importance of developing such a comprehensive view is that it is increasingly becoming clear that one's view of man and of the world has a bearing on our perception and praxis, be it personal or social.

¹⁵. See, for example, Nye (1975), and Shotter (1975) for collections of such views, and P. de Silva (op.cit.) for a comparison of the Buddha and Freud in relation to some aspects, and Nash (1968), Drew (1974) and Markeley (1974) for critical studies.
12.51.3 Compare the present model of development with other theories of development, as, for example, outlined in Chodak (op.cit.) and Paulston (op.cit.).

12.51.4 Compare the present view of ideology as "an orchestra with a difference" (5.2) with other views of ideology, in particular those of Mannheim (op.cit.), Sutton et al (op.cit.) and Geertz (1964).

12.51.5 Compare the view of language in chapter six, as related to perception and praxis, and to human and social behaviour, with the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic theories of language.

Also examine the conditioned origination hypothesis (6.3) in relation to the running battle among sociolinguists as to the cause and effect relationship between one's language and one's world view.

12.51.6 Compare the process of language planning envisaged in this study, with its features of circularity and the additional step of "norm cultivation" (figure 7.1; steps 7, 1a and 1b of figure 11.1; and 10.3 to 10.5), with more traditional top-down models of language planning.

12.51.7 Compare the roles of I-endos and I-exos in relation to each other in the context of development.

12.51.8 Compare the concept of "cultivation" in relation to language (7.4) with the concept as used by the Prague School of Linguistics (Garvin, 1973).
12.52 Applied Research

12.52.1 Apply my analysis of society (chapter two) along the lines suggested in 12.51.1.

12.52.2 Examine and refine the model of development envisaged in figure 11.1 in relation to representative case studies from each of the areas of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Oceania.

A further research is to apply the model to selected core nations as well.

12.52.3 Examine the application of the concept of ideology (5.2, 5.4 and 5.5), again to representative case studies.

12.52.4 Examine the process of language determination, norm determination and norm cultivation (10.3 to 10.5) in relation to geographically representative (as above) case studies.

12.52.5 Apply the criteria for determining the interim L-cultivation (9.2) and the contact lect (9.3) in relation to representative case studies.

12.52.6 Examine the application of the "cultivational learning interchanges" (figure 12.3) to representative case studies.

12.53 Research relating to concepts developed in the study

Several concepts have been employed (i.e., developed or applied) in this study in the development of the model. Thus, each of them merits further examination in its own right, in addition to being examined as parts of a whole (as under 12.51 and 12.52). Some of the more important ones are listed below.
12.53.1 The concept of "conditioned origination" (1.3) as a tool of analysis in social, pure and applied science.

12.53.2 The concepts of endopetalism, basipetalism and mni- petalism (11.3), qua concepts, as well as in contrast to exopetalism (2.21.1), acropetalism (2.21.2) and maxipetalism (2.22.2).

12.53.3 The concept of communication as a simultaneous people, contentual and linguistic process (4.4).

12.53.4 The concept of "communicative development" in its two meanings (4.4).

12.53.5 The conditioned origination relationship between attitude and behaviour (figure 4.3) as an analytical tool in approaching the cause-effect relationship controversy in the literature (4.4).

12.53.6 The notion of seeking out basilects for national communication and development (9.3).

12.53.7 The concept of "matching models" (applied in, e.g. 8.31.3 and 11.4), originally developed by Hunt (op.cit.) in relation to education and psychology, as a tool in development.

12.53.8 The concepts of decolonialization and incrementallization as developmental concepts, both individually (5.41 and 5.42) as well as a dyadic concept (5.43).

12.53.9 The concept of incrementalism, not merely in relation to development, but as a sociopsychological concept.

12.53.10 The proposed disciplines of "humanology", "ideopraxis" and "sociogogy" (12.4.2).
12.53.11 The concept of cultivation, both in relation to people (3.32) and language (7.3, and 10.3 to 10.5).

12.53.12 The applicability and validity of concepts, processes, etc., across levels (e.g., individual to community), across disciplines (e.g., psychology and development), etc., in view of the use of the concept originally developed in relation to psychology and education to development in this study (11.4).

12.54 Indirectly related research

All the suggestions for research above stem directly from the study. But there are a few which emerge from it, but are not part of the study itself.

