

THE QUEST FOR DEVELOPMENT AND THE DISCOVERY OF ASIA BY ASIANS*

BY GELIA T. CASTILLO**

IN THE DECADE OF THE 50's AND THE EARLY 60's, RURAL DEVELOPMENT was synonymous to *community development* of the variety which the UN defined as "the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress." It was known as "local improvement through local effort." The vocabulary of the community development era was made up of words like self-help, grassroots, local government, wholistic approach, missionary zeal, involvement, participation, felt needs and a litany of other such holy words. It was an era of village idolatry "dedicated" to the pursuit of a "better" life for the villager. Our late President Ramon Magsaysay expressed this concern in his famous pronouncement in 1956 about the small man's being entitled to "a little bit more food in his stomach, a little more clothes on his back and a little more roof over his head." Present-day activists would hardly be moved by such exhortation which was emotionally teaching then but rather passé now that the battlecry at least in the city streets and university campuses is for structural changes either by peaceful or violent means. What we want for the small man has been considerably expanded to include literacy; a full time job (with no disguised unemployment or underemployment); a God-given acre of land he can call his own; infrastructure of facilities and services such as electricity, roads, communication, health and medical services; not only higher income but more equitably distributed income brought about by the use of labor-intensive intermediate technology. We envision good quality but free and development-relevant schooling for his children; decent housing; long healthy life with only two instead of seven children living in a pollution-free environment. In addition, we prefer that he stay in the village in order not to mess up our tourist-attractive cities.

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The demands which have been placed at the doorstep of governments in Asia are certainly Utopian in vision, structural in nature, and urgent in the time horizon. "Time is running out" is the constant threat and if one were to go by the M.I.T. computer, "the world economy is headed for collapse within 70 years bringing widespread pestilence, poverty, and starvation — unless economic growth is halted soon."¹ One is therefore tempted to give up and say, "What's the use? We will all be wiped out anyway?" But as Asians who always have one foot in eternity, we refuse to be intimidated or even hurried by such grim predictions. Our optimistic fatalism (God will take care of the future) finds academic respectability in Albert Hirschman's principle of the Hiding Hand which suggests that "far from seeking out and taking up challenges, people are apt to take on and plunge into a new task because it looks easier and more manageable than it will turn out to be. As a result, the Hiding Hand can help accelerate the rate at which men engage successfully in problem-solving: they take up problems *they think* they can solve, find them more difficult than expected, but then, being stuck with them, attack willy-nilly the unsuspected difficulties — and sometimes even succeed." It is essentially "a mechanism which makes a *risk-avorter take risks* and turns him into less of a risk-avorter in the process. In this manner, it opens an escape from one of those formidable "prerequisites" or "pre-conditions to development: it permits the so-called prerequisite to come into existence *after* the thing to which it is supposed to be the prerequisite."²

Given all the constraints to development, whether real, imagined or anticipated, what has been the response in Asia? This paper presents in capsule form (1) an identification of the common and diverse problems faced by different Asian countries and the "global" events in the region which provide the peculiar setting in which rural development is pursued, (2) the emergence of collaborative undertakings among professionals in the region, and (3) some thoughts on the role or non-role of the rural sociologist in development policies which impinge on rural life. For reasons of as yet incomplete Asianization on the part of the writer, countries and programs mentioned are only meant to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

If one were to scan the Asian headlines for happenings significant in the past two decades, the following phenomena would readily emerge: the continuing rise of Japan as an economic power and her growing conspicuous economic presence most everywhere in the world; the admission of China into the United Nations and its direct and indirect repercussions on Taiwan and the rest of Asia; the Middle East crisis, the

¹ Paul Steiger, "World Economy to Crumble in 70 Years," *Manila Chronicle*, March 2, 1972, p. 6.

² Albert O. Hirschman, "Mysteries of Economic Development," *Dialogue* Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 37-47.

Indo-Pakistan conflict over Bangladesh; the war in Indo-China; the isolation of Burma and the internal domestic problems in the Philippines, Malaysia, Ceylon, Thailand, South Korea and Indonesia which have brought on either a threat or an actual imposition of martial law. Happily, Asia is not in a perpetual state of conflict for signs of mending fences have begun to appear on the political horizon with North and South Korea, India and Pakistan, and hopefully North and South Vietnam about to kiss and make up demurely in private without having to land on Henry Kissinger's lap. As the joint communique from Korea emphasized: "Unification shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference."³ Let one get the impression that Asia is one big "shoot-out" punctuated by "love-ins", allow me to point out some of our problems and how we have tried or will try to deal with them. Admittedly the *development vocabulary* of the 1970's is quite different from that of the middle 50's.

