CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. PROLOGUE:

Thailand is an old nation which has fortunately retained her sovereignty during the Epoch of European Imperialism. Geographically, Thailand (known as Siam before 1939) is located in the central region of the main land of Indochinese Peninsula (vide Fig. I). Her neighbouring countries are as follows: (i) Cambodia or Kumpujia in the East; (ii) Burma in the West and the North; (iii) Laos in the North and the Northeast; and (iv) Malaysia in the South. Of its population of nearly 49 millions, 95.00 per cent are Buddhists; 4.05 per cent are Moslems; 0.60 per cent are Christians; and 0.35 per cent are Hindus and others.

Western scholars say that Thailand has been caught in the process of modernization which was initially introduced by King Mongkut in 1852. Nevertheless major social structures were gradually changing since that year and went on till the Democratic Revolution took place. During the period --1852 to 1932-- the major social changes in Thailand were mostly the adoption of Western way of life like the bureaucratic organization, the means of communication --railroads, post and telegram networks etc. The process of socialization of the people was considerably influenced by Western ideas of secular education. It was

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introduced during the early years of modernization. The educational system was, however, implemented in such a manner that it could provide personnel for the civil services. In those days, a large majority of the people was still ignorant of new ideas. A scientific outlook was beyond them. Modernization of Thailand during the regime of absolute monarchy was symbolized by Bangkok, the capital city. The rest of Thailand was old and traditional.

In 1932, the Democratic Revolution took place and the Western pattern of democratic regime was introduced notwithstanding the existing illiteracy. The democratic regime, however, encouraged the development of the Thai educational system along the Western pattern within two decades after the Revolution. In 1950, Thailand could provide a system of four years of the compulsory education for the masses. Nevertheless, illiteracy was still near 50 per cent.

The process of modernization in Thailand has been intensified since the fiscal year 1959-1960 with the introduction of a formal plan of economic development. The First Five Year Plan was promulgated during this fiscal year. At present, the literacy in Thailand is 81.80 per cent.¹

Education is certainly an instrument of social and modernization. It helps people shape their behavioural patterns consistent with the spread of scientific knowledge and technology. As a matter of fact, if a society has to be modernized in order to attain development, the social structures must be changed both at the micro- and the macro- levels. The change of social structures will not be genuine unless the people at large have cultivated their values, attitudes and patterns behaviour in tune with the demands of modernizing society. This fact holds good in case of Thailand also. Accordingly, the educational system of Thailand or for that maker of any modernizing society, should not only aim to increase the economic competence of the people but also to enable them to adjust their behavioural patterns adequately. The school teachers play a very important role in this process.

It is necessary that the school teachers are endowed with the certain personality traits vis-a-vis modernization. They are expected to be free from the conservative ideas and/or outlook which may impede the development of the society. The school teachers must be aware of modern attitudes and values.

The effective agency which can equip the school teachers with modern attitudes and values is Teachers Colleges. Theoretically, the group of college teachers is expected to be the main source of new values, attitudes
and patterns of behaviour which can lead the society to change in the direction of modernization. They are the referent models not only of the school teachers but also of the people in various spheres of public life.

Precisely on this score, the study of modernization of the college teachers in Thailand acquires a tremendous significance. This enquiry has been therefore undertaken to investigate the academic role of the teachers, on the one hand, and their perception of modernity in some major spheres of social life, on the other. Before that, however, we must consider some of the basic issues involved in the study of modernization.

2. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAME OF MODERNIZATION:

The process of modernization was the culmination of three development in Western Europe: the Renaissance; the Reformation; and the Industrial revolution. The process started in the Western European countries in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The phenomena which triggered modernization were the Renaissance and the Reformation which were followed by Industrialization. As Varma writes "modernization starts with the Renaissance and Reformation movements in Western Europe, and gains momentum with the industrialization in England in the second half of eighteenth century."² These brought

about a number of fundamental changes in the Western societies: the development of new technology, the multiplicity of inanimate power sources, the continuously increasing rate of commerce, the revelation and pervasion of scientific worldview and the emergence of the democratic and totalitarian structures. The application of technology and inanimate power sources was possible only under the conditions of freely competitive markets and the dissemination of the scientific outlook which superceded the traditional attitudes, norms and values. Moreover, while either the democratic and totalitarian structures --sometimes even both of them-- were prospering, the traditional system and the feudal regimes were gradually declining. These were the initial stages of modernization, through 'Industrialization'.

Intrinsically, modernization ramified a good number of new ideas and concepts which accommodated the collective performance for the social transition. Most of the new ideas and the new concepts, viz., political participation, freedom, justice, equality, democracy, laissez-faire and the like affected the new cultural ethos. Because of the decline of the style of life including the range of thought in the medieval period, the course of modernization crystallized as a process of syndeome.

Inasmuch as modernization is the course of
changes in diverse spheres an effort should be made to define it by means of a uni-disciplinary or a cross-disciplinary approach. The latter approach is prone to be more fruitful in that it can give us an unambiguous definition rather than the former. Hence, in order to obtain a plausible definition of modernization, our approach should reflect the social scientists' expositions of a variety of points of view underlying the varieties of social sciences. The better way to approach such themes would be to focus on three main categories, namely, (i) disciplinary sectors, (ii) trichotomous systems, and (iii) dichotomous levels of social changes. The first category is the approach through the social scientists' views in economics, political sciences and sociology. This classification is not hard and fast, as some writers regard sociology as inclusive of anthropology.

Economists elucidate modernization in terms of economic development; political scientists expound modernization as the phenomenon of political development; and sociologists account for modernization in terms of a social transition towards development as a whole. The second category is to view modernization at levels of the value system, the social system and the personality system. The last category implies an approach to modernization on the two levels of social change — viz., micro-level and macro-level.
2.1. The Position of Economists:

Modernization in the economic sphere is a crucial phenomenon in the transitional process of human society. This includes themes relating to development of technology, natural resources, population per capita income, industrialization, use of inanimate power resources etc. The economists hold that, with these themes, they can explain the concept of modernization. They consider modernization as extensive and intensive application of technology by man and his competence to control and plan natural resources in order to obtain a consistent growth in the per capita income of the people. The application of technologies, as such, guarantees a perpetual self-sustaining growth of economy. In order to attain such a level of growth, as the ultimate goals of the society, the allocation of manpower has inevitably to be managed. The sophisticated and advanced machines, as a substitute for the manpower, are naturally capable of producing output of a higher and a better standard. The very course of installation of machines for production is perceived as modernization, which is a part of industrialization. Thus, by and large, the more the industrialization the more likely is rapid growth of economic development and material wealth of the society. This is what can be called modernization in the economic sphere.

These material factors can be adjusted with the
societal structure easily, according to the calculable logic of techno-economicians: "those who have less, but require more, can have what they require only if they increasingly absorb the elements of modern science and technology." The important thing which is not simple is the rationale of the members for maintaining and organizing such elements of techno-economic absorption in order to attain or orient the change towards the socio-cultural of modernization goals. In this case the vital entity is the patterns or systems which lead the society to maintain and innovate the material factor. Some patterns or systems that are essentially needed in the process of modernization are as follows: the mode and ideas of collective interest or utility, the fair distribution of people's income, the proliferation of occupational role or in one word what is called as 'Social Mobilization', etc. Otherwise the process may lead to the disorganization or breakdown of modernization.

2.2. The Position of Political Scientists:

Modernization in the political field is bound up with many new ideas and concepts such as democracy, basic rights of man, distribution of wealth, equality of opportunities for democratic life, etc. Such ideas and

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concepts determine the politico-cultural ethos. From this point of view, political scientists have identified political modernization (also often called as political development) with democratic regimes because this was the dominating form in the Western modern society. However, both types of regimes—democratic and totalitarian—have failed as well as succeeded in achieving modernization.

Political scientists emphasize democracy as the political system in which man's basic rights are guaranteed, irrespective of their status, ethnic group, caste, occupation, race and religion. By and large, the main subject of modern political institution is "... the capacity to promote, or at least to maintain, the self-sustained economic and social growth with the type of 'stability' (which may assume contrasting forms) compatible with a degree of integration sufficient to adjust to a continuous change, without 'excessive' disruption."^4 nevertheless, political scientists do also realize that the process of political development is inevitably a turmoil which would manifest as a disruptive process in the economic and social fields of transformation. In other words, "political scientists concerned with development are interested not only in those who exercise power and how --familiar concerns for

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all political scientists— but also in how governments increase their capacity to innovate change, respond to demand for change, and cope with social conflict."

2.3. The Position of Sociologists:

In order to conceive modernization in the sociological terms precisely, due attention must be given to the sociologists’ perspective of modernization. Sociologists are concerned with the ‘total’ aspects and variables of social change. They are not only interested in the viable integrated aspects but also with the negative disruptive ones.

"Historically, modernization is the process of changes towards those types of social, economic and political system that have developed in the nineteenth and twentieth century to Latin America, Asian and African countries."

Sociologists view the process of modernization as an emerging phenomenon of changes in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres. Each sphere takes place as the mode of an interdependent syndrome. The primary feature which characterizes the modern society is the pattern of structural differentiation. The


consequence of such differentiation is the emerging of the new social structures which assume and/or perform new functions. The new and complex educational institutions and occupation become inextricably associated products of modernization. These two types of new social structures emerge while the changing process is on. Moreover the social stratification gets modified, at the same time, triggered modernized novel behavioural norms. In the course of time new norms and culture emerge and they functionally develop the function of new type of communities. Modernization is also highly differentiated and specialized with respect to the individual activities and the institutional structures. In short, "social modernization includes changes in all actors of society at every level: personality, norms, social relations and institutions. Various forms of social organization are compatible with the modern society."⁷

As a matter of fact, the phenomenon of modernization does not occur in a positive direction absolutely. The disruptive features or the destructive tendencies and tension also appear as the part and parcel of modernization. These disruptive features can be called the negative aspects of modernization. Sociologists do not only recognize them; but also study these negative aspects from every angle including the means to release

⁷Germani, op. cit., p. 10.
the syndrome of tension. Such negative aspects are as follows: rising social tension, mental illness, violence, divorce, juvenile delinquency, the conflict among races, religions and classes etc. These aspects always generate innumerable complicated problems unavoidably.

Thus, sociologically, the main focus of modernization is interwoven with changing aspects of personality, norms, attitudes and also with the network of social relations in the social institutions. Of all these things, modernization is organically concerned with the patterning social stratification in a society. Moreover such elements as the new values, new attitudes, new ideas etc., also regulate the pattern of members' behaviour and action. Sometimes, the new social institutions are the consequence of change of their elements, on the one hand, the established social institutions engender the significant changes or transforming elements. Necessarily, sociologists have a vital role to play in the study of the existing changing phenomena whether they are facilitating or retarding modernization.

The foregoing discussion represents the social scientists' views in the three main discipline, viz., economics, politics and sociology. The explanation of modernization is heterogeneous. It is naturally prone to controversies and differences of opinions. There can never be a perfect synthesis of the approaches of these discipline.
The social scientists, nevertheless, have ideas and expositions having remarkably interesting similarities. Economists, for instance, contemplate modernization in terms of economic activities, like: technologies, inanimate power sources, increase of per capita income, industrialization, etc. Political scientists, however, visualize modernization in the political sphere such as man's basic rights of freedom, any political culture which may withstand the tension of economic and social growth, etc. On the other hand, sociologists emphasize modernization as the changing process in every structural unit of society, viz., differentiation of status and role, institutionalization of rationality, new cultural ethos, etc. Moreover, inspite of their diversity in the contemplation and sensibilities and phenomenal substances, there appears a minimum co-ordination among the variables.

