The effects of elite-mass gaps on political stability.

David Dharampal. Karran

University of Windsor

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THE EFFECTS OF ELITE-MASS GAPS ON

POLITICAL STABILITY

Submitted to the Department of Political Science of the University of Windsor in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

by

David Dharmapal Karran

Faculty of Graduate Studies

1972
ABSTRACT

This paper has attempted to study the effects of elite-mass gaps on political stability. The specific hypothesis tested is stated as follows:

"Those polities in which higher education is carried out in a language different from that used in the rest of the educational system, or where elites are educated abroad, will be characterized by a wide elite-mass gap; such a gap among polities of moderate levels of mobilization will increase the likelihood of political instability."

In order to confirm this hypothesis it is necessary to show a positive relationship between the independent variable elite-mass gap and the dependent variable political instability. Eight countries in the intermediate range of mobilization (15 percent to 75 percent literacy in 1950) were chosen for examination. These countries are Malaya, Nigeria, Ghana, India, Mexico, Philippines, Guyana and Turkey.

The independent variable, elite-mass gap, is measured by two indicators:

(1) Whether or not the language in primary education is the same as the language in higher education; and

(2) Whether or not the higher education of elite takes place at home or abroad.

iii.
The dependent variable, instability, is measured by four indicators:

1) Number of deaths from domestic group violence, 1950-1967;

2) A point index computed on the basis of the number of years in which there occurred a major insurrection, civil war or extended period of political violence, 1950-1967;

3) A point index computed on the basis of the number of illegal or unconstitutional changes of the chief executive, 1950-1967 and

4) A point index computed on the basis of the number of unconstitutional changes of chief executive, 1950-1967.

In order for the hypothesis to be confirmed countries characterized by the widest elite-mass gaps should be the most unstable, while those with the narrowest elite-mass gap should demonstrate greatest political stability.

By our measurement, indicator number (1), number of deaths from domestic group violence, there is only a weak support for the hypothesis, but by a second more comprehensive measurement (a composite of indicators 2, 3 and 4) there is strong support.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Needless to say, I owe much to the staff of the Department of Political Science in the production of this study. I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to Dr. David Wurfel, without whose guidance, criticism and willing assistance at every stage, this study would not have been possible. A special debt of gratitude must also be rendered to Dr. Walter C. Soderlund who made valuable criticisms to both drafts, and to Dr. Zbigniew M. Fallenbucbl whose advice and encouragement helped me to conclude this work.

Special appreciation and thanks must also be rendered to my wife, Edna, for her help in typing the first draft and for her continued moral support and assistance in so many ways which meant so much in the completion of the paper. I also wish to express my grateful thanks to my sister-in-law, Olive, for completing both the first and the second drafts of the study.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Most developing nations today aspire to a rapid movement from their traditional underdeveloped state to a stage now frequently characterized as "modernity." The rapidity with which these emerging polities have been appearing on the world scene, usually from a colonial status, has resulted in much attention being given to their developmental processes.

It is acknowledged that education has played a key role in the development, or "modernization," process, and its importance is now unchallenged in the developing states of Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America.¹

Not so long ago the educational system was regarded as an essentially conservative, culture preserving and culture transmitting institution. However, recently there has developed a tendency to view it as a major determinant of all aspects of political change. In fact, it has been said that "education is the key that unlocks

the door to political modernization."² Coleman points out that such statements are gaining acceptance by many nation-builders, policy planners and scholars interested in the modernization process.

With the emergence of the new states comes a new category of political elites, referred to by some as the "educated minority," who are playing a vanguard role in the political development of the emerging nations.³ This group of political elites is so designated because of the level of their education. They are usually university educated either locally or abroad or both locally and abroad.⁴ The arresting and distinctive feature about this new group of elites in many of the new states emerging from colonialism is the cultural gap between them and the mass of their uneducated compatriots.⁵

In these states, as a result of their historical past, institutions of higher education are either of recent origin, or where they have been established for some time, their orientation, as evidenced by the contents of their programs and language of


³Coleman (ed.), op. cit., p. 3.


⁵Coleman (ed.), op. cit., p. 3.
instruction, is very much like the colonial metropolitan or other European powers. This is particularly the case of English and French colonial territories of Africa, Southeast Asia and the Caribbean.

Previous to the establishment of local institutions of higher education in those developing countries, students obtained their university education in overseas institutions. This inevitably resulted in these students being taken from their local environment into a new environment where they were exposed to western cultural influences, attended modern westernized schools in which they were taught by westerners, in a language foreign to their traditional society at home. For instance, Dr. Kwame Nkruma of Ghana obtained a Master of Arts degree and a Master of Sciences degree from the University of Pennsylvania and studied later at the London School of Economics. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria received his university education in the United States at Lincoln, Harvard, Columbia and Pennsylvania universities. Tunku Abdul Rahaman of Malaysia is a British trained lawyer; Cheddi Jagan of Guyana qualified as a dentist in the United States; and Forbes Burnham, also of Guyana, is a British trained lawyer and a graduate of the University of London.

It has been noted that it was primarily university graduates who comprised the small group of "new" elites and occupied leadership roles in most of the emerging new states. These elites are primarily the products of Western education and, in many instances, the possession of such an education, in a language different from that of the local education system, has given rise to an elite-mass gap which tends to impede easy communication between the political elites and the
mass. This Western education, whether in France, the United Kingdom, North America or within the country itself, inevitably separated the educated man from the uneducated in outlook and style of life. This separation is further intensified when the medium of higher education is different from that of the language of education within the other parts of the system. As Professor David Wurfel has noted, in certain developing countries the language of education could be a far more "political-cultural dividing line" than the level of education. It is this elite-mass gap, that gives rise to various levels of instability within these new states depending on the level of social mobilization.

CHAPTER II

SCOPE AND METHOD

In this chapter it is proposed to define some of the basic concepts used, and to operationalize the hypothesis.

As pointed out in Chapter I there is reason to believe that the existence of an elite-mass gap is an important cause of political instability, and that, the level of instability is influenced by the level of social mobilization, which is one aspect of the modernization process.

Social mobilization constitutes an overall process of change which takes place among substantial parts of the population in countries which are travelling on the road to modernity. It is a concept which encompasses a number of specific processes of change, such as changes in residence, occupation, social setting, associations, institutions, roles, experiences and expectations, habits and needs (including the need for new patterns of group affiliation), and new images of personal identity. Karl Deutsch has defined it as, "the process in which major clusters of old social economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behaviour."  