An opening sample of the new lexicon comes from Princeton's Wm. Lockwood:

"The labor force in most Asian nations is now growing at 2 to 2½ per cent a year, thanks to the population boom of the 60's. To provide jobs for all with steadily rising levels of productivity is likely to require a growth in output well above the 5½ per cent averaged by developing Asia over the past decade. Still more unemployment is particularly high among young people 15-24 years in age. Mostly they are unskilled, with rising expectations but unable to find jobs of adequate pay and regularity. The two great majorities of India says Prime Minister Indira Gandhi are the *young* and the *poor*. Her remarks underscore the politico-psychological dimensions of the situation. The old tranquilizers are less and less effective in keeping down frustration and latent violence. Already in Ceylon as in West Bengal, unemployed young ABs have mounted a desperate insurgency against the established order. . . . People want education widely dispersed as a consumption good. They agree also that it should be regarded as a productive investment with a high priority assigned to the supply of manpower skills in various categories. Social scientists and educators find it difficult to offer any clear guidance in balancing and integrating these objectives." For another side of the development picture, he refers to Japan as "the affluent society of the East with levels of full employment, technology, and education that project the future towards which other Asian nations hope to move. . . . Her standard of life today — perhaps 4 to 6 times that of most of Asia is assurance that the revolution of modern science and technology can lift people in this half of the world as in the West, to levels of economic well-being undreamed of until our time. Looking back over Japan's

³ Special Korea Report No. 96, South-North Joint Communique, July 4, 1972, Embassy of the Republic of Korea.

modern century, — she would hardly have received a high rating from a World Bank mission appraising her prospects.”⁴

On the work front, Stephen Yeh and You Poh Seng conclude that: “If birth rates fall appreciably, the pressure created by new entrants to the labor force is likely to be eased in a decade or two but the fact remains that current problems in the work force are overwhelmingly difficult problems which will exist for some time, irrespective of the fertility trend. . . . Indeed for an increasing number of countries, employment is emerging as a more serious population problem than the adequacy of food supply because employment and labor utilization are related to the central development objectives of a more equal income distribution, increased output, and policies of industrialization.”⁵

The interrelationship of rural and urban development has never been more dramatically manifested than in the rural-urban migration and the resulting slums and squatter communities which are the bane of every national politician. As ECAFE observed as early as 1959, “urban growth in underdeveloped areas is not a feature of the expansion of the industrial base but an expression of the severity of the agrarian crises.”⁶ Rural development has long ceased to be defined as “a little more of this” and a “bit more of that.” The problems identified with it are structural in nature and range from population pressure, technology, terms of trade both domestic and international, income distribution and administrative capacity.⁷ Many of these are outside the decision-making frame of the villager and the local rural community. Therefore “lifting themselves by their own bootstraps” is not likely to get them there except if one wishes to perpetuate a subsistence existence.

Ceylon (Sri Lanka) with its completely free educational system, subsidized rice rations; free health and medical services backed by pension schemes and poor relief, sophisticated trade unions, very inexpensive and well-developed transportation network would have been an excellent model for other countries aspiring to be welfare states, except that the Island Paradise is beset with critical problems: “The country’s exports now fall far short of her import needs, and the whole economic machine is kept turning only by massive injections of foreign capital. Even these do not avert the need for a system of exchange and import controls of crippling severity. To put it bluntly, Ceylon has been living far beyond her means. Her social achievements are in refreshing contrast with those of other countries, but it can be asked whether there has been

⁴ Wm. W. Lockwood, “Employment, Technology, and Education in Asia,” *Malayan Economic Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Oct. 1971, pp. 6-24.

⁵ Stephen Yeh and You Poh Seng, “Labor Force Supply in SE Asia,” *Malayan Economic Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Oct. 1971, pp. 25-26.

⁶ UN, ECAFE, *Economic Bulletin for Asia and the Far East*, Dec. 1959, p. 21.