12.54.1 Perhaps the major underlying theme in the study is an emphasis on relating development to the value systems, behaviour patterns, language usage, etc., of the masses, as inherent in concepts like decolonialization (5.41), endopetalism, minipetalism and basipetalism (11.3), basilects (3.4, 9.3 and 10.5), and so on. Regardless of their ethnicity, geographic location, origin, etc., masses seem to share certain common characteristics, such as, for example, "an intimate and reverent attitude toward the land, the idea that agricultural work is good and commerce not so good; and an emphasis on productive 'industry as a prime virtue' (Redfield, op. cit.: 63-4), a distaste for violence (ibid.: 71), a search for "decorum and decency" (ibid.: 70), etc., which is what allows Redfield to treat the peasantry as a "human type" (ibid.: 63). Now, the peasantry also happens to comprise
the majority of the population in PCN's, if not the whole world. Thus, it seems most appropriate, particularly at a time when elitist notions of development have failed to deliver the goods (see 1.3), to examine the peasant culture as a base for development.

12.54.2 Another major source of inspiration in my work has been Buddhism, as evidence the use of concepts such as the conditioned origination relationship (1.3, 4.5 and 6.3, and figure 11.1), the view of man (3.31), and the "research paradigm" of the Four Noble Truths (12.2). The emphasis on basilects (3.4 and 9.3), and the concomitant basipetalism, and the minipetalism (11.3), and further, the humanism (cf., humanistic nationalism) again reflects Buddhism's influence on my thinking (see also 12.54.1).16 Thus an important further research is to examine Buddhism, a "peasant religion",17 as a possible basis for development.

16. In relation to the basilects, and basipetalism, notice the fact that while in Buddha's time the language of learning was Sanskrit, he chose Pali, a language of the people, in bringing his message to them. In relation to minipetalism, notice that the British economist Schumacher's Small is Beautiful (op cit.), which advocates middle-level technology for development, is in no small measure influenced by Buddhism. He even has a chapter on "Buddhist Economics".

17. The notion that Buddhism is perhaps a "peasant religion" is one that keep on coming to my mind, although I have never pursued it. My intuition stems from the fact that the Buddha's approach and findings seem to have a good match, certainly in spirit, with the mass approach to life. This intuition obviously needs validation.
12.54.3 A third, and a related, topic of research is the humanistic approach to development. As reviewed in 3.22, many scholars have for some time been increasingly emphasizing the need for a humanistic approach to their own disciplines. And it is perhaps time that development theory attempted to pull together relevant material from the different disciplines, and develop its own approach to development, which, of course, is one of the things I have tried to do in the study. Such an exercise will serve as a testing ground for the approach proposed in this study as well.

12.54.4 With a view to building bridges among disciplines on the issue of national and global development, compile a comprehensive bibliography of contributions from all disciplines, including social science, science, religion and philosophy, ethics, technology, and so on.

At the next stage, pull together the areas of overlap in a comprehensive manner to give a total picture of the field of development.

A useful third stage might be the comparison of the view that emerges with the model postulated in this study (leading to item 12.54.3).

12.54.5 Compile a compendium of languages and dialects used in the world, providing the following information:

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18. It is heartening to note that such an attempt has already been made by Voegelin and Voegelin (1977). See Sociolinguistics Newsletter, Vol. III, No. 2, Summer 1977: 36-7 for a review.
a. where is it spoken; b. political status of the area in which it is spoken; c. immediate past sociopolitical history; d. number of speakers; e. language family to which a language/dialect belongs; f. used for what functions.

Applying criteria such as those given in 9.2 and 9.3 (or a refined version of it), arrive at a list showing (a) potential national or subnational languages of cultivation for each country/region, (b) potential pan-languages of wider communication (for groups of countries), and (c) potential world languages.

12.6 Conclusion

Cultural imperialism is a hydra-headed monster. It raises its head in different forms: men, technology, ideas, artifacts, fashions, languages and so on. The present study uses at least some concepts (e.g., nationism) and approaches (cf., top-down model) developed in Western social science. It is also produced in a western social milieu, and follows long-standing western scholarly research traditions. It is also the outcome of a thinking process of a single individual, and not an outcome of participatory discovery procedures recommended in this study. Does the study, then, not constitute cultural imperialism?