---

It will be noted from this, that the process involves two distinct stages. First, the stage of uprooting or breaking away from old settings, habits and commitments, and the second, the induction of the mobilized persons into some relatively stable new pattern of group membership, organization and commitment.

It has been suggested, and quite rightly, that social mobilization is a communications phenomenon. It often involves deliberate efforts to increase mass media penetration and to launch massive educational efforts, based largely on the need for mass mobilization in the country.\(^8\) It is primarily through these efforts that satisfactory communication links could be built up between political elites and the masses. A language barrier would nevertheless make this communication very difficult.

Karl Deutsch in his analytical model, in which he listed literacy as one of his seven indicators of social mobilization, has shown that the level of literacy and level of social mobilization correlated satisfactorily with the other six indicators.\(^9\) It is on the basis of this finding that the level of literacy, augmented by enrollment figures, was selected as a measure of the level of social mobilization.


\(^9\)Deutsch, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 496-497 and 508-509.
This mobilization and expansion of the politically relevant strata of the population, which is broader than the political elite, brings about with it a change in the quality of politics by changing the range of human needs that impinge upon the political process. The exposure of this expanded strata of the population to modernization, creates rising expectations, new aspirations and increased political participation. Where rising expectations cannot be adequately met, frustration results and this in turn gives rise to instability.

This relationship between increased mobilization, (as measured by literacy rates) and political instability has been verified empirically. According to the Feierabends and Betty Nesvold, countries with both lowest and highest rates of literacy are more stable politically than countries in the intermediate ranges of literacy. Their findings are reproduced in the following table.
TABLE 1
LITERACY AND STABILITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Literacy</th>
<th>No. of Countries</th>
<th>No. of Unstable Countries</th>
<th>Percent Unstable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 10%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% - 25%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>85.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26% - 60%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>95.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61% - 90%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 90%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


If it is true that mobilization is a communications phenomenon, then the character of the elite-mass communication must be regarded as an important aspect of mobilization. It is, therefore, the intention of this thesis to attempt to add some refinement to the hypothesis emerging from the Feierabend and Nesvold data. It is believed that a more reliable predictor of instability is to be found when the elite-mass gap is combined with literacy figures to categorize developing countries.

The basic hypothesis to be tested in this thesis can be stated as follows:

Those polities in which higher education is carried out in a language different from that used in the rest of the educational system, or where elites are educated abroad, will be characterized by a wide elite-mass gap; such a gap among polities of moderate levels of mobilization will increase the likelihood of instability.
Stability is a difficult concept to define. It is sometimes associated with social order as evidenced in peaceful conditions, while other times it refers to a continuity of leadership personnel or the process of institutionalization of government structures and procedures. Whatever the dimension, stability or its obverse, instability, is of the utmost importance both to policy-makers and academic analysts.

The independent variable to be examined in this study is the elite-mass gap measured by the similarity or difference in the language of instruction in higher education and percentage of foreign trained elites. The control variable, level of literacy, will be augmented by data on the levels of enrollments in the educational system. The literacy levels have been confined to well within the intermediate categories of the Feierabend and Nesvold study to extend between fifteen percent and seventy-five percent, the range where instability should be highest.

The dependent variable, political stability or its obverse instability because of its conceptual problem, requires multiple indicators in its measurement. Four indicators will be used:

1. Data on the number of deaths as a result of domestic group violence for the period 1950 to 1967.\footnote{See C.L. Taylor and M.C. Hudson (eds.), World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators II (to be published). Computer Information prepared by Yale University and distributed by Inter University Consortium for Political Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan.}

\footnote{Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1968), p. 32.}
2. Major events of Domestic Political violence between 1950 to 1967. A Point Index computed as follows: One plus point for any year in which a civil war, major insurrection or extended period of political violence occurred. A score of zero or above indicates a high level of stability.

3. Unconstitutional or Illegal Executive Succession 1950-1967 (including the assassination of the incumbent). A Point Index computed as follows: One plus point for any such change. As the score rises above zero it will indicate higher levels of instability.

4. Constitutional Change of Chief Executive between 1950-1967. This is the case where the chief executive is changed by the established constitutional regulations, e.g. elections. A constitutional change of chief executive is interpreted to mean a measure of stability, and since a plus point has been scored for the two previous indicators, (that is, major insurrection, civil war or extended political violence and illegal or unconstitutional change of chief executive) in order to reflect the level of stability on this indicator, a minus point is scored for each change. Thus a minus score on the Point Index computation would be indicative of a higher level of stability than a zero score.

In order to test the hypothesis we will establish three groups of countries.
CATEGORY I - Where the elite-mass gap is wide. This will be
evidenced where (1) the medium of elite education is different
from that in mass education and (2) the elite's education is
obtained outside of the country. Countries included under this
category are Nigeria, Malaya and Ghana.

CATEGORY II - Where the elite-mass gap is moderate. This will be
found where either (1) the medium of elite education is
different from that in mass education, as in the case where
the elite's education is primarily domestic and in a foreign
language and the mass education is wholly or in part in a
local language, or (2) elite's education is obtained outside
of the country even though it is in the same language of the
mass education. In the case where elite's education is
obtained outside of the country, over thirty percent foreign
trained elites will be considered high enough to contribute
to an elite-mass gap. This gap, however, will be moderate
since in the case where the elites have been locally trained
the difference in the language will give rise to a gap in the
vertical communication, whereas, where the elites have been
trained outside of the country, even though in the same
language, their cultural experience in a new environment will
give rise to an elite-mass gap. Those countries examined under
this category are India, Turkey, Philippines and Guyana.
CATEGORY III - Where the elite-mass gap is narrow. This will be found where (1) the education of both the elites and the mass is in the same language and (2) the political elites obtained their education within the country. Mexico is examined within this category.

In the case studies which follow information will be provided in support of the categorization of the eight countries examined in the study.
CHAPTER III

CATEGORY I - NIGERIA, MALAYA AND GHANA

Adult literacy levels in 1950 - Nigeria 15 percent, Malaya 38 percent, and Ghana 25 percent.\textsuperscript{12}

This category is where the elite-mass gap is wide and will be found where (1) the medium of elite education is different from that used in the mass education and (2) the elite education is obtained outside of the country.

(a) Categorization

Of the three countries in this group, Nigeria is the largest with a population of approximately 55,000,000 in 1965 and an area of 375,200 square miles. Malaya has a smaller land mass than Ghana, but has a slightly larger population; approximately 8,000,000 compared with 7,500,000 for Ghana in 1965. On the other hand its area is only 52,528 square miles compared with Ghana's 91,843 square miles. The governmental structures of Nigeria and Malaya are very similar.

comprising state governments patterned after the British model.