⁷ Sakda Saibua, “Structural Problems of Rural Development” (Paper prepared for the International Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, Feb. 23-26, 1972, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia).

a corresponding emphasis in public life on the efficiency, work, thrift, even sacrifice, necessary to maintain and develop a welfare state. In all countries there is a tendency for the public to look to government for benefits, even benefits that have not yet been earned, and in Ceylon this tendency seems especially strong.”⁸

The Philippines has tried everything from barrio councils, multi-purpose community development projects, grants-in-aid, agricultural credit cooperatives, rural banks, farmers' associations, an expanded agricultural education system, land reform, its version of the green revolution, even an Israeli-style moshav and the writing of a new Constitution. One novel feature in the Philippine development scene is the activist role of Catholic priests and nuns in social action projects and organized pressure groups. The other is the businessman's approach to social development whereby 150 of the largest business and commercial firms in the country contribute 1 per cent of net income before taxes for social development purposes.⁹ At the moment however, whether in spite of or because of all these development undertakings, foreign social analysts consider the Philippines one big *social volcano*. The natives, however, are more cautiously optimistic.¹⁰ As one of our more vitriolic senators remarked: “Insurgency, Yes — Revolution — No!” It is possible that Philippine society which is known for its resiliency will also learn to live with its *social volcano* such that it will remain on the verge of an eruption, without the eruption becoming a reality. The basic social structure could remain unchanged in spite of a steaming surface because those in power have learned how to manage that steam.¹¹

It is amazing how very quickly China has become the “Mecca” for development lessons whether it be population control, environmental sanitation, communes, dampening of rural-urban migration, youth involvement, female liberation, or acupuncture. There is a continuous stream of observers from Asian countries eager to learn from the Chinese experience. The Philippine government, for example, has done away with a long standing restriction on travel to communist countries. Before this, everyone went to Taiwan to look at its programs on land reform, farmers' associations, family planning, agricultural diversification, and agro-industrial development.

⁸ ILO, “Matching Employment Opportunities and Expectations: A Programme of Action for Ceylon” (Report of an Inter-Agency Team Organized by the ILO), Geneva, 1971, p. 3.

⁹ Gelia T. Castillo, Something Happened on My Way to the Barrio: Rural Development Sought, Pursued, and Sowed, (Paper prepared for the International Conference on Southeast Asian Studies, Kuala Lumpur, Feb. 23-26, 1972).

¹⁰ “The Philippines: Problems and Prospects” (Nine Papers Presenting a Cautiously Optimistic View of the Philippines' Future), *Asia*, Vol. 23, Autumn 1971.

¹¹ Gelia T. Castillo, “Mirror, Mirror on the Wall: An Analysis of Changing Social Images in a Developing Society,” *Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (April 1971), pp. 24-36.

Thailand, in its National Economic and Social Development Plans, has emphasized the development of agricultural infrastructure and factor inputs such as land, fertilizer, farm mechanization, credit, research and extension in order to promote diversification in agriculture in anticipation of a decline in foreign markets for their rice. The politically sensitive Northeast receives special attention by way of accelerated rural development.¹² Just like the other countries, Thailand is also concerned with reducing population growth, generating gainful employment, reducing the scale of rural-urban migration and premature drop-out of school children.¹³ An interesting observation is made regarding the relationship between farm mechanization and population growth. It has been suggested that the introduction of the former would lead to lower fertility because of the decreasing demand for manpower but recent happenings suggest "the farm mechanization might not bring about fertility decline in the transitional period. Though the farmers need fewer workers in their farm, they need higher incomes to buy or rent machines. The sons and daughters who are forced to migrate to work in the urban centers are becoming the most important source of cash income for the parents and other members of the families who stay behind in the farms."¹⁴

For Taiwan, however, Lee and Sun conclude that "agricultural development is altering the attitudes of farmers toward the economics of family size — because the prolonged schooling and small size of farms have reduced the value of children as producers. The high aspiration of education of children increases the perceived cost of rearing children. Highly developed agriculture also increases the felt need for money. All these factors work to reduce the ideal family size and motivate farmers to accept family planning. However, there are non-economic satisfactions associated with ideal number of children such as a very strong desire to have two sons in a family, to continue the family line and to support parents in their old age. This factor alone will keep the number of children in a farm family at four." On the possible repercussion of using labor-intensive agricultural technology, Lee and Sun suggest the side effect of stimulating more rapid population growth through the increase in family size which is advantageous in the rural area where labor intensive agriculture is being practiced.¹⁵

¹² Kamphol Adulavidhaya and Visid Prachuabmoh, "Some Aspects of Agricultural Production and Population Growth in Thailand" (Paper prepared for the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation Seminar on Effects of Agricultural Innovation in Asia on Population Trends, Manila, Feb. 6-9, 1972).