The similar points, postulated by these social scientists, can be enumerates in three categories as follows: (1) self-sustaining economic and social development; (2) the proliferation of social and occupational roles and structures so as to sustain development; and (3) disruptive features in the process of modernization. Myron Weiner (1966), for example, states:

...Economists see modernization primarily in terms of man application of technologies to the control of nature's resources in order to bring about a marked increase in the growth of output per head
of population. Sociologists and social anthropologists have been primarily concerned with the process of differentiation that characterizes modern societies. They have explored the way in which new structures arise to assume new functions or to take on functions once performed by other structures and they give attention to the differentiation occurring within social structures as new occupations emerge, new complex educational institutions develop, and new types of communities appear. Sociologists also study some of disruptive features of the modernization process: rising tension, mental illness, violence, juvenile delinquency, and racial, religious and class conflict.

Political scientists, also have been concerned with some disruptive features of modernization, but they have focused particularly on the problem of nation and government building as modernization occurs. They have been concerned with the way in which governments increase their capacity to innovate and to adapt to change to make politics for the society. . . ."^8

Much discussion of the definition of modernization has been made largely on the basis of social science disciplines; but they are, so far, proved inconclusive. Some definitions, for example, such as that of Wilbert E. Moore, S.N. Eisenstadt and others require elaborate reinterpretation and reexplanation. Further details in this area would be considered later on.

8 Weiner, loc. cit.
The next consideration is concerned with the concept of modernization in relation to the three sub-systems, viz., the cultural system, the social system and the personality system.

2.4. Modernization: trichotomous system:

Here the central point is the viably organizational process of a social system. Such a social process operates by its elements, viz., social structures, norms and values. "The social structure consists of the regulative stable interrelationship among its parts; moreover the term 'part' itself implies a certain degree of stability. Since a social system is composed of the interrelated acts of the people, its structure must be sought in some degree of regularity or recurrence in these acts." Moreover the very acts of the people in a social system, being crucial, are always in relation with the dynamic situation and are likely to require a certain regularity among them. Hence a certain degree of regularity in a society is essentially implicit. Particularly, societies which are being modernized always encounter such phenomena in the system and rigorously require the mentioned degree of regularity. Since a social system has to survive (a modernizing one undoubtedly) towards its integration and ultimate goals. The avenues of a certain degree of regularity must prevail.

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Such a degree, again, will never prevail unless social values and social norms are positively oriented in the social system. The values and the norms can function to accommodate the differentiation of statuses and roles and the very differentiation may bring about the newly particular pattern of members' personality in the domain of social system. In other words, values and norms effect a specific type of social personality and they would synchronize with that degree of regularity in the social system as the continuous action. The attributes of norms and values, therefore, generate and maintain the status-role differentiation and mobility which are the fundamental relating elements for creating a certain type of personality. Thus the social values and norms are the essential factors of the personality orientation.

The three social aspects, viz., (i) status-role differentiation, (ii) personality, and (iii) norms and values are inter-woven among themselves and produce the characteristic of society which can be identified in the term of modernizing society or a non-modern one.

Modernization implies multi-dimensional social changes which have a direction towards development which include several elements and goals. The important thing here is social integration and comprehension of ultimate goals. The change will never lead to modernization unless the integration and goals form the integral part of changes towards development.
In the same way, the viable process of social system is related with the elements of social organization, viz., structures, values and norms and personalities which explain social change in their ongoing and diverse dynamic aspects. It is not just integration; it is dynamic integration. One important consideration is that modernization is concerned with a specific direction of change from non-modern to modern, including the awareness of multi-dimensional canvass. Thus, the elements of social system such as values, social relationships and personality can undoubtedly analysed in the larger extent of this dynamic framework.

As has already been indicated above, the elements of social system, which are to be considered in one approach to modernization, are categorized into three sub-systems. They can be named as follows: (1) the value system, (2) the social system, and (3) the personality system.

The important subject of the trichotomous systems is concerned with man's orientation to his value, roles and statuses and personality towards the perception of modernity and its basic traits. Some scholars state that "the starting point of any definition of modernization is not in the character of the society, but in the character of individuals."¹⁰ And, essentially, the modernizing societies --to have a better life among

¹⁰ Weiner, op. cit., p. 4.
the people—"must have more and more science and technology, and to have more and more of these they must be prepared to bring about necessary changes in the associated social structure, norms and values."¹¹ To complete, thus, modernization in relation with individual's values, role-status and personality orientation is reasonably significant.

"The term 'value' may be defined as a conception or a standard, cultural or nearly personal, by which things are compared, approved or disapproved in relation to one another—held to be relatively desirable or undesirable, more meritorious or less, more or less correct. All kinds of 'things' may be evaluated: feeling, ideas, action, qualities, objects, persons, goals and means."¹² Moreover, value can be inferred from the manner in which a man spends his time, income and energies. In the society, the pattern of social life, relationship and institution emerge from the hierarchy of the normal values. Thus all the human relations and the human behaviour involve and play an important role in the integration and fulfillment of man basic impulse and desires. Thus the stuff of values is made up of both individual and social responses and attitudes which can build up a society and its structure in an integrated manner.

¹¹Dube, op. cit., p. 33-34.

¹²Johnson, op. cit., p. 49.
The symbol system is a complex feature which is relevant to the social values. Symbol may exist in diverse modes: material or non-material objects, gestures or languages, products of fine arts and inventions including the means of communication and diffusion. The symbol system, logically speaking, is integrated with the social values in spite of its complexity. In the absence of the symbol system, the cathexis of the society in relation to social values will be weak. Thus social values and the symbol system are integral parts of a society.

There are four kinds of value orientation in modernization: (1) sentiments and ties, (2) spirit of nationalism, (3) scientific attitudes, and (4) scientific temper.

The sentiments and ties refer to the dichotomous ends, i.e. particularistic and universalistic ends. The particularistic sentiments and ties based of family, kin, language, region, etc, are recognized as the outmoded values of the pre-industrial society which must be abandoned. The particularistic end must give way to universalistic sentiments and ties.

Spirit of nationalism helps to broaden the social basis of the society at the political level. "Nationalism as the 'state of mind' that seeks not only to make the nation an effective unity, but to make it the object of
man's supreme loyalty. In the eastern world, historically, nationalism has created the demand of unity and integration of the society. Moreover, it has also paved the way for modern democratic regimes. In modernization, it serves as a powerful source of integration and identity within the society. However, it turns out to be a dangerous force if it narrows down the range of the universalistic ethics thereby defeating the onward and forward-looking vision of modernization. Thus the spirit of nationalism must be developed in order that the state of mind and the sentiments and ties would be transformed into a universally rational neutrality.

Scientific attitude would be a part of the value system which can be developed by the complex educational institution. Its fundamental basis is to create an openness of mind so that the new mode of thinking and action would be welcomed. This very openness of mind would ensure a continuous of ideas, thought, activities, etc. These are essential in modernization.

Then there is a scientific temper, a vital ingredient of modernizing values. It should exist for enduring the tension of technological development. The essence of which is the application of knowledge

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in order to promote the inculcation of rationality.

Scientific attitude and scientific temper must be oriented in order to pave the way for a consistent technological development and, also, to start an enlightened process of rationalization. The openness of mind also should be developed by the scientific attitude so that the new pattern of thought and action can be accepted sincerely.

Social system in the literature of modernization is analysed in relation to 'statuses' and 'roles' of the individual and groups. The terms 'role' and 'status' should be defined at this stage. Status and role are inevitably related with the term position because the individual status and role are the network of relationship based on his position. In fact, the member of the social system are differentiated due to the social positions they occupy. The content of a social position — that is, its complex of rights and obligation — is entirely normative. Any social position always has two parts, one consisting of obligations and another consisting of rights. These two aspects of social position are, generally, its role and its status. The term role refers to obligations and status refers to rights. Linton and Merton (1975) have used 'status' instead of position. It can be noted that "...the task or the position affords the key to the role."\(^{14}\)

\(^{14}\)Johnson, op. cit., p. 15-16.
"the social role is made up of norms which are associated with a certain task and with a corresponding position." It should also be noted that the differentiation of institution refers, too, to the increasing diversification of statuses. There are two basic ways which generate the role and status network, through innovation and through diffusion. Innovation can take place by three possible means: (1) the division of any single role, status and/or structure into two or more ones; (2) some existing roles, statuses and/or institutions are recombined into one; and (3) a completely new role, status and/or institution is introduced in the society.

Diffusion can also take place in two ways: (a) the piecemeal fashion, where single objects are transmitted from one culture to another and integrated in a piecemeal fashion; and (b) role and institutional transfer, where role and institutional models as well as material objects are diffused as a complex, from one socio-cultural context to another. Indeed, the continual specifications largely essential in the process of differentiation because it creates specific roles and statuses. The very activity is governed by norms and values.

Thus, the more specification will bring about greater and greater separation of activities. These are extremely necessary in modernization at the level of social system. Though members may occupy several roles and statuses, they cannot play their roles at the same time e.g., social, economic and political. In fact, the role-status differentiation is also the cause of disruptive or destructive phases of modernization. All in all, the role-status differentiation is very essential in the process of modernization.

Personality system is also to be taking into account in the analysis of modernization. It is essential as a complement to the foregoing discussed entities, especially the value system and the social system. Personality system is one of the systems in the structure of the trichotomous system. Here the first consideration will be the explanation of this term.

The term 'personality' is "...a complex inner system representing the outer world. It depends upon a consciousness of self as against this outer world of objects, animate or inanimate."¹⁶ There are a variety of meanings of personality in various fields: Psychiatrists visualize personality in relation to the overt behaviour -- motive, perceptions,

¹⁶Johnson, op. cit., p. 284.
feelings, attitudes, habits and ideas— which represents the organization of tendencies to act, that are developed by an individual in the course of interaction with others; anthropologists emphasize personality with reference to "...behaviour that reveals emotion, acts through which it is possible to plumb the inner, motivational, and perceptual life of people...." 17

Sociologists visualize it in the broader term than individuality because it embraces the total "organized aggregation of psychological processes and states pertaining to the individual." 18

To sum up, "personality refers to a person's more or less organized predispositions to 'perform, perceive, think, feel' in a certain way with regard to somebody or something." 19

The personality system has been referred to by scholars as the system which is relatively specific, definite and consistent system of need-disposition. For modernization, a modern personality is essential. It refers to the well-organized traits which the members of a society have according to their nature or statuses

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and also coincide with the collective expectation. The fundamental traits of modern personality are as follows: flexibility, rationality, individuality, achievement orientations, insistence on equality, freedom, social justice, secularism, etc.

A scientific and rational worldview including universalistic and secularistic values are the crucial attributes of a modern mind. Thus modernization is organically connected with the three subsystems, viz., value system, social system and personality system. The universalistic and secularistic values bring about the viable differentiation of role-status system and then generates a modern personality. Societies, broadly speaking, require a well organized modern personality. A modern person must cultivate a rational and scientific worldview.

2.5. Modernization and the dichotomous levels of social change:

As a matter of fact, modernization is the process of social change produced by the interaction among members of a society. Although there both exogenous and endogenous factors that generate the process, the major attribute emerges mostly from the sound interaction between the members. It manifests two levels of phenomena: firstly, the process carrying the whole society; and secondly, the interaction of the societal members
or individual men. The latter is a part of the whole society which can characterize the former can also characterize the latter. Each level of social phenomena is integrated with each other.