Malaya is a multiracial society comprising a large indigenous population - Malays - and also a very large immigrant population of Chinese and Indians. Among these three communal groups there are strong cleavages based on race, language and religion, all of which have greatly influenced the modernization process. Nigeria also has an ethnically complex society, based on tribal differences of language and culture. The three major regions - the western region inhabited primarily by the Yuroba tribe, the Eastern region by the Ibo, and the Northern region by the Hausa - Fulani - constitute major cultural divisions. These differences in language and culture have contributed to the existence of a poorly integrated society.

Ghana is different from both Malaya and Nigeria, in its governmental structures, in that it is not federal, but unitary.

All three of these countries possess certain striking similarities. They all have had a British colonial history which has influenced their political development. British institutions and structures were the instruments of change with English as the official language throughout the period under British rule. In fact, English

\[12\] Includes Pakistani and Ceylonese.


remained as the official language for a time during the post-independence periods in all these countries, and in the case of Nigeria and Ghana it is still the official language. This being the case, English has been the dominant language of the education systems and English language education was the key to vertical mobility.

Economically, Malaya was more advanced than the other two. In 1961 it had a Gross National Product (G.N.P.) per capita of $356. U.S. compared with a G.N.P. per-capita of $78. U.S. for Nigeria, and a G.N.P. per capita of $172. U.S. for Ghana. 16 Also, whereas Malaya and Ghana obtained their independence from British colonial rule in 1957, Nigeria did not attain her independence until 1960. Thus, for the period under examination, Malaya and Ghana were under British rule for a greater part of the time, that is, seven years and Nigeria for the whole of the period. However, it is my view that this will not substantially distort the findings of the analysis, since the countries enjoyed substantial internal self-government and their political development was being guided by the "new" group of political elites. In any case, the degree of stability after 1960 will also be noted.

(b) Educational Structure and Language of Education

In Nigeria and Ghana the language of education was never an issue during the 1950's as it was in the case of Malaya. English was accepted as the official language by both countries and education at the secondary and College levels was carried out in English. Primary education was through the medium of local, regional languages. The main concern of both these countries was the general structure of the education system. In the case of Nigeria the first major effort to transform the colonial education system was made in the Ten Year Development Plan of 1946. Prior to this time, and to a great extent for most of the ten year period which followed, there were basically two levels of education in Nigeria, that is the primary and secondary levels. The University College of Ibadan which was established in 1948 prepared students for University of London degrees and was more-or-less a College of that University. The first national university was not established until 1960, the year in which Nigeria attained her independence. The ten year period prior to independence saw rather impressive advances in educational enrollments as indicated by figures in Table 2.
TABLE 2

ENROLLMENT AT THE PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS IN NIGERIA IN 1950 AND 1960 PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>3,880</td>
<td>8,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It will be noticed that at the primary level, between 1950-1960 the enrollment figures were doubled, and at both the Secondary and University level they had increased four times. The combined enrollment at the primary and secondary levels was only 25 percent of the students aged 5-19 years in 1960. Education at the primary level was in the local language so that there existed a linguistic difference in the education system.

The position in Ghana was very much like that of Nigeria. The system of post-primary education was British oriented with English as the medium of instruction and the language of education at the primary level was in the local language. It was not until 1948 that a

\[17\text{Ibid p. 225.}\]
definite plan for the educational development of the country was made.\textsuperscript{18} Education was primarily at the primary and secondary levels during the period 1950-1960. Like Nigeria post-secondary education was introduced locally with the establishment of the University College of Gold Coast in 1948. This institution was patterned after the British civic universities and prepared students for University of London degrees. Like the University College of Ibadan in Nigeria, the curricula and examinations were approved by the University of London.

The following table gives the enrollment figures for the three levels of education.

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>6,921</td>
<td>6,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>2,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The enrollment figures at the primary level show a drop between that for 1950 and that for 1960 but an increase both at the

secondary and university levels. The increase at the secondary level was very significant. The 1960 figures were more than fifteen times the 1950 figures. This indicated that much more emphasis was given to education at the secondary level. The combined enrollment of primary and secondary school pupils as a percentage of population aged 5-19 years in 1959 was 28.\textsuperscript{19}

In the case of Malaya, the educational structure grew up against a multiracial and multi-linguistic background. The initiative in education was not generally taken by government but rather by religious missions and independent groups. As a result three separate systems of education developed through the efforts of the government, missions, and independent Chinese School Boards. Except where Malays were trained for the administrative services, government education in Malaya remained primarily at the primary level. University education was generally obtained outside of the country, usually in the United Kingdom and Singapore for English education, and China for Chinese education. Thus, for the first half of the present century, these circumstances led to severe strains in the Malayan educational system. The three separate systems meant that the aims of education were subject to divisive influences and the lack of an integrated education service affected teacher training and recruitment generally.

\textsuperscript{19}Russett \textit{et al.}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 225
In fact, more than half of the teachers of the Chinese schools were recruited directly from China. 20

The three track system had its reflection in the language of instruction. Language had always been an important factor in Malayan educational development. The mission schools used English, Chinese schools used Chinese, and Government schools primarily used Malay. Available statistics for 1921 give the following picture of school distribution on the basis of language of instruction.

**TABLE 4**

**SCHOOLS IN MALAYA GROUPED ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN 1921**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-aided, * boys</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-aided, * girls</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government, boys</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government, girls</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This category includes mission schools.

---

# TABLE 4 (Cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-aided</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government-aided</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Robert O. Tilman, Bureaucratic Transition in Malaya (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 60.21

This structure in the Malaya school system continued well into the 1950's when the language issue became acutely political.

The Razak Committee examined the situation and following its report in 1956 some very important educational changes were made. At the primary level, two types of schools were established: Standard schools in which the medium of instruction was Malay, and Standard-type schools in which the medium of instruction was English, Chinese or Tamil. At the secondary level, Malay and English were made

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21 Out of a total of 945 schools, Malay was the medium of instruction in 402, Tamil in 109, Chinese in 91 and English in 41. Even though the English schools were the least numerous nevertheless English language education provided the primary means for achieving vertical mobility.
compulsory in all schools. This policy was reviewed in 1960, and in the light of the government's decision that Malay should become the national language in 1967, Malay was made compulsory in all primary schools.\textsuperscript{22}

The following table gives the enrollment figures for the Malayan school system in 1950 and 1960.