¹³ Vinyu Vichitvadakarn, "Extracts from the National Economic and Social Development Plan 1972-76 Thailand" (Presented at the Committee on Asian Manpower Studies (CAMS) Conference on Education and Manpower Development, Singapore, June 26-28, 1972).

¹⁴ Kamphol Adulavidhaya and Visid Prachuabmoh, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ T. H. Lee and T. H. Sun, "Agricultural Development and Population Trends in Taiwan," (Paper prepared for the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation Seminar

In the case of South Korea which shared with Japan and Israel the honor of being the fastest growing economies in the world, Brandt says that the problem is one of extraordinary concentration in Seoul of the technological, cultural, capital and administrative resources which has so far "prevented most of the rural population from participating to any significant degree in the new prosperity that is so evident in the city." Politically, "the importance of placating recalcitrant urban voters through low rice prices was given much higher priority than any concern for rural welfare."¹⁶ This wide gap in income between urban and farming communities has resulted in a flow of farm emigrants in search of new jobs in urban areas thus a drop of almost 10 percent in rural population from 56.5% in 1961 to 45.9% in 1970.¹⁷ The population pressure on limited land has contributed to rural parents' hope for their children to have better jobs in the cities. Because of stiff competition, education was an essential factor for job entry in the cities. This competition combined with the rising cost of education seems to be a principal economic incentive underlying the success of family planning in rural Korea.¹⁸ The obvious rural-urban disparities have given rise to a new nationwide movement to push modernization of rural communities with the ultimate goal of increasing the income of farmers and fishermen. President Park was emphatic, however, that the government will not extend its support to those who are not willing to help themselves for an "equal distribution of government money among the diligent and the idle alike is simply unfair."¹⁹

Malaysia was noted for its RED (Rural Economic Development) Book and its Operations Room which monitored the progress of infrastructure and other projects in different parts of the country forged a New Economic Policy in their Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975. While the First Plan emphasized land development, drainage, irrigation and rubber replanting to raise productivity and incomes, the New Policy incorporates "the two-pronged objective of eradicating poverty, irrespective of race and restructuring Malaysian society to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function." National unity is a paramount objective in the light of the sensitive position

on Effects of Agricultural Innovation in Asia on Population Trends, Feb. 6-9, 1972, Manila).

¹⁶ Vincent Brandt, "Mass Migration and Urbanization in Contemporary Korea," *Asia*, No. 20, Winter 1970/71 New York, pp. 31-47.

¹⁷ Korea Policy Series No. 4, New Community Movement, Better Tomorrow Through Cooperative Efforts, Seoul, Korea, Korean Overseas Information Service, June 1972.

¹⁸ C. H. Park, "Korean Economic Development, Agricultural Innovations and Farm Population" (Paper prepared for the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation Seminar on Effects of Agricultural Innovation in Asia on Population Trends, Feb. 6-9, 1972, Manila).

¹⁹ Korea Policy Series No. 4, *op. cit.*

of the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians within the socio-economic structure of the country.

Indonesia which is a relatively newcomer to the international development scene is currently the object of everybody's assistance to the point of reported project aid surplus amounting to US \$613.3 million unspent.²⁰ Soedjatmoko in his assessment of prospects for Indonesia's development ascribes the changes in his country to the emergence of a new generation, the first which "grow up in a free Indonesia with a soul and mind unscarred by the pain and humiliation of the colonialist period" and therefore much freer in its relation to the outside world. This generation is much less ideologically inclined, much more pragmatic, more materialistic and realistic. It shares "a faith in science and scholarship and in what rationally applied technology can do to solve many of the problems connected with Indonesia's poverty and backwardness." Among the long-term structural problems he identified are "maldistribution of its population, massive and growing unemployment and pressures of excessive urbanization upon housing, schools, and jobs"; and the need to "reorient the educational system which tends to train people away from existing jobs in the rural sector to non-existent ones in the urban centers."²¹