In the broadest sense, I suppose, it may be a cultural imperialism, to the extent that any "model" not emerging from the experience of a people may be so called. However, its "imperialistic" nature, if it exists, is of a mild order. First of all, whatever concepts that have been adopted from western social science have been adopted not because
they are western concepts, but because they have relevance to the eventual "beneficiaries" for which the model is intended, namely, the PCN's, in relation to their particular historical phase of development. Nationism, for example, is a reality of the world, including the PCN's. So is planning, which is well accepted in PCN's as an effective tool for social change.

Secondly, while a particular concept or approach may appear to be western, this may not be necessarily the case. Nationism, again, is an example. There were in non-western lands empires, and other attempts at sociopolitical integration - some successful, others not. While the concept may not have been formalized, it nevertheless existed.

Thirdly, whatever western concepts there are in this study, they are also concepts that cut across space, and even time. The emphasis on humanism is the prime example. Surely few would deny that the maximization of humanness is a legitimate national goal, or that championing a rightful place for the masses is developmental.

Thus, as far as the concepts go, what one would find in the study are concepts and approaches that are socially and individually not counter-productive if not actually productive.

As for the research principles, while the methodology used in this study has been formalized in the West, it is not something unknown or unused elsewhere. For example, I have analyzed the study in terms of a research paradigm by the Buddha (12.3).

Finally, while the study has been produced in a western milieu, the present researcher has attempted to give the study the benefit of his experience with more than one tradition. He was born and bred, and has studied, and worked in related fields in a PCN, and has also
lived, studied and worked in the West, in addition to having the experience of international travel. Thus, the insights he brings to the study are not exclusively western.

As for the fact that the model has not emerged through participatory discovery, one could only say that such a base does not as yet exist. And therefore no participatory model can emerge without a participatory base.

No amount of caveats, of course, may convince the diehard sceptic that the present model is no different from any other model emerging from the West in terms of cultural imperialism. I can only remind him of the Buddha’s teaching that baseless, or unjustified, doubt (vicikiccha) is an impediment to knowledge, and further that “confidence” (saddha), not to be confused with blind faith or belief, provides a solid foundation for learning. I am not unaware, either, that any new idea will have to go through the stages of (1) outright rejection, (2) cynicism, (3) tolerance, and (4) responsiveness, before its final acceptance, if only to be re-examined, and modified or rejected for “higher level” reasons (e.g., that the model no longer accounts for changes that have occurred, since the model was developed) (cf., Kuhn’s (op. cit.) process of paradigm change).

Whether the present model is accepted or rejected, eventually, I could live with myself, and would have justified my human existence, rare as it is and difficult as it is to come by (Buddha), if I have succeeded in helping make this world of ours slightly more livable, for our children, if not for ourselves, and if I have at least raised the level of consciousness of the readers to the issues raised herein.
May there be "distributive justice" (Nozick, 1974, Rescher, 1967) in the world!

May the rulers (meaning not only the traditional political leaders, but others such as technocrats and business people who rule the world today), be just, and humanistic. 19

But rulers cannot be just and humanistic unless the people themselves are willing to accept such an orientation. To that extent, then, may the people be humanistic, and just!'

Rulers and people alike are today increasingly guided or influenced by our social and other scientists, and they can be just and humanistic to the extent that such scientists bring to their studies a humanistic and just outlook. To that extent, then, may the social and other scientists be humanistic!!!

19. This is inspired by an exhortation in Buddhism. The Pali words are ra:ja: bha:tu dham:i:lo:.
APPENDICES

Appendix I: The International Phonetic Alphabet.

Appendix II: Technical Terms.
### The International Phonetic Alphabet

(Revised to 1933)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dental and Alveolar</th>
<th>Retract</th>
<th>Palatal and Palatoalveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>U-velar or Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>t' s</td>
<td>c j</td>
<td>k q g c</td>
<td>j q g c</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fricatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lateral Fricative</th>
<th>Lateral Non-fricative</th>
<th>Rolled</th>
<th>Flapped</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
<th>Frication and Semi-vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>t s</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>f v h s</td>
<td>f j s p q j x y h u n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Front Central Back**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Half-close</th>
<th>Half-open</th>
<th>Open</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Y un)</td>
<td>(a o)</td>
<td>(a o)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