\textbf{TABLE 5}

\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Level} & \textbf{1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population} & \textbf{1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population} \\
\hline
Primary & 11,198 & 15,476 \\
Secondary & 499 & 2,151 \\
University & 36 & 475 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


From these figures it will be noticed that the Malayan enrollment figures at the primary level were very much higher than either Nigeria or Ghana, indicating a higher level of literacy and hence higher level of social mobilization. In fact, in 1960, 50 percent of the population aged 15-19 years were pupils enrolled in

\textsuperscript{22}Wong, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 203.
Malayan schools at the primary and secondary levels. The enrollment figures between 1950 and 1960 at the secondary level increased more than five times. Even more significant is the increase in enrollment at the University level from 56 to 475; some fourteen times the 1950 figures, higher than that of either Nigeria or Ghana. It ought to be noted that education at the University level was not introduced in Malaya until 1959, but students studied in Singapore which was easily accessible while others went overseas primarily to U.K. universities. If we examine the enrollment level in Malaya at the secondary level we find a large number of secondary trained persons to fill the role of broker groups or middle men as a communication link between the elites and the mass.

Table 6 presents a comparative picture of the three countries.

Russett et al., op. cit., p. 225.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRIMARY</th>
<th>SECONDARY</th>
<th>UNIVERSITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,146</td>
<td>109.9</td>
<td>544.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>3,680</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>2,131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>11,198</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>327.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>6,921</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>2,366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: As for Tables 2, 3, and 5.
Based on Table 6, it will be found that the level of primary enrollment in 1960 was highest in Malaya, with that of Nigeria next. At the secondary level, Ghana had the highest level of enrollment in 1960 and at the university level Malaya again had the highest level. Nigeria had an increased rate of enrollments throughout the system. In the case of Ghana, there was a drop in the enrollment level between 1950 and 1960 though there was a very rapid growth at the secondary level, the 1960 figures being fifteen times that of 1950, a significant growth above the other two countries, both of which increased their enrollments at this level fourfold. At the university level, Malaya had a more rapid growth than either that of Nigeria or Ghana.

The overall impression one gets from this situation is that there has been a rise in the enrollment levels in all three of the countries in this group. This is indicative of the rising levels of social mobilization.

(c) **Political Elites : Educational Background and Language of Education**

What was the level of education and language of education of the political elites in Nigeria, Malaya and Ghana during the period 1950-1960? Since all three of these countries possess ministerial systems of governments we shall compare the cabinet ministers on the bases of their educational background and language of education. The following two tables summarize the positions of the
1959 Cabinet Ministers in Malaya and the 1954 Cabinet Ministers in Ghana

**TABLE 7**

MALAYA: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF ALL 18 CABINET MINISTERS IN THE 1959 GOVERNMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Language of Ed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University graduates (including Inns of Court)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended University or College (no degree)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Secondary Education</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**TABLE 8**

GHANA: EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF ALL 11 CABINET MINISTERS IN 1954 CABINET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Language of Ed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Graduates</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained Teachers</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>English</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Full statistics for the whole 10 year period are difficult to obtain, but the above two tables give an indication as to the educational background and language of education of two cabinets within the 10 year period, one for Malaya and the other for Ghana. Based on these two tables, we find that in both Malaya and Ghana 100 percent of the political elites would have obtained an English language education. In the case of Malaya, 72 percent of these would have obtained some university education compared with 54.5 percent of those in Ghana with university education.

In the case of Nigeria, the data is less clear cut than that for Malaya and Ghana. Hugh and Mabel Smith carried out a survey on the "new" Nigerian elites in 1957-1958. Their survey comprised a sample of 155 persons of "high positions" in the society and thus included a very wide group of elites. In the sample 113 persons were "high government officials" or "office holders" and 110 of them in the regional and federal governments. Of this group 40 of them were government Ministers, and these included the federal and regional Prime Ministers.

Table 9 gives a breakdown of these by occupation

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25 Ibid., p. 103.
TABLE 9
NIGERIA: BREAKDOWN OF 40 GOVERNMENT MINISTERS BY OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educators</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional rulers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (physicians, pharma-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cists, accountants, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It will be observed that 52.5 percent of these comprise educators and lawyers. It could be assumed, since the Nigerian system of secondary education and the University College of Ibadan used English language as the medium of education, that these elites had obtained an English Language education.

Thus, if we are now to compare the three categories we find that they have all received an English language education, and more than 50 percent university education. In Malaya, 72 percent of the Cabinet Ministers had attended Colleges or Universities and 50 percent were graduates. If we assume, and we can reasonably do so, that educators must be graduates from Colleges, then over 50 percent of the
Nigerian political leaders had also had some form of higher education. In the case of Ghana 54.5 percent had a university education.

The elite-mass gap as regards language of education ought to be wide in all these countries. Education at the primary levels (that is, mass level) had been in some vernacular or regional language, which was different from that of the elites. Since universities have been recently established in these countries, more than 50 percent of the elites would have obtained their education from universities outside of these countries. Even though University Colleges were established before 1950 in Nigeria and Ghana, the orientation of the programs and the curricula pursued were basically patterned after the University of London.

Table 10 gives a summary of the position.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>Percentage University Graduates</th>
<th>Percentage Attended High or College (No Degree)</th>
<th>Percentage Maximum Secondary Education</th>
<th>Percentage Unknown</th>
<th>Percentage Total</th>
<th>Language of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malaya (1959 Cabinet)²</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana (1954 Cabinet)²</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria (1957 Govt. Ministers)³</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: As for Tables 7, 8 and 9.

² See Table 7, p. 26 above

³ See Table 9, p. 26 above. It is assumed that educators and lawyers would have obtained education up to University level. When we add to these, the physicians and pharmacists categorized under "Others," the above figures give a realistic breakdown. Journalists and businessmen are categorized as having obtained maximum secondary education.
For this study it will be observed that the three countries placed in this category had during the period 1950-1960 a different language of education for the elites and masses and the elites were primarily trained abroad.
CHAPTER IV

CATEGORY II - INDIA, TURKEY, PHILIPPINES AND GUYANA

Adult literacy levels in 1950 - India 28 percent, Turkey 50 percent, Philippines 62 percent and Guyana 74 percent. 25

This category is where the elite-mass gap is moderate and will be found where either (1) the medium of elite education is different from that used in mass education or (2) elite education is obtained outside of the country.