The Asian Agricultural Survey in 1968 recommended rather strongly that the only valid route, the single strategy to sustained rural development is a movement toward a farming based on the application of the latest in science and technology. They also indicated that there seems little validity in the general argument that land reform is a necessary pre-condition to further agricultural development altho, in the long run many countries will not be able to escape the need for major tenurial reforms. Whatever weaknesses were found relative to land tenure seemed less of a constraint on output expansion than the technical constraints of poor varieties, inadequate fertilizer, irrigation, etc.²² Whether or not it is a consequence of this recommendation, the phenomenon of increased food grain production occurred in Asia. This phenomenon called the "green revolution" has had its harvest of conferences, controversies, and literary productions.²³ More systematic empirical studies and analyses of its consequences are currently underway.²⁴ Needless to say there

²⁰ "Djakarta's Aid Surplus," *Asian*, July 16-22, 1972, p. 12.

²¹ Soedjatmoko, "Problems and Prospects for Development in Indonesia," *Asia*, No. 19, Autumn 1970, pp. 7-21.

²² "Asian Development Bank," *Asian Agricultural Survey*, Vol. I, Regional Report, March, 1968, Manila, pp. 45-46.

²³ Antonio Barreto, "A Study of the Social and Economic Implications of the Large-Scale Introduction of High-Yielding Varieties of Foodgrain: A Selection of Readings," UNRISD, Report No. 71.6, Geneva, 1971.

²⁴ UNDP-Global Two, "A Research Project on The Social and Economic Implications of the Large-Scale Introduction of High-Yielding Varieties of Foodgrain," UNRISD, Geneva; IRRI, "A Study of Changes in Rice Farming in Selected Asian Countries" (Supported by the Canadian International Development Research Centre,

are prophets of destruction²⁵ and heralds of hope.²⁶ One can hypothesize, however, that the scantier the evidence, the more sweeping the generalization. A sobering analysis is provided by Carl Gotsch who compared the distributive aspects of agricultural technology in Pakistan and Bangladesh by explicitly relating them to the social and political dynamics at the village level. The consequences in the two countries differed on the basis of nature of the technology, access to production assets, distribution of land and institutional services, and existing economic, social and political structures.²⁷

A most remarkable aspect about all the hindsight on the "green revolution" is the short memory which people have of the situation in 1960 when experts were pessimistic about ever producing enough food commensurate with the rapidly growing population. India, because of its sheer size is particularly illustrative. As Visaria describes it: In 1965 and 1966 unprecedented droughts aggravated this fear and the spectre of famine by 1975 was such that the developed countries would have to decide priorities as to which countries were to be saved. Within a few years the centre of future concerns shifted to the problem of adequate markets for rice and wheat outputs. This growth of output will not only improve nutrition but will also enable India to do without PL 480 imports thus increasing her degrees of freedom in pursuing independent policies.²⁸ Curiously, an American political scientist says that India's new agricultural strategy appears certain to involve her in closer economic dependence on American and other foreign private investors and to increase the constraints on an independent foreign policy.²⁹ Nevertheless the speed with which these innovations have been adopted in India, Pakistan, and the Philippines has altered our view of the fatalistic Asian farmer who is resistant to change.³⁰ There are those

IRRI, and Ford Foundation); G. T. Castillo, "Juan de la Cruz in His Search for Rice Sufficiency: A Review of Philippine Studies on the Socio-Economic Implications of the Green Revolution," University of the Philippines, College of Agriculture; Australian National University, *Technical Change in Asian Agriculture*; Bogor, Indonesia, *AgroEconomic Survey* and a number of individual research projects underway in several countries.

²⁵ Marvin Harris, "How Green the Revolution," *Natural History*, June 1972.

²⁶ Norman Borlaug, "Hope Replaces Asian Despair," *Manila Times*, Oct. 17, 1971, p. 4.

²⁷ Carl H. Gotsch, "Technical Change and Distribution of Income Benefits in Rural Areas," *Land Tenure Center Newsletter* (Univ. of Wisconsin), No. 35, Dec.-March 1971-72, pp. 11-17.

²⁸ Pravin Visaria, "The Adoption of Innovations in Agriculture and Population Trends in India" (Paper prepared for the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation Seminar on Effects of Agricultural Innovation in Asia on Population Trends, Feb. 6-9, 1972, Manila).

²⁹ Francine R. Frankel, "India's New Strategy of Agricultural Development; Political Costs of Agrarian Modernization," *Journal of Asian Studies*, pp. 693-710.