The explanation of modernization operating at these two levels, the individual units and the whole society, is in turn with the sociologists' line of thought relating to the approaches. These are: (i) holistic and atomistic approaches, (ii) macro-sociology and micro-sociology, and (iii) macro-structural and micro-structural changes. The linkage between the two levels of social phenomena is crucial. As Cohen (1979) states: "...Social wholes may be inconceivable without individual men in social positions; but the social positions of individual men are inconceivable without social wholes..."20

The holistic approach to social phenomena is based on the fact that societies are likened to the organic living bodies i.e., organism. This feature characterizing the holistic approach is identical with the macro-level of the society. This approach assumes that the social wholes consist of the structures, each of which can perform different functions, but remains interdependent and also interrelated with each other

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The holistic approach also holds that any change or stagnation in the structures can effect or affect the social wholes and vice versa. Thus the holistic approach is concerned with the transformation which occurs through the social structures and impinge upon the social wholes thoroughly.

The atomistic approach treats the social system or social wholes in the manner of mechanical objects. Such objects can be identical or replaceable. They can be assembled or stripped in various ways. This kind of approach emphasizes the great importance of the individual men.

The two approaches mentioned above are significantly recognized by the well-known school of thought in social theories as Cohen postulates: "...the first approach has come to be known as functionalism, or structural functionalism; the second has come to be known as the action theory of society...."^{21}

Modernization, as the process of social change, can be analysed with the help of these two approaches, the holistic and atomistic ones. From another angle, they can be called the macro-level and the micro-level approaches. The macro-level of modernization means the transformation of the main structures of the social wholes or whole society such as economic, social and

political structures. Changes of such structures have effect upon the parts of the whole society. Results of the main structural changes ential avenue of self-sustaining growth, social integration and ultimately social development.

The forces of changes at the macro-level, for example, in economic, social and political structures are as follows: industrialization, urbanization, role-status proliferation and so on. On the other hand, changes at the micro-level concerning individual relationships or small groups involve their basically social functions as unique units of societies. They can, in addition, alter their functions in accordance with the structural modernization of the social wholes i.e. some functions or roles are transferred to various institutions or structures. Further they may accept functions or roles which once were alien to them. Thus, the macro-level and the micro-level of social changes as well as the holistic and atomistic approaches of modernization are reciprocally interrelated. Some can be said about the macro and the micro levels of study. They are sort of disciplines and sub-disciplines. Etzioni states regarding the two sub-disciplines that the one deals with the particular properties of macro-units (e.g., nation classes), the other with properties of micro-units, such as family, workteams and friendship groups.
Moreover, Etzioni also emphasizes the importance of macroscopic factors:

...from a pragmatic view point, a disciplined study of the substantive problems of society -- such as modernization, democratization, change of status relations among major collective, societal real-location of wealth, and political integration of previous autonomous units-- cannot be much advances without a systematic analysis of microscopic factors. 22

We can sum up in the words of Brown who states:

...Functionalists are inclined to liken society to a living organism, while system theorists seem to be using a machine analogy. Marxists too have their 'shape' -- building analogy. Society has foundations -- the infrastructure. The only really visible part of the whole edifice is this super-structure; but the Marxists warn us not to forget the foundations. The superstructure can only follow the shape laid down for it by the foundations. To understand the visible features of the building it is necessary to know the foundation... 23

Brown also contends as follows:

...in the discussion of macro-sociology there was a tendency to lose sight of the individual. People become puppets whose behaviour is controlled and shaped by the prevailing norms of social institutions or historical processes. Macro-sociology,


on the whole, has little time for what people themselves think about all this. Yet within the discipline of sociology there have always been those who have said that one cannot ignore the individual dimension, whether it is in terms of how people determine their own behaviour, or how they interpret and understand the world in which they live....

Analysing modernization along the line of dichotomous levels of social structural change is another way in this respect. The comprehension of the social structural change in order to consider the concept of modernization seems to be more relevant. The social structural change is also dichotomized at two levels, viz., macro-structural and micro-structural changes. There are, by and large, several forms of change in the structures of societies, but all of them do not lead to the transformation towards structural modernization. The changes relevant to structural modernization are concerned with the system of social relationship.

Such a system can contribute to the growth of new roles and new group structures. The roles and group structures must be based on the concomitant norms of modernization. Cyclical or rhythmical phenomena are temporary events. For example, change in the family structure without any family planning, but due to the birth or death of the members; large scale migration due to war or epidemic

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Ibid.
and/or political power; the rise and fall in the industry and the trade owing to the change in the route of transportation. As Yogendra Singh (1977) says these cannot be accepted as social structural changes because their functions remain static.

Macro-structure of a society is concerned with the extensive, formal roles and relationships. The organization of macro structure is based on universalistic principles. Some examples of macro-structures are as follows: groups of political and intellectual elites, administration and bureaucracy such as executive, legal, industrial, military, entrepreneurs and industrial workers and other groups and classes, viz., urban, industrial and social. Modernization at the macro-structural level refers to changes which lead to the development of roles and statuses. Moreover, the organization or change at this level must bring about integration, regulation, self-sustaining growth and development. Only these we can say that modernization has taken place. The macro-structure also involves the emergence of new sciences, technologies and diffusion of diverse foreign cultural features. These are the essential attributes of macro-structural modernization and "...macro-structures taken together generate social consensus necessary for structural modernization."²⁵

Micro-structures of a society, by and large, involve the less formal organization and more effective and particularistic social relationships. The functions of these structures are related mainly with the needs which are narrower yet primary in nature which are governed by specificity. Relationships and prescribed bonds, love, kinship, birth, region or territory prescribed statuses.

3. MODERNIZATION: Its Implicit Definition

Modernization, by its nature, is a process of social change which can be compared to the term syndrome in the field of medical diagnosis or medical therapy. The very process, as its distinct configuration, assumes manifold aspects and diverse forms of changes. Eisenstadt (1973) is aware of this fact, he has propounded two approaches to the manifold aspects of modernization. These are different, but, by nature, are closely interconnected. As he says:

One has its roots in recent methodological developments. It focuses on the analysis of the major sociodemographic and structural characteristics of modern or modernizing societies. The other seems to have the roots in recently reformulated search for the quality of modern society. It emphasises what may be called a more dynamic aspect of the process of modernization, namely the continuous expansion of human possibilities what can be called sustained growth....

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According to Eisenstadt: the common characteristics of modernization consist of sociodemographic aspects, on the one hand, and structural aspects of social organization, on the other. He accepts Karl Deutsch's definition of social mobilization (1961) for explaining sociodemographic aspects.

...'the process in which major clusters of old social, economic, and psychological commitments are eroded and broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior'. . . some of the main indices are exposure to aspects of modern life through demonstration of machinery, buildings, consumers' goods, etc; response to mass media; change of residence; urbanization; change from agricultural occupations; literacy; growth of per capita income...27

Concomitantly, the emergence of major structural characteristics of modernization implies the aspects of development in various social contexts which are concerned with individual activities and social institutional structures. The aspects presented by Eisenstadt can be summarized as follows: (i) the differentiation becomes prevailing at a high degree in the society; (ii) social resources are not committed to any ascribed criterion but are prone to grasp the achieved one; (iii) social organizations exist in the form of functional, typical specification and diversification; (iv) there emerge large secular, mass and/or national supreme groups in the

27 Ibid.
Society; and (v) the important institutions, as social structures, endow specialized roles and allocate them through social mechanisms and bureaucratic organizations. This is the structural characteristics of modernization or, in short, the process of differentiation.

The two processes: differentiation and social mobilization develop side by side to bring about basic structural changes in all major structural spheres of social life. These are "economic sphere", 'political sphere', 'cultural sphere' and 'the sphere of social organization'.28 These four structural spheres perform their functions. The development of these structural spheres, indeed, constitute an important dimension which characterizes modernization. Hence the process of modernization consists of the interconnection among the three variables, viz., the process of differentiation, the process of social mobilization and the development of structural spheres in a society.

Development in the economic sphere take place through the introduction of technologies as well as the applications of scientific knowledge. The latter play their role as a systematic pattern at an ever increasing and advanced level. Both technologies and sciences are interconnected with one another. The technologies and

28Ibid., pp. 23-25.
sciences, however, are imperfect means to bring about an authentic economic modernization. Some degree of organization and some kinds of role-status arrangements are absolutely essential for this process. Eisenstadt points out three major aspects which characterize modernization in the economic sphere. They are: (a) "specialization of economic activities and occupational role"; 29 (b) "the development of unit of production oriented to the markets"; 30 and (c) "the scope and complexity of the major markets." 31 The specialization of economic activities and occupational roles take place through the process of differentiation. The structures or institutions of a society and individuals, indeed, have a number of activities and roles, but they would play a specific activity and a specific role in a certain time only. Moreover, the economic activities and the occupational roles of the certain structures or institutions would not interfere the activities and roles in other spheres. Economic and political activities would be separate from the religious activities; occupational and family roles would be separated the political roles. These are important aspects of the process of differentiation and they lead to the process of specialization; the more prevailing differentiation, the more increasing specialization.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.
The unit of production, as structures or institutions in economic sphere, will not be located on the basis of kinship and family. These magnitudes will either be small or large, but their important features are the segregation among the work, the capital and the family of the individuals.

In the case of production, the orientation of units is concerned with the objective of production which is for the market, for unknown consumer. Thus the units of production involve the differentiation of occupational roles, productive roles and familial or consumtive roles. But all these are interconnected altogether in the process of production. Moreover, the units also orient their objective of production towards the markets as the destination. Such markets are central organization in production. Modern markets do not deal only with goods or production but also generate forms of exchanges. The most influential form of exchanges, which can command any movement in the markets, is the market for money. The another form of market is for labour. All these mentioned forms of exchanges are interrelated as parts of the systematic organization of the market. This is the complexity of the modern market organization.

In short, modernization of the economic sphere implies the development of a system of production i.e., in other words, an industrial system. This system is concerned with the application of advanced technologies of a systematic knowledge or sciences. The specialization
of economic activities and occupational roles occur concomitantly generating new forms of production. Such productive forms exhibit the differentiation of occupation, production and consumption. All are objectives of production which have been oriented towards the markets. Finally, the markets are the complex organization not only for goods but also for labour and money.

Political modernization is a very crucial process. Empirically, political development can be the major factor which can accelerate or retard the emergence of modernization.

Political structures, as the starting point, are fundamental components of the political system in a society. To some extent, the transformation of the political structures is concerned with the political system. If the political structures develop, irrespective of the internal or the external impulses, the development of the political system will occur. The fact is that with the development of the political structures the entire political system would also be modernized.

Modernization in the political sphere or the political field implies "...the development of highly differentiated political structure in terms of a specific political role and institution of centralization of the polity, and of the development of specific political goals and orientation."\(^{32}\)

\(^{32}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 24.\)
Moreover, the process also reveals "a growing extension of the scope of the central legal, administrati

tive and political activities and their permeation into all spheres and regions of the society." 33

Additionally, the continuous spread of potential political power to wider groups in the society --ultimately to all adult citizens is also a crucial feature of political modernization. Furthermore, "the weakening of tradition elites and traditional legitimatation of rulers " 34 and "the establishment of some sort of ideological, and often also institutional, accountability of the rulers to the ruled who are the holders of the potential political power " 35 are the important factors which contribute to the political modernization.