(a) Categorization

Of the four countries in this group, India is by far the largest with a population of approximately 485,000,000 in 1965 and an area of 1,500,000 square miles. Turkey is second in land size with an area of 296,500 square miles but has a smaller population, about 31,000,000, than the Philippines which comprise approximately 7,100 islands, a total area of 115,707 square miles and a population of about 22,000,000 in 1965. Guyana on the South American continent is by far the smallest, having an area of 63,000 square miles and a population of just over three quarters of a million.

25 Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, op. cit. Appendix for India, Turkey and the Philippines and Russett et al., op. cit., p. 295 for Guyana.
These countries have developed against very different backgrounds. Both India and Guyana were originally under British rule, but whereas in India the population was indigenous with strong cultural cleavages of language and religion, Guyana's population was predominantly an immigrant population highly acculturized in the British traditions and way of life. In addition, whereas, in India the British rule was maintained in many of the Indian states through a system of "indirect rule," in Guyana the British ruled directly through a Governor. India has a federal government and differences in languages, castes and religions among the various states have been very crucial factors in political recruitment and modernization.27

Turkey and the Philippines are somewhat different. Turkey was never subject to outright colonial rule but had maintained her independence throughout. In fact, its modernization process came as a conscious decision of an indigenous ruler or an indigenous elite. The Philippines experienced an early period of Spanish rule followed by American colonialism as a result of the Spanish-American war. The country developed against a background of American governmental structures. Its population is composed of a considerable number of cultural and linguistic groups.

The Philippine Republic attained sovereignty in 1946. India became independent of British rule in 1947 so that throughout the period under consideration both India and the Philippines were independent from any foreign rule.

In the case of Guyana, the position was different. Guyana did not attain her independence until 1966, so that for the entire period, that is the decade 1950-1960, it was under British rule. Notwithstanding this, I feel that it will be useful to include it among this group since the country enjoyed a high degree of internal self-government and as in the previous group of countries, its political elites comprised the "new" group found in most developing countries.

(b) Educational Structure and Language of Education

In India, before independence, education was the responsibility of the state governments. Notwithstanding the early British aspirations of an integrated education structure from the primary through to university level, an uneven system of education still persists. The break-off point between the three levels of education was not always the same everywhere. In most states the primary level included grades one to five and the secondary, grades six through ten or eleven. But sometimes grades nine, ten and eleven were referred to as the high school level, and the preceding grades, the middle school level. In most universities higher education
leading to a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Sciences degree involved only three years.\textsuperscript{28}

Table 11 gives an indication of the enrollment figures at the three levels in the education system in 1950 and 1960.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
Level & 1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population & 1980 Enrollment per 100,000 population \\
\hline
Primary & 5,066 & 7,250 \\
Secondary & 1,473 & 2,055 \\
University & 111 & 220\textsuperscript{a} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Enrollment at Primary, Secondary and University Levels in India in 1950 and 1980 per 100,000 Population}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{a}Figure in 1959


Educational enrollment at the primary level was comparatively low, being just 22 percent of that age group being eligible to attend school.\textsuperscript{29}

The language of education had always been a sore question in India. At the primary level, the regional languages, with very few exceptions, e.g. in mission schools was the medium of instruction.

\textsuperscript{28}Lamb, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 190-208.

\textsuperscript{29}Almond and Coleman (eds.), \textit{op. cit.}, Appendix.
Previous to India's attainment of independence, as a result of British education and employment policies, the language of education at both the secondary and university levels was English. This was still the case during the period 1950-1960. This caused some hardship, since it meant that a child who came from a primary school in a regional language had to develop in secondary school sufficient mastery of English to use it as the language of instruction. This difficulty tended to reduce the number of students who were interested in pursuing studies beyond the primary level and as a result, an acute communication gap developed between the university educated political elites and the mass public.

The elite-mass language difference created the need for broker groups and institutions. These brokers or middle men are normally recruited from secondary school graduates who form this important link between the elites and the mass.\textsuperscript{30} It was not surprising, therefore, that soon after independence, college and university education came in for careful scrutiny through the Radhakishnan University Education Commission.

The language of university education was a constant source of controversy during the period 1950-1960 with varying degrees of change occurring in various states, but none so drastic as to affect the pre-independence situation. The government's decision to switch from English to Hindi as the national language did not come until 1967,\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{30}See Table 11, p. 35 above for secondary school enrollment figures.

\textsuperscript{31}Lamb, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 203
so that the situation within the country during the period under
study here was one where the language of university education was
different from that at the primary level, though not different
from that at the secondary level.

In Turkey, with the proclamation of the Republic in 1923,
the Atatürk and his cohorts sought immediately to change the
religiously oriented system of education. Schools in which the
mastery of the Koran was of paramount importance were taken over by
the Ministry of Education, restructured and secularized; so that by
1935, teaching of religion in all schools were discontinued. 32
Education took on a new mantle and became more relevant to the needs
of the developing society of Turkey. The teaching of Arabic and
Persian was discontinued in the Lycees. From here on the seculariza-
tion of the education system progressed. Emphasis was also placed on
education at the university level. With the establishment of the
University of Ankara the two most important professional schools,
the War College (Harbuye) for training of Turkish army officers' 
Corps, and the School of Political Sciences (Mulkiye) for the training
of bureaucrats were moved to this institution. The 1950 to 1960
decade thus benefited from these educational reforms.

The following Table gives an indication of the level of
enrollments in the three levels of education in Turkey.

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32 For a fuller discussion see Frederick W. Frey, "Turkey -
Education" in Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow (eds.), op. cit.,
pp. 205-235 and Frederick W. Frey - The Turkish Political Elite
TABLE 12
ENROLLMENT AT THE PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS IN TURKEY IN 1950 AND 1960 PER 100,000 POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>7,722</td>
<td>10,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>1,505</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>128&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>228&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Enrollment in 1949

<sup>b</sup>Enrollment in 1961


It will be noticed that enrollment at the primary level has a gradual increase for the ten year period but increased very markedly at the secondary level. The 1960 figures are three times as many as the 1950 figures. At the university level the increase has not been as rapid as at the secondary level. What is significant in this situation is the production of a large proportion of the population who could act as a linkage between the elites and the masses. Primary and secondary school pupils as a percentage of population aged 5-19 years was 38 in 1961.