³⁰ Haider Ali Chaudhri and Abdur Rashid, "Changes in Rice Farming in Gujranwala; West Pakistan, A Preliminary Report," West Pakistan Agricultural University, Lyallpur, June 1972. G.T. Castillo, "Who is the Filipino Farmer?" (Proceedings of

who belittle these events as being mere "pockets of change." It is well to remember that with the size of India, a pocket there means more than a whole country in Southeast Asia. As Lockwood points out: "The exceptional fact about India in the present context is her extraordinary bulk, one-half of the whole of non-Communist Asia. It is one thing to modernize rural life and shape the Green Revolution in a nation of say 25,000 villages; it is quite another to design and execute policies that must spread through 500,000 villages or more."³¹

M. L. Dantwala's response to all the misgivings about the new developments was: "It may be argued that the discovery of high-yielding varieties was not a gift from heaven and but for appropriate policies, they would not have seen the light of day. Whose policies? Probably of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations whose generous grants made it possible for the scientists in Mexico and Philippines to evolve the high-yielding varieties. The revolution was a reward of scientific research and not of the wisdom of economists; few even dream of it and many even do not believe it. It is our professional privilege and duty to question its occurrence or its consequences — Palace Revolt, Pandora's Box, Seeds of Disaster, Dualism — but let us not get into a stance that nothing good can ever happen in this country (India)."³²

In recognition of the implications for income distribution, India has set up Small Farmers Development Agency, schemes for marginal farmers and agricultural laborers, crash scheme for rural employment, special projects for drought-prone areas, and promotion of security of tenure.³³ However, although most everyone is prepared to argue for a more equitable income distribution, suggestions on how to bring it about are rather scanty. As D. R. Gadgil for the Indian Planning Commission said:

"The real problem in all progress toward egalitarianism is two-fold. One is something which arises out of the process of development in an underdeveloped economy. The ordinary process of development in an underdeveloped economy results in strengthening the position of those who are already in strategic positions and making them richer. If a city is growing, the land values at the center of the metropolis grow without people doing anything about it. This is a natural process which happens everywhere. All through the economy if government expenditure on development makes the economy more active, then all those who hold strategic positions in the economy, without necessarily doing anything themselves grow richer and more powerful. It happens everywhere unless you do something to counteract the effects. The

Symposium In Search of Breakthroughs in Agricultural Development, University of the Philippines, College of Agriculture, 1972).

³¹ Wm. Lockwood, *op. cit.*

³² M. L. Dantwala, "From Stagnation to Growth: Relative Roles of Technology, Economic Policy, and Agrarian Institution," (Presidential Address, Indian Economic Association, Fifty-third Annual Conference, Gauhati, Dec. 1970).

³³ Pravin Visaria, *op. cit.*

other aspect is that when government aid and assistance comes in a uniform pattern, the people who are more knowledgeable, who have access to seats of power, who know about things and have the right approaches are bound to profit more from it than those who do not, so that the richer, the more substantial, and the middle class profit more than the weaker sections. What you have to remember is that the weaker section is weak because the broad elements of general government policy do not touch it. If you want to bring about egalitarianism or at least not to accentuate inequalities during the development process, you have to take very special steps and these special steps are not easy to take.³⁴

All of Asia in their different stages of affluence or of poverty have included technology as one of their chosen means of getting there. With varying degrees of achievement, perhaps epitomized by Japan at its pinnacle of four eras of consumer life-style during the years after World War II:³⁵

First era 1945-54 — Era of Food and Clothing

Second era 1955-1964 — Era of Home Electrical Appliances (Washing machine, refrigerator and TV set)

Third era 1964-1969 — Era of Large Durable Commodities (The 3 C's — Room Cooler, Color TV and Car)

Fourth era (present) — Era of Travel and Expensive Leisure Activities (Domestic and overseas travel, exclusive golf clubs, etc.)³⁶

It has been said that all these commodities and wanderlust are substitutes for owning comfortable homes which are beyond the reach of the average Japanese citizen.