**OTHER SOUNDS.**—Palatalized consonants: t, d, etc.; palatalized t, d: t, d. Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: t r, s, etc. Ejective consonants (with simultaneous glottal stop): p, t, etc. Implosive voiced consonants: b, d, etc. Fricative trill: r, s (labeled t, d, etc.). j (labeled t, d). k s (impressed, Zulu, etc.). 1 (a sound between r and l), J (Japanese syllabic nasal). j (combination of s and f). u (voiceless w). t, s, etc. (lowered varieties of t, s, u). a (a variety of o). o (a vowel between s and u).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants (ts, df, etc.), but, when necessary, ligatures are used (t, d, etc.), or the marks for and for (t, d, etc.). A also denote synchronic articulation (m = simultaneous m and n). j, s may occasionally be used in place of t, s, and s for t, s, and s. Aspirated plosives: ph, th, etc., reduplicated vowels: e, a, etc., or e, a, etc., or e, a, etc., or e, a, etc., or e, a, etc., or e, a, etc., or e, a, etc., or e, a, etc.

**Length, Stress, Pitch:** — (full length), (half length), (stress placed at beginning of the stressed syllable), (secondary stress). (high level pitch), (low level), (high rising), (low falling), (rising), (falling).

**Modifications.**—Nasality, e breath (i = breathed i), e voice (e = e), slight aspiration following p, t, etc. Labialization (a = labialized a), dental articulation (t = dental t). Palatalization (s = s), specially close vowel (a = a very close a), specially open vowel (a = a rather open a), a tongue raised (e or e = e), a tongue lowered (e or e = e), a tongue advanced (u or u = an advanced u, i = i), a tongue retracted (i or i = i, i = alveolar r), lips more rounded, lips more spread. Central vowels: Y (e i). u (u), e (e), o (o), a, s, etc. (e.g.) syllabic consonant. Consonantal vowel. j variety of j resembling s, etc.
APPENDIX II

Technical Terms

(Note: (1) The figure in parenthesis indicates the section where the concept first occurs, or is best defined.

(2) The single quote indicates a concept which is defined in this Appendix, to which the reader is referred.)

ACROLECT (2.3): the 'lect' of a given language used (i.e., spoken or written) by the upper strata in society and/or for 'high functions'.

ACROPETALISM: see 'acropetal orientation'.

ACROPETAL ORIENTATION (acropetalism) (2.21.2): an attitude of mind that tends to rotate around the upper strata of society, in behaviour, language, etc.

ARISTOCRATIC LANGUAGE ('L-aristocratic') (8.31.3): a language that falls, under certain critier (see 8.31.3), towards one end of the 'language continuum', namely the aristocratic sub-continuum.

(Examples: generally, languages spoken in 'core nations',)

BASILECT (2.3): the 'lect' of a given language used (i.e., spoken or written) by the lower strata in society, and/or for 'low functions'.

BASIPETALISM: see 'basipetal orientation'.

BASIPETAL ORIENTATION (basipetalism) (11.3): an attitude of mind that tends to rotate around the lower strata of society, in behaviour, language, etc.

CA: see 'composite aristocracy'.
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

CIRCULAR CAUSALITY (1.3): the notion that the same event/thing in nature is both 'conditioned' and conditions.

CO-FACTORS (1.3): the several types of factors, namely the "seed (or 'ruling') condition", the 'homogeneous condition', and 'cooperative conditions', that come together to result in a given event in nature (e.g., thing, situation, matter, thought, being, etc.).

COMMUNICATIVE DEVELOPMENT (4.4): ascending and 'developmentally profitable' intrapersonal and interpersonal (or social) communication.

COMPASSION (3.31): the highest level of development of man's corporeal or praxic sub-system (the progressively lower levels being 'empathy' and 'concern'), and co-ideal (the other being 'wisdom') to be achieved in terms of humanization.

COMPOSITE ARISTOCRACY (CA) (2.21): the collective name for the upper echelons of 'PCN' society, made up of rural elites, labour elites, industrial elites, linguistic elites, religious élites, bureaucratic élites and political élites, all of whom are collectively contrasted with the masses.

CONCERN (3.31): the lowest level of man's corporeal or praxic sub-system (the progressively higher levels being 'empathy' and 'compassion').