Political modernization takes place in every type of political regimes. Sociologists have accepted the fact that form of Government can accommodate modernization. Eisenstadt states: "modern societies are in some sense democratic or at least populistic societies." 36 Germani clearly affirms: "It is now recognized that many different type of political systems are compatible

33 Ibid.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Eisenstadt (1966), op. cit., p. 4.
with the institutions and functioning in modern society.\textsuperscript{37}

The major feature of the regimes or political systems which is relevant to modernization can be analysed in two ways. Firstly, the involvement between the ruler and the ruled which is concerned with a legitimate ascriptive power is based on "...the greater fluidity of political support, with the larger degree of 'interest-oriented', nonideological political allegiance and with considerable weakening sometimes almost total disappearance, of ascriptive political commitment to any given ruler or group."\textsuperscript{38} Consequently, the rulers, as such, will be able to maintain their status as well as popular supports for gearing their propagative goals and policy only by means of "...elections, plebiscites and acclamatory surrogates."\textsuperscript{39}

Secondly, modern regimes must have a minimum stability which would ensure the self-sustained economic and social growth. Such a social growth is "...compatible with a degree of integration sufficient to adjust to continuous changes without 'excessive disruption'."\textsuperscript{40}

Modernization in the cultural sphere implies the development of the major cultural system of the society. This system includes belief or religion, or metaphysics

\textsuperscript{37}Germani, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{38}Eisenstadt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{40}Germani, \textit{loc. cit.}
or philosophy and a visionary ideology. The value system is also marked "...by growing secularization, by the weakening of traditional cultural elites, by the spread of literacy and secular education, and by the emergence of new secular intelligensia and various profession groups."\textsuperscript{41} These developments have been closely related to the expansion of media of communication, the growing permeation of such central media of communication into the major groups of the society, and the wider participation of these groups in the cultural activities and organizations created by the centrally placed cultural elites.\textsuperscript{42} This growth has been necessarily connected with changed on the personality level, manifest changes in the outlooks and attitudes of a wider strata of the population, a growing capacity for some empathy, and growing emphasis on an outlook or value-orientation which tends to stress some common themes of self advancement.\textsuperscript{43}

Modernization in the sphere of social organization is noticeably manifested by several phenomena, viz., "the process of urbanization, the growing conglomeration of continuously growing parts of the population in urban

\textsuperscript{41}Eisenstadt (1973), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 24-25.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{43}Eisenstadt (1973), \textit{loc. cit.}
centers which the more specialized types of economic, professional, and civic activities and enterprises become concentrated and expanded continuously."

The process of urbanization, by its nature, has brought about changes in social organization at least in the major fields as follows: (i) the decline of traditionally ascribed stratification occurs along with the development of a flexible social strata; (ii) the augmentation of social mobility prevailing through economy, occupation and education in the society; and (iii) development emerges "as a great variety of forms of social organization ranging from various functionally specific economic enterprises to various civic and voluntary associations, professional groups and so forth.""45

Education for modernization is concerned with "... cultural mobilization of wider strata and with problems of social mobility in general and occupational mobility in particular."46

The very first stage of modernization will never lead to authentic modernization unless a continuous change and the capability of the social structure of absorbing change emerge at the same time. Continuous

44 Ibid., p. 24.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
change and the capability of absorbing change are interconnected with the framework of sociodemographic and structural characteristics of the society: the capacity of the society for a self-sustaining growth is the crux of this matter. Whenever modernization in a certain society attains the state of self-sustaining growth, it has retained its identity thoroughly which is the most essential thing in the process of modernization. These aspects of modernization, in other words, can be called socio-cultural adaptiveness or " adaptiveness of socio-cultural system." 47

Eisenstadt (1963) 48 analyses modernization on two levels: (i) structural characteristics; and (ii) the adaptiveness of the socio-cultural system. The latter is concerned with the self-sustaining growth. The former is regarded as the development of political structure. In short, Eisenstadt emphasizes the two essential aspects of modernization. i.e., First, the development of the major structural spheres in the first stage of modernization; and Second, the structural adaptiveness which consists to an expanding possibility of human welfare.


Wilbert E. Moore's definition of modernization is, in a sense more sharp "What is involved modernization is a 'total' transformation of a traditional or premodern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterize the 'advanced', economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the Western World." ⁴⁹

If we carefully scrutinize Moore's definition of modernization we find that it also includes these two aspects of structural characteristics and the capability of a society of absorbing changes. Since the attributes of the Western nations, are imposed as targets or guidelines of the changing premodern societies. This is inevitable.

To sum up, modernization involves a total uninterrupted process of social change. Major social structure i.e., social institutions are subjected to the changing process of social differentiation and social mobilization. A modernizing society must be capable to absorb such a social change. It alone can ensure a sustained growth and development.

4. WAYS AND MEANS OF MODERNIZATION:

Initially, the model of capitalism through industrialization on the basis of a democratic policy

was considered as the only path to modernization. The Bolshavic Revolution of 1917 in the U.S.S.R. under the communist regime, however, showed another path to modernization. At present, it is accepted by social scholars that there are two principal models of modernization. These models are: (i) The Capitalistic Model; and (ii) The Socialistic Model. Both models aim at the same ideal of advanced industrialism. But the means and the strategies to attain the advanced industrialization differ. One is broadly known as capitalistic; another one is known as socialistic. These two models of modernization have been expounded by social scholars. They maintain the lines of thought of the two eminent sociologists, namely, Max Weber's explanation of social action and rationality; Karl Marx's comprehension of the social reality of class conflict. It would be worthwhile to consider major aspects of the capitalistic and the socialistic frameworks for modernization.

As regards the capitalistic model in the broad sense, Max Weber defines to society in the context of social actions. Weber's view that men are involved in subjectively meaningful actions which are called 'conduct' or 'behaviour'. The conduct is purposeful, rational, value-oriented, affectual or traditional. 'Social relationships' exist when people take each other's action into account which gives rise to some kinds of probability of action. Social conduct and social relationships imply the ideas of existence of a
legitimate order. The legitimacy is consensual. Thus, a society in Weber's explanation is the creation of goal-seeking men who produce a growth, which is called 'society', through rule-guided behaviour. It is a whole whose parts aggregates in terms of the conjunctions and/or disjunction of actions.

Inasmuch as Weber's view of society presents an ideal image of a capitalist society, it is accepted by the intellectual elites in the Western world. Weber's ideal-type constructs, especially of bureaucracy, his emphasis on the rational working out of social processes, and his summation of discrete variables, e.g. market worth, social honour, and political power have often been accused as analytical instrument for the maintenance of the status quo in capitalist societies.

According to Weber, social processes can be understood by observing how societies change through their internal dynamism. In his framework, individuals and groups have to adjust to such a change in the society or accept the consequences. Weber believed that the march of history is ultimately guided in rationality and freedom. Weber, however, has warned against excessive bureaucratization in the capitalist society.

In economic and political spheres, Weber has seen the competitions of powers. He argued that the interest aggregation continues all the time in the society. Various groups in the society always safeguard their
prerogatives; and finally, the state (society) "claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a territory." For example, the state reconciles divergent and conflicting interests among the various groups in the society. Weber gives certain primacy to economic power. But Weber also notes that social as well as political statuses have a tendency to be transformed into economic power and vice versa.

Weber also regards the market as the model for the circulation of currency as well as of wealth, status and power. He spells out that there will generally be the ruler and the ruled, the rich and the poor and the high and low statuses in the society. The societal needs are a kind of general and legal safeguards and protections against the exploitation of the inferiors by the superiors.

Modernization in the framework of capitalism can be understood in terms of interlocking relationships of the following variables: (i) market economy; (ii) free enterprise; (iii) profit motive; (iv) entrepreneurship; (v) efficiency; (vi) support for sciences and technology; (Vii) freedom of the labour force; and (viii) a rational legal system.

Karl Marx has not specifically written about what we now call the socialist model. Yet we can by implication identify some features of the model. According to

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Marx, society is an economic totality. Society, up till now which including the capitalist stage, has suffered from the internal contradictions. Society is made up of 'forces of production' which can be analysed in terms of linkage of the 'means of production' to the 'relation of production'. Marx also points out the distinction between 'infra' and 'supra' structures. The infra-structure is the mode of production; and the supra-structure refers to all other institutional systems. The members of the society are divided into groups in terms of 'class relations'. The class relations are antagonistic and the class cleavage is a necessary component of the society. The class consciousness provides the dynamism necessary for social change. According to Marx the basic reality of the social structures consist of three factors: (i) forces of production; (ii) class relations; and (iii) class consciousness.

A capitalist society is sharply divided into two main classes viz. the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The first is the class of those who own the means of production, and the latter is the class of those who provide only the labour power. Such a society develops internal contradictions. It changes through conflict to a higher level of production.

Again, in a socialist society, the ownership of the means of production is transferred from private hands to the state and classes are done away with. The socialist society brings the proletariat to power; the old condition
of production (especially surplus value or unpaid labour) is abolished and class antagonism vanishes forever. As it has been stated in 'Proletarians and Communists':

"Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest, with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."51

In the Marxist model of the society, there is no aggregation of discrete 'interests' but the opposite of it. The accretion of acquisitive interests is destroyed in favour of the collective interest of the proletariat. This model conceives of economic equality of individual as supplanting class-, status- and power-directed hegemony of the capitalist. As stated by Marx and Engels: "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."52 It means that, under socialism, individual freedoms will return; and in such a society there will no longer be the difference between the ruled and the


52. Ibid., p. 60.
rulers.

Marx argues that true democracy should bring about abolition of class prerogatives and the conduct of societal affairs in terms of self-regulation. It can be seen that here the axis of power is not the state, not the holder of capitals but a managing community. The state is not hegemonic and not an instrument of bourgeois power, but the state is dictated by situational needs of abolishing capital and eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class. The state at best is a mechanism for the re-acquisition of labour's freedoms as well as a vehicle of social control in the process of modernization of power and values in the society. The state will wither away when the perfect communism takes place. The guiding principle of the genuine socialist society (communism) would be the pattern of relationship 'from man according to his capacity, to man according to his need'. Marx emphasizes the right consciousness of the workers. Especially he desired the workers to shake off the values of capitalism, taking to the path of class struggle. In the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', 'Marx and Engels give their final call: "Working of all countries, Unite!"

The socialistic model for modernization as propounded by Marx can be construed in various terms as follows: (i) abolition of private ownership of means of production; (ii) dictatorship of the proletariat; (iii) reorganization of

\[53^{\text{Ibid.}, \ p. \ l.}\]
labour for higher social production; (iv) planned development; (v) exhortation and group self-examination; (vi) non-accretion of stratum interest; (vii) social pride; and (viii) labour frees from primodial bounds.

In short, it is necessary to understand some basic points involved in the modernization process, whether it is the capitalistic model or the socialistic model of modernization. These points can be said to be of two types. The first is concerned with the condition of man in relation to his health and happiness. The latter is concerned with the condition of society relating to its strengths and its weaknesses which can help or hinder man's growth in it.

As regards the condition of man, Weber held that the state, especially the legal institutions, have a crucial role in guarding the interests of the societal members, whereas Marx was troubled by man's alienation under the capitalist system. Both Weber and Marx spelled out other important issues e.g. man's socialization process, his affiliations, his determination of goals, as well as the shaping of an individual's needs and interests.