The countryside in Japan has also changed drastically with farm households sustained more by non-farm rather than farm income. There are commuter farmers who work in industry during the week and engage in agriculture on Sundays and holidays. What sustains agriculture is female labor, older people, and power cultivators. Farmers just like city folks want only 2 or 3 children and the oldest son is no longer obliged to inherit the farm. He, too, can have higher education and work elsewhere.³⁷

Even a cursory review of what is happening tells that regardless of expected disparities between the manifest objectives of development policy and its actual accomplishments it is difficult to avoid the con-

³⁴ D. R. Gadgil, "Approach to the Fourth Plan," *Communicator*, Vol. 5, No. 5, Sept. 1969, pp. 16-17.

³⁵ Hiroyoshi, Ishikawa, "Affluent Society — A Japanese Version," *Japan Times*, July 2, 1969, p. B7.

³⁶ "The Japanese Image: Affluent Abroad, Wanting at Home," *Asian*, October, 1971.

³⁷ Tadashi Fukutake, "Population and Agricultural Change in Japan" (Paper prepared for the Ramon Magsaysay Award Foundation Seminar on Effects of Agricultural Innovation in Asia on Population Trends, Feb. 6-9, 1972, Manila).

clusion that changes must be taking place in Asia. Progress is reported on the Mekong project despite the war and the criticism that it has been too much of an engineering affair. Bardach raises the question as to what ecological, social and economic problems can be expected when a river is damned. As he puts it: "There is more to dams than meets the eye." His skepticism as to how the Mekong would end up is expressed as follows: "If planning for social changes seems not to work in the American megalopolis where such funds exist, where many people have goodwill, where everyone is literate, where some administrative channels of communication have been blasted and where there exist a large number of trained social scientists to look at the problems and to mull over them, how can it work under conditions where all these inputs do not exist?"³⁸ Indeed one could ask how someone with everything could ever be faced with such problems! Not quite as pessimistic is Chalkey who argues that: "There are always costs and drawback . . . yet if we were to consider all the drawbacks as being too great a price to pay, then mankind would never advance from the subsistence stage of existence."³⁹

Without too much difficulty one can identify in Asia a core of development problems besides the general trilogy of poverty, unemployment and inequality. More specifically there are issues of rapid population growth and inadequate food supply, rural-urban disparities, supply and demand for trained manpower needed for development tasks (tremendous shortage as well as educated unemployment), agrarian reform, environmental crisis, phenomenon of youth in numbers and in revolt, the Green Revolution, urban slums, etc. However, these problems do not manifest themselves uniformly because of the cultural diversities of race, ideology, ethnic identification, politics, religion and language which characterize the region. Hence, all of Asia is similar and yet so fascinatingly different in their many similarities.

Because of the prominent role given to science and technology and the application of the rational planning process to development, and despite the meager results in some cases, the so-called *Technocrats* have become the *new Mandarins* in most of Asia. Indonesia which rightly boast of *no brain drain* has a group of brilliant men facetiously referred to by friends as the "Berkeley Mafia" which is very much involved in national development planning. The Philippines has its brain trust of "Harvard and M.I.T. boys." Thailand and Malaysia have their share of British and American University Ph.D.'s. India certainly has its own as well as foreign-trained academicians turned Technocrats. The decade of the 70's will see less and less of pale-face foreign develop-

³⁸ John Bardack, "There is More to Dams than Meets the Eye," *Asia*, No. 20, Winter 1970/71, pp. 9-30.

³⁹ Alan Chalkley, "Mekong: Progress Despite the War," *Asian*, No. 3, Oct. 1971.

ment experts in these countries. Nationalization of expertise is very much in evidence in several countries. Regionalization has likewise begun with "brown" faces being called upon by their neighbors to come as visiting professors, consultants, and partners in problem-solving. The pattern of doing international development assistance has shifted to whirlwind, high-powered missions launched by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the UNDP, ILO and other international agencies in which case, the natives are rarely privileged to be experts in their own countries except as information provides to the mission. However, one observes that a few Asians (expatriates or locals) are often included in these missions hopefully for anticipated contributions rather than convenient goodwill entrees.