CONDITIONED (1.3): the notion that a given event, in nature, comes to exist if, and only if, certain other 'co-factors' are present. (See also 'conditioned origination'.)
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

CONDITIONED ORIGINATION (1.3): the view that every event in nature comes into existence as a result of several 'co-factors', all of which must be present at a given point of time (i.e., 'multicausality'), and that such an event itself serves as one of the 'co-factors' for yet another event (either one of the co-factors "originally" responsible for the given event, or other factors) (i.e., 'circular causation').

CONDITIONED ORIGINATION HYPOTHESIS (6.3): the view that a people's language conditions their psychopraxic behaviour which, in turn, conditions language, when other suitable conditions are present.

CONTACT LECT (9.3): the 'lect' of a given language that comes to be identified (under certain proposed criteria in 9.31.1) as being potentially most suited in bringing together the speakers of the different lects of a given language.

COOPERATIVE CONDITION (3.22): the factor, among many, that helps the 'homogeneous' and the 'ruling' conditions (i.e., other 'co-factors') to achieve whatever result. (In this study, for example, two such factors have been identified: a common ideology (chapter five) and a common language (chapter six)).

CORE NATIONS (1.22): the western, rich, industrialized or modernized nations, as contrasted with 'PCN's', with whom they are in a core-periphery relationship.

CULTIVATED PERSON (3.31): a person in whom 'compassion' and 'wisdom' are well integrated. (See also 'precultivated' and 'meso-cultivated'.)
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

CULTIVATION (3.31): change (in a person, language, society or any other system) that results from both natural growth and intervention.

CULTURAL ARISTOCRACY (2.21.2): a collective name for 'linguistic elites' and 'religious elites' in a 'PCN'.

DATA (3.31): the lowest level in man's psychic sub-system (the progressively higher levels being 'knowledge' and 'wisdom').

DECOLONIALIZATION (5.41): an attitude of mind and pattern of behaviour that encourages one to go back to one's own history in search of new solutions to meet the needs of 'incrementalization', and eventually, of 'humanistic nationism'.

DEVELOPMENTALLY PROFITABLE (3.31): the notion that something (e.g., information, language, behaviour) is conducive to the maximization of the humanness of individuals and of collectivities, in terms of leading towards 'compassion' and 'wisdom'.

DIGLOSSIA (2.3): the presence of two or more 'lects' within a language, each with specific functions and associated with a particular social class. (See also 'acrolect' and 'basilect'.)

EMPATHIC PARTICIPATION (4.5): working with others in a reciprocal work relationship on a foundation of 'supportive empathy'.

EMPATHY (3.31): the intermediate level in man's corporeal or praxic, sub-system (the lower and the higher levels being 'concern' and 'compassion' respectively).
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

ENDOGENOUS LANGUAGE (L-endo) (8.21): a language used in a 'PCN'
that answers to one or more of the following criteria: (a) it
originated in the given PCN; (b) it originated in the larger
sociocultural region and is spoken natively today; (c) it was
introduced from outside the sociocultural region but is spoken
natively today; (d) it falls closer to the folk end of the
'language continuum'.

ENDOPETALISM: see 'endopetal orientation'.

ENDOPETAL ORIENTATION (endopetalism) (11.3): an attitude of mind that
tends to rotate around things internal to a system.

ENDO-RELIGIOUS ELITES (2.21.2): religious leaders of a local religion
who share the same 'psychopraxic behaviour' as other members of
the 'composite aristocracy'.

EXOGENOUS LANGUAGE' (L-exo) (8.21): a language used in a 'PCN' that is
not an 'endogenous language'.

EXOPETALISM: see 'exopetal orientation'.

EXOPETAL ORIENTATION (exopetalism) (3.21.1): an attitude of mind that
tends to rotate around the world away from oneself.

EXO-RELIGIOUS ELITES (2.21.2): religious leaders of an imported
religion who share the same 'psychopraxic behaviour' as other
members of the 'composite aristocracy'.

EXPLICIT LANGUAGE (6.2): language that comes to manifest itself out-
wardly in the form of speech (and writing).
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

FOLK LANGUAGE ('L-folk') (6.31.3): a language, that falls, under
    certain criteria (see 8.31.3) towards one end of the
    'language continuum', namely the folk sub-continuum. (Example:
    generally, the native languages spoken in 'PCN's'.)