As regards the condition of the society for modernization, Weber and Marx indicated the essential nature of the society in different ways. They have differently depicted the condition of the society which has its roots in their fundamental relating to the following questions. What happens to family, economic growth, value system, process of decision-making, and most of all the reward system?
How should kinship, productive system, value orientations be decided in the future? The general discussion in relation to the above questions will not be undertaken here. However, it is necessary to note that the Weberian model indicates the route towards 'Democratic Society', whereas the Marxist model portrays the route towards a 'Socialistic and possible in Totalitarian Society'.

We shall take into consideration in our study a few aspects of these two models. While doing so, we shall keep in view Wilbert Moore's critical comments on the socialist model:

This kind of pattern is, on objective grounds, radically inappropriate to most of the diverse conditions of underdeveloped areas which lack the pre-Soviet Russian industrial development, the under-utilized land areas, and a quasifeudal landed aristocracy. Yet given adequate political power, the communist theory of development may be made 'self-fulfilling' despite its nonsensical qualities from a scientific point of view.\(^{54}\)

5. MODERNIZATION: The Concept

We will now make a few comments on modernization as a concept. The fact of diversity of forms of modernization refers not to a single model of modernization. In other words, there is a plurality of models of modernization. The polity as well as the strategy of modernization vary from country to country. None the less, there are two ways and means of phases of modernization. One phase is moderni-

\(^{54}\)Moore, op. cit., p. 95.
zation along the Weberian line of thought relating to rationality of social action. This phase of modernization indicates the way of democratic society. Another phase is the Marxian line of thought which portrays the way of socialistic or totalitarian society. Both these phases of modernization aim at the same goal of advanced industrial society. They differ from each other in relation to the means to attain the goals. For example, the Weberian phase recognizes the phenomenon of unavoidable social class and personal property, whereas the Marxian phase does not recognize it.

The concept of modernization is rather complex. It also needs to be noted that modernization is in a sense an ideology as well as reality. Yogendra Singh\textsuperscript{55} says "modernization is a composite and also an ideological concept. S.K. Srivastava, S. Tripathi and H.S. Srivastava write that modernization can be the cornerstone of any political ideology and policy. They further explain: "It is ideology free in the sense that it indicates the common need of the modern times for an over-all growth of individual and society."\textsuperscript{56}

The expectation about a phenomenon and its real occurrence does not always materialize e.g., generally


people would expect only better things or anticipate only positive outcome of modernization. Nevertheless as pointed earlier modernization brings in its wake a certain disorganiza-
tion and breakdown.

The disruptive features would also in their own tensions. The tensions, by their nature, are likely to retard or distort the process of modernization. But they also have latent functions which lead the society towards modernization. Such latent functions are resolved through the systematic application of scientific knowledge. Con-
cretely speaking: rising of tensions, mental illness, violence, divorce, juvenile delinquency, and radical religious and class conflicts are inevitable accompaniment's of modernization.

The major forces of change in the process of moderni-
ization can be identified into two categories, viz., (a) economic changes, and (b) structural or institutional changes. The former, indeed, is also a type of institution but its degree of change depends on the application of technolo-
gies and sciences or on an intensification of the use of inanimate sources of power to a great extent. Moreover, the economic changes are mostly concerned with the material aspects which influence other structures and vice versa. Hence its strategic significance should not be ignored.

The latter is concerned with the transformation in the system of social relationship which is connected with the changes in the economic sphere in society. These two categories of changes not only are interconnected to one
another but also bring about a self-sustained growth in various structures and finally lead to human welfare.

Reinhard Bendix equates the terms industrialization with economic changes. He says: "By industrialization I refer to 'economic' changes brought about by a technology based on inanimate sources of power as well as the continuous development of applied scientific research." 57

The inanimate sources of power cannot be used apart from tools. As M.J. Levy (1966) says: the inanimate sources of power are not produced by human or other animal energy; the tools are various physical devices that are ordinarily separate from men's bodies and they are unavoidable to be used for the sake of task accomplishment. In addition, Levy also uses the application of the ratio of the inanimate power to the animate sources of power on the one hand, and the application of tools to multiply the effects of efforts on the other, as a criterion to measure the degree of modernization as in his terms: "The greater the ratio of inanimate to animate sources of power and the greater the multiplication of effort as the effect of applications of tools, the greater the degree of modernization." 58

Industrialization is a process of economic growth.


The process "...includes mechanization of agriculture, and of ancillary services of transportation and communication which are essential to the operation of a specialized and therefore interdependent economy." Economists are interested in effects of economic growth on the increase of per capita income and gross national product. Hence economic growth can be conceived as "...the continuous and accelerated expansion of knowledge and its deliberate application to technology in the production of goods and services with the use of the ever new and higher forms of energy, and the goal of modernizing efficiency."60

The structural or institutional changes are related to the transformation in the system of social relationship including individual and institutional sectors. Changes of social relationship, indeed, are entwined with industrialization or economic growth.

The process of secularization also demands our attention. Secularization is vital for modernity which in one way is a breakthrough tradition. Accordingly, secularization "...is regarded as set of interrelated basic principles summarizing the necessary (although not the sufficient) condition for the rise and maintenance of any modern society."61

59Moore, op. cit., p. 97.
60Germani, op. cit., p. 11.
61Ibid.
Secularization implies *elective action* which is relevant to the social action in modernization. The elective action or behaviour implies that "...the individual selects his own course of action, and what is prescribed are general rules and criteria...."\(^{62}\) The elective action of individuals, however, depends upon rationality which constitutes the distinguishing element in the process of modernization.

Brigitte Berger (1971) has profoundly analysed Max Weber's concept of rationalization. The social action based on rationality is connected in terms of *rational action*.

"Rational action is characterized by the presence in mind of the actor of a logical bond between means and end...."\(^{63}\) Rational action, generally considered a hallmark of modernity, is a particular kind of action by choice, in which the guiding criterion is rationality (and not necessarily other forms of it), is one of basic requirements of modern civil society.

Rational action also means that, (1) individual occupational choice can no longer compulsorily follow one's father's occupation and/or one's caste, region, belief and likewise, but can voluntarily be based on attitudes, aptitudes, achieving qualifications or products of formal socialization and so on, (2) individual matrimonial choices are free from family's decision making and/or taboos of caste, communities, regions, races and likewise, the choices

\(^{62}\)Ibid., p. 12.

are bound with feelings of mutual love between spouses 
and psycho-cultural compatibility, etc., (3) individual 
settling choices are inevitably free to all of members of 
a society. They can migrate or settle down anywhere in 
the society, (4) individual education choices are also 
free to all members, irrespective of sex, caste, region, 
religion, etc. All restrictions must be abandoned to 
provide equal opportunities for education.

Here again, according to Weber: there are two cate-
gories of rational action, viz., the utility-rational 
action and the value-rational action. Only the former is 
relevant to modernity. Berger has concluded that "modern 
rationalization refers primarily to the increase in utility 
rational actions."

The utility-rational actions are 
strictly practical and significant which encourage the work 
in modern societies.

The degree of differentiation and specification or 
specificity of institution refer to the changes of institu-
tions in respect of their differentiation of roles and 
their specification of role performance which gradually 
expand to the entire population.

Programmes of modernization will never be completed 
unless the individuals orient their set of attitudes 
appreciably corresponding to secular, rational, universalis-
tic and civil orientation. Such a set of attitudes can be

\[\text{Ibid.}\]
derived only from the formal socialization wherein higher education especially is the most important.

Edward Shils\textsuperscript{65} has clearly pointed out the importance of higher education vis-a-vis the process of modernization which can be summarized as follows: (a) the success of the programme of modernization of the new states is to a large extent dependent on the performance of their university systems, (b) the higher education is an emblem of modernity, and (c) the higher education is the institutional instruments for the creation of modernity in polity, economy, society and culture. Consequently, the process of modernization requires a high level of provision and expansion of modern education. Although Shils emphasizes the importance of higher education, its significance is not only functional for all sections but it also helps to improve other levels of education.

6. \textbf{THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MODERNIZATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY TIMES:}

Modernization is a universal or international phenomenon. The countries which underwent the process of modernization --known as the developed countries-- have ushered in a technological society. On the one hand, there are some which still lag far behind the 'advanced' developed countries --known as the developing countries. The extent

of adaptation differs from society to society. Because of the application of new technology and scientific knowledge, speedier means of communication and transport have been used in different parts of the world. The distant parts of the world are closely knit with the rapid means of communication and transport. The developing countries being in close communication with the developed ones, realize the advantages of the all round development. Certain organs of the UNO are giving them helping hand in this respect. How much modernization has been achieved by a country depends upon a number of factors. But it needs no proof to show that all countries of the world are well on the way of modernization. Thus, it can be concluded that "Humanity is in throes of a great and dynamic transition."66

6.1. MODERNIZATION: Its International Implication

The growing participation of all societies or countries in the international affairs since has far-reaching consequences. All sovereign countries, both the mature and the new states, have voluntarily joined the United Nation Organization. As Moore states: "The rapid incorporation of virtually every part of the world into the international political and economic 'community' marked the end, or beginning of the end, for isolated or exotic tribal

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communities and also for archaic complex civilization."  

Appearance in the international circle of various countries has become essential due to competing value systems of different modernized societies. The world situation has at present been in the midst of "...leaders of the bipolar world looked in a protected conflict...." The endeavours of various nations to achieve equivalent status are the biggest drive towards modernization. Nowadays modernization is a part of the universal experience, and in many respects, as Black says, "it is one that holds great hope for the welfare of mankind."  

A careful scrutiny of the foregoing pre-assumptions shows that the present international situation of the world is congenial for both modernization and non-modernization. For example, any destruction, exploitation, deprivation, subjugation, threat and/or defeat can put serious obstacles in the path of modernization. On the other hand, the process of international aids, collaborations, co-operations, exchange of culture in various forms, with what is broadly called the Third World are contributory factors in building up modernization.  

The international scene of modernization reveals  

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67Moore, op. cit., p. 94.  
modernization in the international circle --can lead the following facts: (i) all the countries which have undertaken to participate in common programmes have distinct traditional social institutions and values; (ii) all the countries are entwined with the process of modernization for the sake of their integration and development; and (iii) different international models show both the constructive and destructive features.

Different traditional institutions and values are revealed not only among the Third World countries but also among those countries which have now achieved a remarkable development. As Eisenstadt states: "Modern or modernizing societies have developed from a great variety of different traditional premodern societies."\(^{70}\)

The commitment of all countries to modernization in the international sphere has reoriented different traditional institutions and values of the Third World or other developing societies towards the universalistic institutional frameworks, including sets of attitudes reflecting rational, secular, civil and universalistic directions in the value frameworks as well.

All this implies that modernization is an unavoidable process which all the countries have to undergo because of the condition of the ever changing world. Furthermore, it can be observed that in the process of modernization, no

single principle is indispensable to all countries entering the process of modernization simultaneously. The universality of modernization does not preclude the existence of different patterns of traditions. As Black states: "a universal pattern of modernity is emerging from the wide diversity of traditional values and institutions."\(^{71}\)

Tradition and modernity are not ipso facto antagonistic systems. They are in a dialectical relationship.

6.2. **MODERNIZATION: Its National Implication**

In the national sphere, modernization is indispensable for the survival of the society. The society or the nation will survive successfully only through a commitment to modernization on the one hand and to nationalism on the other hand. To be modernized the nation must reach a certain degree of social integration and social development. To sum up nationalism, modernization and economic development are bound up with one another.