Contrary to Kipling's famous lines on East is East and West is West, the situation had traditionally been more of East meeting West and West meeting East but East seldom met East. We used to have a mutual ignorance of, prejudice against, and even contempt for each other. At the moment, side by side with divisive forces earlier mentioned, there are a plethora of regional collaborative undertakings arising from a growing consciousness of kind and of common problems. Asia has begun to emerge as a meaningful frame of reference we never had before. At no other time in our history have so many Asian or at least Asian-labelled efforts come into being whether in paper or in actual function. One can begin with the One Asia Assembly held two years ago, the Press Foundation of Asia, the Asian News Service and the *Asian* newspaper long dreamed of in terms of regional journalism so that the world may see Asia through Asian eyes. Politically there is the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), the Asian Parliamentarians' Union which is contemplating an economic arm called the Asian Development Center. Economic cooperation is sought in the Asian Coconut Community, Asian Productivity Organization, Asian Development Bank, Asian tractor plant, car manufacturing, steel mills, etc., and in the drawing board is an Asian Economic Union with Japan and Australia as industrial partners designed to be the Asian answer to the competition posed by the large economic blocs of the world. The Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) has centers for agriculture, engineering, tropical biology, tropical medicine, teaching English, and innovative technology located in the different Southeast Asian countries. There is an ASAHIL (Association of Asian Institutes of Higher Learning), a Regional Institute for Higher Education, an Asian Institute of Management, an Asian Vegetable and Research Development Centre, a Food and Fertilizer Technology Centre, an Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre (AMIC), an Organization of Demographic Associates for East and Southeast Asia, a Committee on Asian Manpower Studies, an Asian Labor Education

Center, an Asian Center for Development Administration, and an Asian Institute for Economic Development Planning. For the first time we have Asian and Southeast Asian study centers and programs in Asia. They were all in the United States and Europe before such that Asia in the past, was not infrequently represented by Westerners. On the side of Asian pulchritude, we have a Miss Asia Quest and the current Miss Asia is a tall, statuesque blonde from Australia. This is not an accident of biology but rather an indisputable fact of geography.

Although we have discovered each other, it is not necessarily love at first sight for it takes a lot of knowing for enduring love to blossom. The historical and cultural chasms will take time to bridge. The only language we can communicate in right now is English but we all love Chinese food. One must also confess that many of these Asian labels are predominantly Western supported although leadership is almost always Asian except in a few cases. Perhaps this phenomenon should be more accurately termed as the Western recognition of an Asian discovery. But seriously, these regional pursuits belong mostly to prominent statesmen, professionals and intellectuals all of whom have a common background of Westernization. The masses of our people have yet to benefit from an honest-to-goodness consolidation of forces in the interest of bargaining power. The ECAFE prides itself on having broken new ground in a document listing 44 indicators of social development covering population control, health, housing and nutrition, education and culture, employment, social and personal security. These are supposed to include the major aspects of the individual's life and living.⁴⁰ It's a pity that indicators of social development do not include number of smiles per square mile and amount of tender loving care lavished on another human being every other day. It is a fact of life in development that our preoccupation with what is quantifiable has taken the place of what is significant. Rural sociologists have not as yet made it to the ranks of the new Mandarins. We might never make it as long as the greatest contribution we have to offer is the generalization that modernization is a multifactor phenomenon and that the more developed villages are the ones most likely to develop. Nowadays, if we want to get ahead of life, there are four possibilities—population, pollution, green revolution, and urbanization. If we throw in employment, education, and equality, we are certain to reap manna from the U.N.

In the light of all these, a great temptation to the rural sociologist is to capitalize on these societal woes but out of a social conscience, if not a professional obligation, we should ponder upon the growing *structuralization of human variables*. Let me illustrate what this means: *People* who have always been people have now become *manpower*;

⁴⁰ "Statistics on Social Development Listed," *Manila Bulletin*, July 18, 1972, p. 8.

education which has traditionally been regarded as good in itself is now being recast from a *consumption good* to a *productive investment*; the peasant's much-awaited bounty harvest has been transformed into a battle of the *green* and the *red revolution*; modern inputs developed to rid us of pest and disease are now ruled out as *pollutants* of the *environment*; children who were loved and cherished then are now the dependency burden of today; the less of them we have, the better is the future; *machines* which used to lighten man's physical burden are mercilessly cursed as *labor displacers*; the country mouse in search of his pot of gold in the city finds himself an eyesore to the urban planner; the youth who were once the hope of the future are now the educated unemployment, the insurgents against the Establishment. Man whose individuality was once held sacred is now the object of equality which borders on uniformity; the family which used to be man's most reliable anchor is dispensed with as a drag on entrepreneurship; destiny which was a matter for "the stars" is now a canned program fed to the computer. Fortunately, the Father of GNP is having second thoughts about his baby. But whatever happened to the old-fashioned human being? Can we bring him back?