There was another important dimension to the Turkish educational structure. A large number of persons obtained higher education overseas; so that the elites were exposed to a western
education. France, Germany and Switzerland seemed to have been especially favoured among Western nations for providing this instruction. Unlike India, the language of education in Turkey was more a unifying influence, since it was uniform throughout the system. However, since a fairly large number of students studied overseas in different languages than that in the Turkish educational system this tended to create a gap between the political elites who were educated overseas, and the mass. By the end of 1956 some 2,000 Turkish students were in foreign countries. But a significant change was discovered. Of the 2,000 students abroad, 616 were studying in the United States of America which meant that a larger proportion of students were seeking an English language education.

The basis of the Philippines educational structure was laid during the early years of the American colonial regime. Like the educational policy for British colonies, education was seen as a means for the inculcation of values appropriate for the citizens of a democracy. This aim of the educational system was pursued both by the American colonial officials and subsequently by Filipino political and educational leaders. Free public primary education was established. Originally there was a uniform language of education throughout the educational system but during the period 1950 to 1960 there was a shift in the medium of instruction at the primary level from the

\[35\] Frey, op. cit., p. 67.

\[34\] Ibid., p. 67.
foreign language - English, to the local vernacular. This thus gave rise to a different language of education between the political elites and the masses.

Enrollment at the university level increased and the foreign language medium of instruction continued both at the secondary and university level. Thus, during the period under consideration there was a difference between the elite language of education and the language of education of the masses. The following table sets out the enrollment figures for 1950 and 1960.

**TABLE 13**

**ENROLLMENT AT THE PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS IN THE PHILIPPINES IN 1950 AND 1960 PER 100,000 POPULATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>19,682</td>
<td>14,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>2,618</td>
<td>1,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>892&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Enrollment for 1952


The Table shows a significant drop in the enrollment figures at the primary level and also a drop at the secondary level. But there is an increase at the university level. This
appeared to be the result of the failure of the government to make adequate financial provision for expansion, or even to maintain facilities for the increasing levels of enrollments at these two levels. This would thus indicate a drop in the level of social mobilization.

In the case of Guyana, the educational system was patterned after the British. Yet R.T. Smith has noted that the educational system which developed in Guyana was neither "classical" nor "liberal." This he attributed to the structure of the society based on the "plantocracy system" and the subsequent development of the country's economy, which was neither industrial or independent. Professional skills were imported from the United Kingdom while the labour skills which were necessary in the country did not require an elaborate system of formal education. Education was thus left to the churches, who were interested in it because of its evangelical potential. After emancipation of slaves, the colonial government adopted the view held by the established churches that the primary purpose of education should consist of providing the moral and social basis for a civil society. This meant in effect, that the culture and language of the English society should be disseminated because of its civilizing value. There developed an educational structure patterned after the British system with English as the medium of instruction. Schools at the primary level were administered by a system of "dual control," i.e. where the various religious denominational bodies

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supervised the educational institutions and the central government
provided grants for equipment, maintenance of buildings and the
payment of salaries of teachers, provided the schools comply with the
educational policies and maintain academic standards established by
the government.

Secondary education developed under a similar arrangement,
but with more administrative flexibility being given to private
bodies. Until 1963 education in Guyana was primarily at these two
levels. Students who wished to pursue higher education proceeded to
do so in overseas institutions particularly those in the United
Kingdom and the United States of America, and more recently at the
University the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica.

Table 14 gives the enrollment figures for 1950 and 1960
for the three levels of education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENROLLMENT AT THE PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUYANA IN 1950 AND 1960 PER 100,000 POPULATION</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>17,716</td>
<td>22,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enrollments at the primary level were fairly high compared with other countries in this second category and this has been due to the fact that there is a very high percentage of students within the age range 6 to 12 years. At the secondary level, enrollment figures for 1950 were approximately six times as high as that for 1950. No enrollment figures were available for 1950 at the university level. Primary and secondary school pupils as a percent of population aged 5-19 years was 68 in 1959.

Comparative enrollment figures at the three levels in education in the four countries being studied in this group are given in Table 15.
TABLE 15
COMPARATIVE ENROLLMENT FIGURES AT THE THREE LEVELS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA, TURKEY, PHILIPPINES AND GUYANA IN 1950 AND 1960.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>PRIMARY</th>
<th>SECONDARY</th>
<th>UNIVERSITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>5,066</td>
<td>7,250</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>7,722</td>
<td>10,020</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>19,682</td>
<td>14,611</td>
<td>-25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>17,713</td>
<td>22,229</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Enrollment in 1959  (c) Enrollment in 1949
(b) Enrollment in 1961  (d) Enrollment in 1952

Sources: As for Tables 11, 12, 13 and 14
Based on Table 15 it will be found that the enrollment at the primary level was highest in Guyana in 1960 with that of the Philippines next. The Philippines though next highest dropped from the 1950 figure. Though India's figures increased by 41.1 percent over the decade yet the level of enrollment was only approximately 50 percent that of Philippines and about one third that of Guyana. At the secondary level, the position was different. At this level, India had the highest figure. This is indicative of the fact that a fairly large group would be qualified to perform broker role between the political elites and the masses. With the language structure of the Indian education system this brokerage group makes for a better vertical communication link in the political system. Though the Philippines was the next highest, yet there was a drop in the enrollment figures by 28.8 percent. This drop in the levels of enrollment both at the primary and secondary levels constitutes a drop also in the level of social mobilization. Both Turkey and Guyana had fairly high levels of enrollment compared with the 1950 figures and thus a rise in the level of social mobilization.

(c) Political Elites: Educational Background and Language of Education

We shall now examine the educational background of the political elites in order to ascertain the level of education they had attained and the language of their education in order to ascertain the size of the elite-mass gap. For this purpose we will look at the Cabinet Ministers in all these countries.
In the case of India a very high percentage of the political elites were trained locally in a foreign language. The following table summarizes the position.

**TABLE 16**

**INDIA - EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF ALL 28 CABINET MINISTERS IN THE 1956 COUNCIL OF MINISTERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Language of Ed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University graduates</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Local Universities</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Overseas Universities</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the case of Turkey, Frederick W. Frey pointed out that the hallmark of the Turkish elites is education and the educational levels of Cabinet Ministers have always been high.⁵⁶ As we have seen from the previous table, this was the case with India in the 1956 Cabinet. In fact, North points out that this has been the pattern of previous Indian cabinets. The total number of members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly holding cabinet rank during the Ninth and Tenth Assemblies was 37 and 35 respectively. The following table gives statistical data on the Cabinet Ministers.