This unity is reflected in the following features: (i) no less than two thirds of the people have an urban way of life, (ii) literacy is authentically universal, (iii) public health and sanitation have been largely improved, (iv) universalistic criteria of personal association supersede the rigidity imposed by race, creed, family and caste, and (v) stratification among peasants, townspeople

\(^{71}\)Black, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
and aristocrats will finally develop a homogeneous society in which one's position depends more on individual achievement than on inherited status. In short, in the society the status of an individual will be achieved and not ascribed. These attributes are known as the indices of modernization. Thus it can be noted that modernization cannot be ignored by any of the nations, especially by the nation of the Third World, because it is essential to generate the social integration and development which simultaneously bring about the welfare or the great hope of welfare to the common man.

6.3. MODERNIZATION: Its Implication of the Individual Man

A society will remain underdeveloped or less modern if it adopts technological inventions and modern knowledge but continues its traditional ways of thinking and believing. Men, for example, are at present enjoying modern technological products --driving their automobiles, playing their automatic video-colour television sets, listening to music through their automatic stereophonic sets and cooking their food with automatic utensils-- yet their cultural life is based on superstitions, ignorance and orthodoxy. This is a serious lag for modernization. At the same time a developing society which encourages industrialization as a national scheme of development by means of importing good deal of technological products and knowledge from the developed societies should not and cannot develop the
traditional aspects as manifested in its beliefs, values and attitudes. This challenge is seen in the slogan:
"We will modernize without being Westernized."

Modernization involves not only the change in the material aspects of a society but also its system of beliefs, values and its ways of life on the whole. As S.S. Mathur contends: "No doubt a nation has to learn much from the developed nations. It will have to imitate much from the advanced countries. But no nation can be called as having achieved modernization if it becomes merely a carbon copy of any other nation."\(^{72}\)

In modernization, the processes of imitation and adoption are imperative, but the processes must be accompanied by a change in the outlook of man. It is here that the importance of an individual has to be realized.

Weiner (1966) has given the definition of modernization relating it to the characters of a modern individual. There is a broad agreement on this point among scholars like Weiner, Black, McClelland, Anderson and Shils. The characters of individuals which are compatible with structures of a modern society are described by these scholars in the following manner: (a) Black agrees that modern societies are characterized by the growth of new knowledge and that this presumes the existence of men with an increasing capacity to understand the secret of nature and to

apply this new knowledge to human affairs; (b) McClelland has recommended self-reliance and an 'Achievement Orientation' as the essential qualities of a modern man; and (c) Anderson and Shils have emphasized the development of skills and spirit of creativity through education.

All these statements emphasize "new way of thinking which make it possible for men to create modern industry, modern society, and modern government."^73

Here again, Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith (1974) have observed that in the major studies of modernization from the sociological point of view, most of the studies are made at the institutional level whereas only a few are undertaken at the individual level. So they have seriously devoted their energies to the study of the individual in the modernization process. Inkeles and Smith employ the sociological approach to modernization which treats it mainly as a process of change in way of perceiving, expressing and valuing. As a recognition of the individual men Inkeles and Smith have defined the modern as a mode of individual functioning in a set of pre-disposition to act in a certain way, i.e. an ethos. Inkeles and Smith not only have defined 'the modern' in sociological manner but also have shown that their definition of the 'modern' is compatible with those of Weber and Bellah. Inkeles and Smith use the term "'ethos' in the sense in which Weber spoke of 'the spirit of capitalism'". As Robert Bellah expresses it, 'the modern'

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^73 Weiner, *loc. cit.*
should be seen not as a form of political or economic system, but as a spiritual phenomenon or a kind of mentality."  

The individual men who are endowed with qualities which are suitable for modern society can be defined as 'modern' men. Inkeles (1966)\(^{75}\) has concluded, in his essay: The Modernization of Man, that there are certain attitudes shared by men in modern societies, irrespective of cultural differences. Such attitudes can basically be defined as qualities, of the modern men or, in other words, the modern attitudes which have been summarized as follows: (i) the modern men must have the readiness for new experience and the openness to innovation and change; (ii) the modern men must have a pre-disposition to form or hold opinions over a large number of the problems and issues that arise not only in their immediate environment but also outside of it; (iii) the more modern men must be interested in the present or the future, rather than in the past; (iv) the modern men are oriented towards and involved in planning and organizing, and they must believe in it as a way of leading their life; (v) the modern men are the ones who believe that man can learn, to a substantial degree, to dominate his environment rather than being dominated


entirely by the environment --self efficacy is the most important criterion; (vi) the modern men must have more confidence that their world is calculable: they should believe in a reasonable lawful world which can be brought under human control; (vii) the modern men must more awareness of the dignity of others, especially of women and children; (viii) the modern men must have more faith in science and technology; and (ix) finally the modern men should be great believers in what is called 'distributive justice'.

Finally, modernization for the individual men implies that it is inevitable that the developing societies must scrupulously provide for the formal socialization to enhance such traits of their individual members as are necessary to make them 'modern'. It is necessary for those, who can plan the process of modernization, to remember that the process of modernization and the national development can never be accomplished unless the majority of the people in the society have been inculcated and developed these traits.

7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

The present study deals with the college teachers who are working in the College of Education, which, in Thailand are called the 'Teachers Colleges'. The teachers who are studied in this investigation are a group of intellectuals who are not only professional teachers in the Teachers Colleges but also are dutifully providing academic services
in various educational and other fields under the scheme of national development. The colleges, which designate the teachers' status and role, have been legally stipulated as the institutes of higher education which mainly have the function of conducting the courses of teacher training. According to legislation, the colleges are autonomous; they are not affiliated with any university. The Teachers Colleges have been entrusted by the enacted legislation in the year 1974 with the duties which can be summarized as follows: (i) to instruct both pre-service and in-service courses for the teachers under training and the regular teachers and/or persons who regularly working in the educational services respectively; (ii) to undertake research for the sake of academic augmentation and social benefits; (iii) to bring out the work of academic importance in various forms such as articles, text books, popular books and the like; (iv) to be the academic centres which can derive the communities concerned; and (v) to promote and to conserve the national arts and cultures. In other words, a definite role has been prescribed for the college teachers is the mentioned set of duties of the Teachers Colleges. In addition, the recent programme of the national integrated rural development during the present period of Five Year Plan has inevitably initiated the teachers to participate as academic experts in the specific fields concerned. The very participation of teachers is further expanding the scope of their role as well. Thus the college teachers in the present study function not only as the teachers in the class-rooms, instructing the regular students,
but also are the administrative cogs in the process of national development of Thailand.

This study is undertaken primarily to shed light on the teachers' modernization from the sociological point of view. In other words, the present investigation is interested in the group of professional intellectuals or the academic intellectuals of a developing society, with a view to examine their role and its impact on the degree and the direction of modernization of the society. These intellectuals, as teachers, are not only the agents of change but also produce the agents of changes in the society.

The significance of this study has been discussed under three categories as follows: (i) The need for a sociologically oriented study of modernization; (ii) The importance of education in the process of modernization; and (iii) The need for sociological study of teachers' modernization in the Third World countries and in Thailand.

7.1. The Need for a Sociological Oriented Study of Modernization

The process of modernization as one form of social change can never be studied fully without a sociological point of view. Modernization also is a kind of social phenomena which requires a certain expertise. Hence Modernization must be studied through a sociological approach.

In the process of modernization, the constructive and disruptive aspects of social order and social dis-
order are simultaneously intermixed. In other words, modernization not only gears the society up on a smooth road to changes but also brings in diverse social problems. In addition, several societies, especially the Third World countries, are by all means trying to expedite their programmes of modernization in order to attain the desired goals as fast as possible. Some countries may be misled in their drive towards modernization because they stress economic development through importing Western technological products and encouraging the cross-national investment so much that the fundamental bases of independent economic growth which are the corner-stone of social integration are neglected. The emergence of social problems which causes the disorganization and the wrong direction of modernization are familiar phenomena in several developing societies.

It is necessary to study all facets of modernization in order to reduce the potency of the destructive or disruptive factors, and to accelerate the constructive aspects and/or to prevent the deficient equilibrium of changes in the process of modernization. The method of the study must be systematic and multi-dimensional as well as inter-disciplinary. The multi-dimensional method of study implies the study of the major spheres of social phenomena in the society. The purpose of the study is not only to explain the aspects of change scientifically but also to objectively indicate the functional or dysfunctional aspects of change. The findings which derived from
the study of modernization can represent as the basic knowledge for guiding to further accelerate modernization in the society concerned.

Briefly modernization is required to be studied from a sociological point of view.

The present study is significant in the realm of sociology because it aims to examine the social quality of the academic intellectuals who play an influential role in accelerating or retarding modernization in the society. This study has attempted to cover major aspects of social life in which the intellectuals are destined to play a participatory role. Although the intellectuals play their roles as the teachers in higher education, they have also to participate in other institutional spheres such as religious, social economic, political and so on.

7.2. The Importance of Education in the Process of Modernization

Sociologically speaking, education is a process concerned with some of the universal functions of social systems which are essential for the continuity of societies. As A.H. Halsey explains the universal functions of education in relation to the continuation of the general societies fall into two major categories.

1. All societies maintain themselves by the exploitation of their culture, that is, a set of beliefs and skills that are not carried in the genetic constitution of individuals but must be learn. This social heritage must be transmitted through social organizations. Education has this function of cultural transmission in all
societies.

2. Individuals must have personalities fashioned in ways that fit into the culture. Education, everywhere, has the function of the formation of social personalities. By transmitting the culture through appropriate molding of social personalities, education contributes to the integration of society as a mechanism that enables men to adopt themselves to their environment, to survive and to reproduce themselves.\textsuperscript{76}

In the process of modernization, education plays a very primary role. It can bring about the desired change in the society.

M.S. Gore expresses his opinion regarding education as: "From a sociological point of view education is one of the major agencies of socialization --an agency which by its very nature is intended to ensue continuity rather than discontinuity of change."\textsuperscript{77} He has also cited a situation in which education can be considered as an instrument of social change. "A situation in which the elite, i.e., those who control or impart education, seek to impart their values, aspirations and attitudes to the children not only to their own groups, but also the children of other groups who may be apathetic, if not hostile to the value system


of the elite."78

S.C. Dube writes in his essay "Modernization and Education"79 regarding education vis-a-vis modernization in two directions -- direct and indirect. (1) Education, directly, helps to promote knowledge and to develop skills, both of which are essential for the furtherance to modernization; and (2) education, indirectly, brings about the changes of values and attitudes.

Desai explains the significant requirement of education vis-a-vis modernization as: "The modern society expects educational institutions to provide mass instruction; 'promotion of scientific and technical advance, occupational recruitment and social relation' based on training qualification and knowledge suited to non-ascription, rational, universalistic, and secular patterns of orientation underlying the statuses and roles demanded by the exigencies of functioning in the modern social structure."80

Weiner remarks that education in the first place is the prime instrument for modernizing man's values and


attitudes. Moreover, Weiner has summarized the ideas of Shils and Anderson as follows: (i) Both Shils and Anderson have indicated that the role of education is vital in inculcating a sense of national loyalties and in creating skills and attitudes essential for technological innovation; (ii) Anderson has furthermore noted by way of qualification that education itself is inadequate. It requires the social milieu for serious education, and men can learn new skills and attitudes not only by the formal education but also by diverse means; (iii) Finally, Shils and Anderson warn that a waste of resources may ensue if the higher education emphasizes only quantitative increase of degree-students without considering their modern skills and attitudes.