FREEDOM OF CASH (2.21.1): the freedom that the owning of money brings
to an individual/collectivity/country.

HIGH FUNCTION (2.3): prestigious purposes (e.g., religion, literature,
    education) for which a language comes to be used.

HISTORICAL CORRELATION, HYPOTHESIS (6.3): the view that the historical
    world view of a group is reflected in language; the view that the
    "historical" language is reflected in the world view.

HOMOGENEOUS CONDITION (3.22): given the 'multicausality' of events,
    this is the factor, among many, that immediately precedes the
    'ruling condition'. (In this study, for example, 'communicative
    development' has been identified as the homogeneous condition of
    'national development'.)

HUMANISTIC NATIONISM (3.4): 'sociopolitical integration' in relation
to personal and milieu 'cultivation', or vice versa.

IDIOLECT (2.3): the personal speech pattern of an individual.

IMPLICIT LANGUAGE (6.2): the phase of linguistic communication
    preceding 'explicit language'.

INCREMENTALIZATION (5.42): an attitude of mind and pattern of behaviour
    that encourages one to seek out increasing control of one's
    environment in small steps, and in relation to the needs of
    'decolonialization', and eventually, of 'humanistic nationism'.
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

KNOWLEDGE (3.31): the intermediate level in man's psychic sub-system (the lower and the higher levels being 'data' and 'wisdom' respectively).

LANGUAGE CONTINUUM (8.31.3): a label for the concept that languages can be seen at different levels of development, ranging from 'aristocratic language' to 'folk language'.

LANGUAGE OF CULTIVATION: see 'L-cultivation'.

LANGUAGE PLANNING (LP) (7.2): (the discipline dealing with the) conscious intervention in the sphere of language.

L-ARISTOCRATIC: see 'aristocratic language'.

L-CULTIVATION (language of cultivation) (7.3): a 'contact lect' which eventually comes to be cultivated (see 'cultivation') into the single national language of a 'PCN'.

LECT (2.3): a common label for the different dialects, social registers, 'idiolects', etc., that make up a language.

LED-FOLLOWER (8.32): a member of a community led by a 'led-leader'.

LED-LEADER (8.32): a leader who shares a common language and a common 'psychopranxic behaviour' with the community of which he is the leader, and to that extent is "led" by the 'led-followers'.

L-ENDO: see 'endogenous language'.

L-ENDO BILINGUAL (8.31.1): a speaker whose mother-tongue is an 'endogenous language' but who also speaks an 'exogenous language'.

L-EXO: see 'exogenous language'.

L-EXO BILINGUALS (8.31.1): a speaker whose mother-tongue or first language is an 'exogenous language' but who also speaks an 'endogenous language'.

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APPENDIX II (cont'd)

L-FOLK: see 'folk language'.

LINGUISTIC ELITES (2.21.2): 'L-endo' elites and 'L-exo' elites.

LOW FUNCTION (2.3): non-prestigious purposes (i.e., within family, addressing those below one's socio-economic level) for which a language comes to be used.

LP: see 'language planning'.

MT (9.21): mother-tongue of a person.

MAXIPETALISM: see 'maxipetal orientation'.

MAXIPETAL ORIENTATION (maxipetalism) (2.22.1): an attitude of mind that tends to rotate around bigness.

MESOCULTIVATED PERSON (3.31): a person who functions at the level of 'empathy' and 'knowledge', or step 2, along the 'compassion' and 'wisdom' continua respectively.

MINIPETALISM: see 'minipetal orientation'.

MINIPETAL ORIENTATION (minipetalism) (11.3): an attitude of mind that tends to rotate around smallness.

MULTICAUSALITY (1.3): the notion that an event comes to exist as a result of several 'co-factors'.

MULTICOLONIALISM (2.23): a situation where a social class/group of people come to be 'underdeveloped' by several classes/sources (i.e., linguistic, cultural, economic).

NATION (1.21): any independent geopolitical space that lies along the continuum of total, politico-operational and sociocultural integration to little integration.
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (3.4): the 'cultivation' of individuals and collectivities in a given geopolitical space, in relation to achieving 'sociopolitical integration', or vice versa (see also 'humanistic nationalism').

NATIONISM L.21): the goal, outcome or process of 'sociopolitical integration' in relation to a given 'nation'.