⁵⁶Frey, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assembly</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage with Univ. Education</th>
<th>Language of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IX (1950-1954)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Local/Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (1954-1957)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>Local/Foreign</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The language of education was the national language of the country, that is Turkish, but many of the political elites had also obtained education outside of the country. Frey noted that one third of the members of each cabinet had received some formal education at university level outside of Turkey and "rare was the Cabinet Minister who could claim no foreign language competence."37

Thus, if we were to compare Cabinet Ministers of India and Turkey, we find that both groups were highly educated, but whereas a high percentage of those in India were educated locally in a foreign language, two thirds of those in Turkey were educated locally in the national language and one third outside of the country in a foreign language.

In the Philippines, education played a very important role in producing political leadership. Carl H. Landé contends that, the Philippines lacks a clearly recognized "Establishment." While there is an upper class, there is no small cohesive, self conscious elite group which sets itself off from the rest of the populace as especially qualified to govern the nation." But in practice the Philippine political elite during the decade 1950-1960 were predominantly drawn from the upper-socio economic strata of the society. Because of the extension of educational facilities, the Filipino political elite, almost without exception, was composed of individuals with an English language education.

Among the decision-makers at the pinnacle of the political system are twenty four nationally elected senators. The following table gives the summary of the educational background of the twenty four senators in the 1957 government.

---


### TABLE 18

**PHILIPPINES - EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF SENATORS IN 1957.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Language of Ed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Graduates</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These political elites were primarily educated locally, in a language different than the mass language of education. However, in a study of 124 top Filipino political elites in the 1950's, cabinet members as well as legislators, it was found that two had high school education, fifty three had attended university but had no degree and the remaining sixty nine held degrees. Of these sixty nine with one or more university degrees only two reported attendance at foreign universities.

In the case of Guyana, the following Table gives an analysis of the 1955 and 1957 Cabinets.

---


TABLE 19

GUYANA - EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF ALL CABINET MINISTERS IN 1953 AND 1957 CABINETS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th></th>
<th>Language of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Graduates</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It will be noted from the above, that both the cabinets had more than two-thirds university graduates. Since there was no university education available in the country until 1963 these graduates had received their education either in the United Kingdom or in the United States. However, the language of education was the same as the medium of instruction in the primary and secondary levels of education in the country.

To summarize the position in these four countries, what do we find?

The Indian political elites were educated primarily locally but in a foreign language; in Turkey the elites were educated both locally and abroad in Turkish and foreign languages; in the Philippines they were educated locally in a foreign language; and in Guyana the
elites were educated overseas in a foreign language which was also the medium of instruction both at the primary and secondary levels of the local education system. It would thus be seen that the elite-mass gap would be narrower than in the case of the countries in category I.

The attached Table 20 summarizes the position.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>Percentage University Graduates</th>
<th>Percentage Attended University or College (no degree)</th>
<th>Percentage Maximum Secondary Education</th>
<th>Percentage Unknown</th>
<th>Percentage Total</th>
<th>Language of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India (1956 Council of Ministers)(^a)</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey - Cabinet Ministers 1950-1957(^b)</td>
<td>97.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>Turkish and Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines - Senators 1957(^c)</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana(^d) 1953 Cabinet</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana(^d) 1957 Cabinet</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: As for Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19

\(^a\)See Table 16, p. 46  \(^b\)See Table 17 p. 47  \(^c\)See Table 18 p. 49  \(^d\)See Table 19, p. 50
CHAPTER V

CATEGORY III - MEXICO

Adult literacy level in 1950 - 65 percent.\textsuperscript{42}

This is where the elite-mass gap is narrow and is found where (1) the education of both the elites and the mass is in the same language and (2) the political elites obtained their education within the country.

(a) Categorization

In this category I put Mexico, a Latin American country with an estimated population of 42,000,000 in 1965. In 1961 it had a G.N.P. per capita of $262. (U.S.),\textsuperscript{43} which has changed significantly since that date to $557. (U.S.), in 1968.\textsuperscript{44}

Mexico had a Spanish colonial history and has been developing through a revolutionary period which began in 1910. The modernization process of the country, like Turkey, came as a conscious decision of an indigenous elite bent on political development of the country.

\textsuperscript{42}Almond and Coleman, \textit{op. cit.}, Appendix.

\textsuperscript{43}Russett, \textit{et al.}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 294.

\textsuperscript{44}U.N. Review of International Trade and Development 1970, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54.
Mexico is interesting as a study, since the revolution which transformed the society was directed against foreigners and capitalism, yet it still remained a democracy.

(b) Educational Structure and Language of Education

The educational structures in Mexico underwent marked changes over the years and education was used, and is used, as one of the most important vehicles of change and political modernization. The language of education in Mexico has been a factor of unification since the language of education was uniform throughout the education system.

In 1942, education was deeply involved in politics and was practically controlled by political groups. The "socialist" bias of education shifted to a stress on democracy and nationalism. All religious influences on the education system were removed. The Mexican government took over the responsibility for education and the education system was secularized.45 This change brought with it a crusade against illiteracy beginning about 1944. The following Table 21 gives enrollment figures which reflect this situation in educational advancement.

TABLE 21
ENROLLMENT AT PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY LEVELS IN MEXICO IN 1950 AND 1960 PER 100,000 POPULATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>1950 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>1960 Enrollment per 100,000 population</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>10,126</td>
<td>15,535</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>108.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>138^a</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It could be seen from this table that the enrollment at the primary level was at a comparable level in relation to the countries we have discussed in the other groups and the increase has been more-or-less gradual over the ten year period.

The enrollment figures at the secondary level have been doubled. This is an indication of the building up of a middle group who could act as a linkage between the elites and the mass. Enrollment figures at the university level have also increased steadily over the period 1950-1960, the 1960 figures showing an increase of 88.9 percent. The percentage of the population aged 15-19 years enrolled in primary and secondary schools was 42 percent.
(c) Political Elites: Educational Background and Language of Education

We have now to examine the background of the political elites as regards the level of education obtained and the language of education in order to determine the elite-mass gap.

As regards language of education we have seen in the Mexican context, the language of instruction was Spanish throughout the education system, and since the overwhelming majority of the elites would have obtained their education locally, the elite and mass language would be the same, hence the elite-mass gap would be the narrowest.

A brief description of the ruling elites in Mexico will be most appropriate at this stage. Like other Latin American countries, Mexico has a ruling oligarchy. Senator Manuel Mereono Sanchez, an intimate collaborator of President Lopez Mateos, had this to say in 1961, "I wish to affirm vigorously and courageously that an oligarchy supported by the people governs Mexico."\textsuperscript{46} This ruling oligarchy he described as the "Revoluptionary family."\textsuperscript{47} The head of this "inner council" is the President who is supported by a cabinet.