Here again, in the essay on "The Modernization of Education," Anderson has expressed his view on the interconnection between education and modernization. Anderson's view can be summarized as:

Various leaders of the countries interpret modernization in a diversity of ways. For example, some leaders would welcome modernization in respect of their ideas which are disseminated through their participation in the United Nations. Some leaders emphasize modernization in terms of airlines, steel mills and the higher standard of life. The enlightenment and science have been recognized as the heart of modernization by other leaders.

Anderson concludes, "Even if modernization is not

a very clear idea, one theme runs through nearly every interpretation of it: modernization can be achieved only by improving and extending education.\textsuperscript{82}

Anderson emphasizes the need of education for the developing countries. It can be summarized as follows: (i) education is essential in the process of economic development for providing a large number of well-trained personnel for the application of technology and modern knowledge in the economic field; (ii) education is required as an instrument to unify different groups of people and tribes into a nation. If men are educated and are able to communicate, they will understand their fellow citizens and widen their allegiance to the society. They will have some influence on public affairs provided that they are literate. This will be possible only if education has been properly provided; and (iii) education helps a modern political state to survive because it educates the officials and people. The educated officials can co-ordinate administration over large areas. They can implement the state policies efficiently. On the other hand, the people have to learn how to behave so as to be the efficient members of a modern state and society. They have to become more productive, and more enterprising. At the same time the officials also have to learn how to carry on the public business promptly and in a proper order. Education is needed for all these purpose.

\textsuperscript{82}Ibid., p. 69.
S.L. Sharma says in the same context:

The prevailing opinion in social science circles is that education is an agency of modernization. It is argued that education promotes modernity in many ways but chiefly in two: (i) by sharpening the 'critical awareness' of the people about the social structure in which they are placed; and (ii) by changing the consciousness of the people in the direction congruent with the dominant value of our age --rationality-- which is also mainspring of modernity.  

S.C. Dube has succinctly explained the function of education in the programme of modernization thus:

with proper planning and efficient direction, education can made a meaningful contribution to the attainment of modernization. It can be harnessed to diffuse attitudes and ideologies required for the adoption of modern technology and its associated values and organizational premises, to provide personnel to operate and sustain the programmes of modernization, and to create capabilities for adaptation are originate of new technology.

In modernization, the efficacy of education will to a great extent depend upon its orientation and content as well as on those who impart or receive it. "In fact, it is a two-edge weapon; it can serve the aims of traditionalists just as well as it can serve the aims of modernizers. Under certain conditions, by generating

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84 Dube, op. cit., pp. 507-508
stresses and strains, it may even produce anomic dis-
turbances that are difficult to control and that obstruct
ordered movement towards modernization. Therefore, it
would be useful to bear in mind some of its dysfunctions
also.\textsuperscript{85}

It is hoped that the significance of education in
the process of modernization as discussed above would have
thrown light on the value of the present study. The
teachers in our sample are the key figures in the educa-
tional organizations, especially in higher education.
They play an important role in the machinery which not
only imparts education but also influence its orientation
and content. Accordingly, the quality of modern teachers
can influence the efficacy of education which is a power-
ful instrument in the process of modernization. It is noted
that modernization of the college teachers is not only
significant for them but also is crucial to the society
as a whole.

7.3. The Need for a Sociological Study
of Teachers' Modernization

The discussion regarding the need for a sociologi-
cal study of teachers' modernization will be confined to
the Third World countries with special reference to Thail-
and. The starting point in the study of teachers' per-
sonality traits in the field of behavioural discipline is

\textsuperscript{85}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 508.
is necessary not only from a sociological point of view but also from other disciplinary point of views. The sociological study, however, has its own perspective. The information regarding the nature of teachers' traits which we gather from a sociological investigation can be used as an instrumental premise to shed light on the process of education whether or not it is an agency of modernization. It has been stated above that the teachers are the key figures in the educational set-up. In other words, the fulfilment of educational function in the process of modernization of the society depends largely upon the teachers' personality traits. A social policy concerning education, for example, which has prudently been planned for helping to develop the society, will fail unless the teachers execute their roles in accordance with the accepted policy. Thus the study of the teachers' personality traits from the sociological point of view is essential because it can help us to know whether or not the function of education would lead to the path of modernization of the society.

Various Third World countries have launched Five Year Plans as the guidelines for their all sided developments. Most of the Five Year Plans of the individual developing countries, especially, India, Indonesia and Thailand, mainly emphasizes the economic development. They are, therefore, dependent upon education as an effective instrument for economic development. In the educational process, special attention has to be paid
to the role of the teachers because they are the agents that influence its speed and direction of the process.

In the essay on 'The Role and Training of Teachers in the Third World' Heinz Peter Gerhardt has stated the teachers' traits which are required in the African countries, as:

The education politicians and planner of Africa are thinking of a 'new teacher'. This new teacher will act as community leader, working on the problems and demands of the village to create learning motivation and learning group . . . . According to another demand, the teacher, broadening his function and the content of his instruction, is to take an overall approach, this means helping the pupil to gather the various flows of information from inside and outside school and to integrate them into a coherent view of the world.  

The University Grants Commission of India has remarked that "...the destiny of the country is being made in the class rooms and the teachers has an important and vital role to play in the portal programme of national development and social change."  

The commission has stressed the foremost responsibility of the teacher in relation to the students that the teachers should not confine their instruction to the mere  


coverage of a syllabus. The Commission has recommended a revolution in education, in the framework of the primary objectives. It should not only emphasize the full opportunities, skills, abilities and potentialities of a student but also should stress that, "He should go out of the institution with the sense of values and purpose and fully equipped to play his role not only as a 'professionally trained person' but as an enlightened and dedicated member of the society committed to the value of democracy, secularism and socialism."\textsuperscript{88} Furthermore, the Commission has accepted that the teacher has also important role to play in the acceptance and adoption of various educational innovation such as restructuring of the courses, autonomous colleges, examination reforms, practical orientation of courses, making studies relevant and so on.

Finally the U.G.C. of India has added:

The teacher should also accept his responsibility in realization of our social objectives, which implies that education should be related to the 'life, needs and aspirations of the people'. From the point of view, it becomes important that the teacher becomes an active participant in (i) programmes of community development, (ii) adult education and extension, (iii) social and national services, (iv) co-curricular and extra-curricular activities, (v) programme of non-formal education and (v) social and national integration.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{88}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89}Ibid.
In Thailand, the teachers of all types of educational institutions have to play their roles as the instructors and participants in various social activities of social welfare. The school teachers, especially in the rural areas, are encouraged to participate at least in one of the related social activities, other than educational ones. The kind of social activities which the teachers can undertake differ from place to place or level to level of educational institutions. Such social activities, however, are always concerned with adult education, rural development, local administrative council to be the member of the committee of Sabha Tum Bol and the like. The college teachers, especially the respondents of the present study, have to play their roles in various ways. As it has been stated above, the college teachers have to undertake the roles which can be briefly enumerated into five categories: (1) to work as instructors of teacher training courses or in other concerned fields, (2) to work as the research workers in one's own chosen academic field of specialization or the training discipline, (3) to work as a teacher who not only does the teaching work in the class rooms but also produce some original contributions to the subject of specialization, with the help of articles in journals, research papers etc., (4) to operate as an academic source person who can render academic services not only to the immediate communities but also to the society as a whole, and (5) to work as the academician who can participate in the maintenance of
preservation of the heritage of arts and culture of the nation. Along with these duties, the teachers have to perform one additional task except the teaching assignment in accordance with the policy accepted by the Government. The recent accepted policy of the national scheme of integrated rural development, an integrated content of the present Five Year Plan, -- expects the college teachers to act as academic instructors and collaborators of rural development.

Thus the teachers' role in the Third World countries not only deals with their task in the field of education but also participate in other social activities relating development. The teachers deal with the orientation of values and attitudes of people necessary for modernization. They are a group of intellectuals whose role can influence the rate and direction of modernization. For this, the teachers must have certain traits vital for modernization. Especially, smooth and rapid modernization in education demands modern teachers.

But who is a modern teacher? It is related with the school system of a society. And this involves a close investigation. It is therefore necessary to identify the characteristics or traits of modernization of teachers. Modernization of the teachers is a crucial variable in the process of change. Some argue that the teachers have to play their roles as laid down in the curricular planning, and administration of education. What matters therefore is the strategies of planning,
administration and the curricula rather than the modernization of teachers. But it should be remembered that the contents of such planning etc., can be materialized only with the help of teachers who have a forward-looking approach. The plans, administration and curricula of education can remain only on paper incomewise. The initiation must come from them. The fact is that the papers concerning the plans, the policy of education can stipulate the scope of education tasks ahead. Furthermore, they can assign the description of the means to the end, but they cannot lay down values and attitudes of teachers which can be harmonious with the ever-changing situations of the society. This pivotal strategy of education can be achieved only by the key figures who have the modern traits or attributes of modernization. The teachers with their outlook—modern or traditional will be therefore the persons who can play the role of strategic significance in the total process of transformation. The UNESCO has well laid down the changing role of teachers.

2. Teachers and administrators of all categories and levels should be aware of the roles played by them in the present state and development of education. They should understand that their roles and functions are not fixed unchangeable categories, but are involving under the influence of changes taking place in society and in education system itself.90

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Briefly, modernization of the teachers, has much to do with the efficacy of education. If education, is geared for maintenance of conservative values and established structures in the society, it would adversely effect the prospects of modernization.

8. GUIDELINE OF THE STUDY:

As the present study is an endeavour to investigate modernization or the modern traits of the college teachers in a developing society from a sociological point of view. Our focus of investigation is mainly on the individual traits concerning the teachers' set of behaviour, attitudes and values. Although the individual traits, by and large, savour to be apparent as psychological attributes, this study does not consider any motivational factor behind the teachers' traits. The present study deals with the traits of the teachers who have the potentialities of bringing about change in their society. The individual traits of the teachers can generate social processes which can lead to social development at least in two ways: (a) directly, the development vis-a-vis some social institutions like the Teachers Colleges; and (b) indirectly, this development of some social institutions has the functional impact on the society as a whole. Therefore, the teachers' set of behaviour, attitudes and values are necessary to be investigated for understanding teachers' modernization. The traits of the college teachers are related with their positions or ranks of the teachers in the structure of
the society. The positions or ranks of the teachers in
the societal structures constitutes the status of the
teachers. The teachers' statuses involve their rights
and duties to the teachers to carry on their activities.
The rights and duties associated with the teachers' statuses
endow them with their roles. The teachers' roles can be
regarded in the context of the social norms or laws on
the one hand, and the social values on the other. Both
social norms and social values are cultural attributes
which are relevant to their roles, and are on indispensa-
ble empirical data. Empirically the teachers at present
have occupied the "...status set..."; but the present
study is interested in a single status, the teachers'
status as a group of intellectuals or academicians who
shoulder an academic responsibility for imparting education
to the youngsters.

After a careful scrutiny, it has been decided to
take the individual teachers' traits into two behaviour
clusters of attitudes and/or values as follows: (1) The
teachers' commitment to educational modernization. The
analysis will throw light on the teachers' traits in re-
lation to academic role and responsibility; and (2) The
teachers' commitment to some major spheres of moderniza-
tion. The analyses will throw light on the teachers'

91 Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure,
traits in relation to the comprehension of the modernity. The latter refers to the pattern of teachers' responses of vis-a-vis values, organization, culture, religious belief and/or polity of the society concerned. This aspect is concerned with the teachers' perception of modernity. Following are broadly the guidelines of this study.