NEW COLONIAL SITUATION (2.2): the world situation which continues to maintain a 'widenng gap' and 'value gap' between 'PCN's' and 'core nations' and the 'value gap' and 'social gap' within 'PCN's'.

NON-POSSESSIVE COOPERATIVISM (2.22.1): the 'psychopranxic behaviour' (of basically traditional societies) which has been contrasted, in this study, with 'possessive individualism'.

OT (9.21): "other tongue", i.e., a language other than one's mother tongue ('MT').

PATH (3.31): an abbreviation for the "Noble Eightfold Path" (figure 3.1): the teaching of the Buddha which analyzes the way to nibbāna, the Buddhist ideal.

PCN: see Post-colonial nation'.

POLITY (1.21): the highest level achievable by a 'nation' in terms of politico-operational integration.

POSSESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM (2.22.1): the 'psychopranxic behaviour' where a person pursues his own ends and follows his own ideas exclusively, and without regard to how they might affect others - i.e., in a self-centered manner. Contrasted, in this study, with 'non-possessive cooperativism'.
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

POST-COLONIAL NATION (PCN) (1.22): countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Middle East and Oceania.

PRAX (3.31): to transform thoughts/perceptions into action.

PRAXIS (3.31): a Buddhist and Marxian concept to mean the translating of thoughts/perceptions into action.

PRE-CULTIVATED PERSON (3.31): a person who has the potential for 'compassion' and 'wisdom', but is functioning at the lowest level along each of these dimensions; that is, at the level of 'concern' and 'data' respectively.

PSYCHOPHYSIQUE (3.31): the Buddhist metaphysical term for a human being, characterizing him as the product of the integration of the psychic and the corporeal domains.

PSYCHO-PRACTIC BEHAVIOUR (3.31): behaviour relating to a person's thoughts and the translating of these thoughts into action; roughly, "cultural" behaviour.

RELIGIOUS ELITES (2.21.2): 'endo-religious elites' and 'exo-religious elites'.

RULING CONDITION (3.22): given the 'multicausality' of events, this is the factor (among 'co-factors') that "settles the character of the result" (Stcherbatsky, op.cit:138).

RURAL COLONIALISM (2.21.1): a situation where both the rural masses and the 'rurality' itself comes to be 'underdeveloped' in the very same process of the rise of the rural elites.

RURALITY (2.21.1): rural areas.
APPENDIX II (cont'd)

SEED CONDITION: see 'ruling condition'.

SOCIAL GAP (1.3): the difference that exists between the masses and the 'composite aristocracy' in 'PCVs' in the spheres of economics, politics, culture and so on.

SOCIETY (1.21): the highest level achievable by a 'nation' in terms of sociocultural integration.

SOCIOPOLITICAL INTEGRATION (1.21): combined sociocultural and politico-operational integration.

SPEECH COMMUNITY (2.3): a group of people speaking a common language, be they in one country of spread over more than one country.

STAGEWISE APPROXIMATION (5.5: 11.4): making one or more changes in a 'system' that is/are large enough to make an observable or meaningful difference to the system, but small enough to avoid engendering a state of anomie.

SUPPORTIVE EMPATHY (4.5): concern for and understanding of another.

TECHNICAL ARISTOCRACY (2.21.2): a collective name for rural elites, labour elites, industrial elites, bureaucratic elites and political elites, as contrasted with 'cultural aristocracy'.

UNDERDEVELOP (2.21.1): the process through which one (person, social class, society, language, etc.) grows at the cost of another.

URBAN COLONIALISM (2.21.2): a situation where both the 'rurality' (= people and land) and the urban masses come to be 'under-developed' in the very process of the growth of the urban areas and of the 'composite aristocracy'.

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APPENDIX II (cont'd)

VALUE GAP (1.3): (a) the difference between the advances made by man in his value system and his material development; (b) the difference in values between the 'Post-Colonial Nations' and the 'core nations', and (c) the difference in values between the masses and the 'composite aristocracy' in 'PCN's'.

WIDENING GAP (1.3): the difference that exists between the 'core nations' and 'PCN's' in the standard of living.

WISDOM (3.31): the highest level of development of man's psychic subsystem (the progressively lower levels being 'knowledge' and 'data'), and co-ideal (the other being 'compassion') to be achieved in terms of humanization.


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