**Teachers' Academic Role Performance:**

The subject matter of this thesis is thus concerned with the college teachers' expected role of academic responsibility. In other words, the Teachers' commitment to educational modernization.

**The Concept of Status and Role**

As per the formation of statuses and roles we follow Linton who says: "...the functioning of societies depends upon the presence of patterns of reciprocal behaviour between individuals or groups of individuals. The polar positions in such patterns of reciprocal of behaviour are technically known as statuses."\(^9\)\(^2\) He has further explained the concept of a 'status' with a double significance, viz., (1) a status is a position in a particular pattern; and (2) a status is simply a collection of rights and duties. A 'role' according to Linton: " The individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other

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statuses. When he puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he is performing the role.\textsuperscript{93} Linton rightly affirms that the role and the status are quite inseparable. There will be no roles without statuses and vice versa.

The Teachers' Role

The social role is related to the attributes of culture. As such, both formal and informal expectations of norms are created by the cultural attributes of a particular society. The norms in the forms of rules and/or laws reflect the collective way of the life of the society. The collective expectations underscore correct behaviour, manners or morals. They also reflect the system of social values. These two kinds of expectations of the norms of the individuals can be oriented or cultivated through the processes of socialization. Thus the performance of the social role of each individual is related to the cultural process of society.

The expected norms which are similar to those of other statuses, consists of two principal forms as follows: (1) the formal norms of society: the laws, rules, regulations, official charters and the like; and (2) the informal norms of society: the desired correct behaviour, manners and/or morals --as social forces and social pressure.

In the past, the teachers' roles were expected more

\textsuperscript{93}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 114.
in accordance with informal norms than the formal ones. In England, for example, the teachers' role, around the mid-twentieth Century, were "...determined by a variety of informal (and often conflicting) forces, pressures and expectations, often difficult to define or trace to their source. It cannot be described by reference to legal charter, to a contract with clients, or even to the detailed prescription of employers." 94

In Thailand, the teachers' roles, previously, were expected more in accordance with the social informal norms. Before 1921, most teachers were Buddhist monks. Schools which were located in the monasteries at that time were not organized and administered authentically. Here, undoubtedly, the teachers' role was governed by precepts in Buddha's Dharma. Besides, the social values of the communities in the past constituted the norms attached to the teachers' status.

Education in Thailand, previously called Siam, was firstly organized when the Royal Decree of Elementary Education B.E. 2464 (1921 A.D.) was promulgated. It had been gradually developed along the lines of Western European societies. Especially, England, in the era of colonial Imperialism, had a critical degree of influence. The lay-teachers had increasingly been recruited. Most of the schools, elementary and secondary, continued to be

located in Buddhist monasteries. Even the new establishing schools at that time or later were always located in such places. So the expected personality of the teachers from the point of view of common people was that of religious orthodoxy. Since the Royal Decree of Elementary Education B.E. 2464 was promulgated, there have been several legislations concerning education prescribing the formal educational norms in Thailand. These legislations have now included the rights and duties of the teachers as well. The formal educational norms, however, in Thai society remain ill-defined so far. For example, the Decree of Teachers B.E. 2518 (1975 A.D.), the latest legal charter concerning statuses, organizations and administrative hierarchies of Thai teachers, as the government officials, has mostly stressed the classification of ranks and rewards of the teachers officially. There are some regulations which have laid down matters regarding the qualitative responsibility of teachers, for instance: the teaching assignment prescribed by the Decree is the expected formal norms of the teachers' status. The Decree cannot specify what method of teaching would be sanctioned as a good or desired method. Moreover the charter does not put in clear terms the exact manner of the role performance of teachers.

This generates contradictory expectations. For example, the teachers, sometimes, were affiliated to the jurisdiction of the Ministry which was not responsible for the implementation of the educational policy. This
situation generates conflicts which are inherent in the nature of the role of teachers. On the one hand, expectations of the role of teachers are ill-defined in the legal charter. On the other hand, social values demand different and conflicting expectations. This is one source of role conflict.

Besides, the teachers must learn about the culture, institutions, people which they are serving. "It is not just that the teachers learn how to play the role of teacher in isolation; their partners, people whom teachers come into contact with when they are being teachers, expect them to behave in certain ways. If that expectation is not met, the teacher concerned may be seen as a deviant, a non-conformist."\textsuperscript{95}

The norms, both formal and informal ones, which are related to the status of the teachers can be articulated as the external factors determining how the teachers should play their roles. As such, Wilson realizes that "...it is mistake then, to see the teacher's role today as the sum or resultant of external social pressures and demands alone."\textsuperscript{96} By and large, it may be seen that "...individuals, organizations and authorities help to shape the teacher's role, to push him this way or that, but his own role conception derived from variety of sources is surprisingly

\textsuperscript{95}Brown, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 32.

reliant."97

"The role of the teachers cannot obviously be the same at all levels of education and even at the same level of education the role may be conceived differently in different systems of education."98 "Normally a teacher's role presupposes that he keeps abreast with up-to-date knowledge in his chosen sphere and transmits to the students in an appropriate manner."99 Besides, the teachers in higher education, especially college and/or university teachers, are expected to carry out some research or other forms of academic works adding to the existing fund of knowledge. The higher educational institutions, colleges and universities, are the corporate organization in which the teachers' roles are highly professionalized besides being highly differentiated.

Singh (1979) has given his opinion regarding the emergence of universities (as the institutions of higher education) in some traditional societies. According to him, these institutions involve the structural dilemma and inconsistency between "...the traditional teacher role,


98 Gore, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

based on status (honour), and the modern teacher role, conceived as a profession and based on achievement."

Singh's point is valid when we have a glance at the system of higher education in Thailand at the teachers' level. Although the system of recruitment of the college teachers is legally open to all qualified candidates irrespective of various ascribed statuses, the defined role of teachers, is inconsistent. The college teachers, as such, would naturally prefer to play their role on the basis of their perception or application vis-a-vis the expected norms of the society.

Therefore, we will study the academic role of the college teachers on the basis of four variables as follows: (i) Devotion to the profession; (ii) Academic consumption; (iii) Teaching activity; (iv) Development of academic work; and (v) Ideological awareness of the National Educational Policy.

**Teachers' Perception of Modernity**

Teachers, by and large, are considered as notable personalities. They are the referent model of the societal members. We can say that the high respect for teachers found among the students and general people in Thailand is one of the major cultural traits of the Thai society.

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The Thais' reverence vis-a-vis their teachers has its deep roots in the Buddhist culture. In this connection, Phra Rajavaramuni\(^{101}\) draws attention to a citation in Buddha's Dharma which says that the pupils should offer their services to the teachers in five ways as follows: (1) by rising to receive or greet the teachers; (2) by waiting upon the teachers; (3) by genuine eagerness in learning; (4) by personal service to the teachers; and (5) by keenly learning the arts and sciences.

Accordingly, the most common custom of the Thai people in almost all social classes, is every year the ritual of playing respect or reverence to the teachers. For example, educational institutions of all levels observe the Thursday of second week in the first semester as the Teacher's Day. On this day, the students observe a custom of their respect for both the past and the present teachers. Authentically, the National Teacher's Day, recognized by the official administration, is the 16\(^{th}\) January of every year.

In the private spheres, some rituals are performed which reflect the custom of respecting the teachers in particular fields. A band of the Thai classical musicians conventionally plays as a mark of respect for their teachers before the beginning of the music show. Then boxing in Thai style is displayed which is self protection. It

\(^{101}\)"Pupils should observe their teachers on five ways," A Dictionary of Buddhism, (1975), 160.
clearly reflects the Thai mind which places the teacher in the highest position. Before fighting, the Thai boxer will elaborately display the movements which express the deep respect to his teachers. The Thai conviction is that in the field of education, the teachers profoundly influence the students. Besides, the teachers also have an impact upon the daily life of the people in relation to morals of the community in which they live or serve. The Thai people look upon their teachers as almost their second parents. The college teachers in Thailand also are the referent models of students and people who perceive modernization in the context of their academic roles. Briefly the personality traits of the teaching community have a tremendous significance for the implementation of the policy and programme of modernization.

We can enumerate four variables in the teachers' commitment to modernity as follows: (1) Their response to modern values; (2) to social organization; (3) and to religio-cultural belief; and (4) finally their response to politics. The response of the college teachers to modern values will be examined with reference to their attitudes of neutrality and participation. The response to social organization will be studied with reference to their family relations, their class-consciousness, their attitudes towards democracy. The response to religio-cultural belief will be judged in the control of the quality of their faith in Buddhism, a superstition or rationality. Finally,
the response of the teachers to politics will be analysed on the basis of their values and/or attitudes concerning the prevailing situation in Thailand.

9. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY:

Since the latter years of the Fourth Five Year Plan, in Thailand, public opinion, expressed through various mass media, has been insistant on the radical change in the quality of the college teachers who work in various Teachers' Colleges. Some emphasize the necessity of improvement in the teachers' academic qualifications. Some others criticize the behavioural pattern of college teachers. Some bitterly attack the very system and policy of education.

What is the exact nature of the college teachers' qualities as demanded by these critics? What should be taken as the authentic expectation or ideal quality of the teachers from the point of view of modernization? These questions have not been answered precisely. This needs some systematic investigation, both from educational and the sociological points of view.

Unfortunately, any research regarding the college teachers in Thailand has scarcely been conducted. Important topics like: 'the commitment to educational modernization' and 'the comprehension of modernity' of the college teachers from the sociological point of view have been grossly neglected so far.
Higher Education is of central significance or as the cornerstone in the process of modernization in any developing society. It must be universal as well as domestic (national). The universal aspects of the higher education refer to its contents. The system of higher education must be in a way in line with these patterns which have acquired international dimensions. The domestic or national aspects of higher education imply the unique cultural contents inherited by the evolution of the society concerned. The development of knowledge must be achieved through both of crucial means.

The establishment of the higher educational institutions will not be sufficient to provide the desired genuine higher education unless the leading authorities of such institutions appreciate the real academic role of the teachers in the higher educational institutions. Especially, the Teachers Colleges should be considered as important instrumental mechanisms in the process of modernization in Thailand. Only the selection of teachers through competitive examinations which is the usual procedure for recruitment of teachers and the recognition of the official designations by the official agency will not promote the true function of higher education in a modernizing society. The functioning role of the college teachers should be to help the society solve the various problems from the academic point of view. These must be appreciated by both the sides -- the college teachers and the people. It is hoped that this research study will go some way in pin
pointing the problems in this field.

This study aims to focus on the modern personality traits or the attributes of modernization of the members of the teaching profession thereby encouraging those who are also interested in the improvement of the profession. Further, through the conceptual frame of modernization, this study is expected to provoke those the social policy makers of the developing societies in South-East Asian region to articulate the nature of modernization. After all, no society should be treated as a carbon copy of some other developed society in the modernizing programme.

In short, this study is expected to throw light on the following aspects.

1. The personality traits of teachers vis-a-vis modernization in the educational, social, religious and political spheres.

2. Are sex and the field of specialization of the college teachers factors of independent significance?

3. To what extent college teachers in Thailand are effective agents of a modernizing society?

4. The changing aspects of the personality traits of the college teachers in the context of the process of modernization.