\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 3.
The political elites in Mexico are usually drawn from among the cultural elites, most of whom are university graduates.48

Data on the educational background of the political elites is hard to obtain. I have, therefore, submitted what is felt to be the best possible data available. The following table provides information on the cabinet selected December, 1970.

**TABLE 22**

**MEXICO — EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF 21 CABINET MINISTERS SELECTED IN DECEMBER 1970**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Language of Ed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Graduates</td>
<td>76.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mexican degrees)a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table was compiled from the Cabinet list submitted in the International Year Book which lists the degrees of the ministers. The abbreviation LIC, which preceded the names of the university graduates, among others, indicated that they had graduated from Mexican Universities, LIC., being the abbreviation for Licenciatura which is a law degree from a Mexican University.


Judging from the literature, there is no reason to believe that the educational background of the 1970 cabinet is untypical of the cabinets during the period 1950 to 1960. It is felt, that the

percentage of university graduates in Table 22 is likely to be even higher since among the 25.8 percent listed as "others," there is one minister designated doctor, two generals and one admiral. However, in order to minimize any error in the analysis I have included only those as university graduates who could be determined as such, with some degree of certainty. There is no evidence to indicate that any of the elites have been foreign trained.

If we compare Mexico with the other two categories we find that most of the elites were locally educated in the same language as the masses hence the elite-mass gap would be the narrowest.
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

As Huntington has pointed out, there is no direct relationship between modernization and stability. On a number of indicators of modernization, such as literacy, countries characterized by both extremely low and extremely high levels of literacy are considerably more stable than countries in the intermediate ranges of literacy.\(^4\)

What we have attempted is to assess the impact of "elite-mass gap" within a middle range of social mobilization, as measured by (1) the similarity or difference of language of instruction in primary and higher education, and (2) whether or not political elites received higher education at home or abroad. We have examined eight developing countries all of which fall within the intermediate range of literacy (15 percent to 75 percent) and thus within the highest categories of instability. These countries have been divided into three categories on the basis of the degree of elite-mass gap. We are now in a position to assess the degree to which elite-mass gap influences stability. If our hypothesis is correct, countries with a large elite-mass gap should be characterized by the highest levels of

\(^4\) Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 40
instability, while those with a small elite-mass gap should among the most stable.

However, there must be a time lag in order to see the full impact of the elite-mass gap on the level of stability within a polity. As a result, stability data has been submitted for a period beyond 1960, that is, up to 1967. In this way we will be able to make a better assessment of the effect of the elite-mass gap on the level of stability.

What do we find in the three categories of countries we have examined? The following two tables summarize the stability levels between 1950 to 1967.
TABLE 23

NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM DOMESTIC GROUP VIOLENCE PER 1,000,000 POPULATION BETWEEN 1950-1967

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CATEGORY I</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>4213</td>
<td>3660</td>
<td>9349</td>
<td>519.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>1875</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>962</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CATEGORY II</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>554</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>5221</td>
<td>290.1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2201</td>
<td>3295</td>
<td>3140</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>9742</td>
<td>541.2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>308</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>329</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CATEGORY III</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: C.L. Taylor and M.C. Hudson, World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators II. Extracted from Computer Information prepared by Yale University and distributed by Inter-University Consortium for Political Research, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
### TABLE 24
POINT INDEX

**PERIOD 1950-1967 - NUMBER OF POINTS SCORED FOR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>Major Insurrection, Civil War, or Extended Political Violence</th>
<th>Illegal or Unconstitutional change of Chief Executive</th>
<th>Constitutional change of Chief Executive</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Prepared from Information obtained from Facts on File Yearbook: The Index to World Events, Published by Facts on File, Inc, 516 Fifth Avenue, New York 18: N.Y.
TABLE 24

Key to Point Index

(1) Major insurrection, civil war or extended political violence - one plus point is scored for each year, between 1950 to 1967 any of the above took place.

(2) Illegal or unconstitutional change of chief executive - one plus point is scored for each time, between the period 1950 to 1967 there was such a change.

(3) Constitutional change of chief executive - one minus point is scored each time there was a change as a result of established constitutional regulations between 1950-1967.
Before making an analysis, let us briefly summarize the positions as we found them in the three case studies.

In category I, where the elite-mass gap is wide, that is where the elite education was in a foreign language and obtained outside of the country, we examined Nigeria, Malaya and Ghana. We found that in all three of these countries during the period 1950 to 1967, and prior to that period, the local educational systems were confined to the primary and secondary levels. Higher education was sought overseas, primarily in the United Kingdom and the United States, in a foreign language. In all three of these polities, however, education at the secondary level was also in a foreign language, the same as that at the university level, but different from that at the primary level which was the mass level of education.

The educational background of the political elites during the period under consideration revealed that a high percentage of the cabinet ministers were trained in overseas universities in a foreign language different from that of the mass language of education. This situation certainly makes for a wide elite-mass gap. 50

In category II, where the elite-mass gap is moderate, that is, where either the elite education is primarily domestic in a foreign language, or where the elite have obtained their education outside the country, but in the same language as that of the mass education, we examined India, Philippines, Turkey and Guyana. We found here that

as regards India, the Philippines and Turkey, university education was available locally, prior to, and during the period 1950 to 1960, whereas in Guyana higher education became available locally only from 1963. In Guyana the medium of instruction throughout the educational system was in a foreign language, that is, English, but in India, mass education was in a different language than the elite education. In the Philippines the language of elementary education officially shifted during the period under study from English to the regional language. The primary grades, prior to this shift, did not create, either adult literacy or oral fluency in English, however. Thus, those with only primary education could not read or understand political communication directed at them in English. Whereas in India and the Philippines the elites were locally educated, in Guyana a very high percentage was educated outside of the country.

Turkey is closest to Mexico; one-third foreign educated is the only difference. The reason for putting Turkey within Category II is because the foreign educated were in the top elite. The medium of instruction in Turkey was, however, through the local language at all levels in the education system. The educational background of the elites showed that a very high percentage was university trained. But on the basis of the language of education and the place where such an education was obtained we suggest that the elite-mass gap should be moderate.
In category III, the elite-mass gap is narrow; that is, where there is a national language of education both for the elites and the mass and the elites would have obtained their education locally. In Mexico, the country we have looked at in this category, Spanish was the national language of education of the elites and masses and the elites had obtained their education locally. This we suggest makes for the narrowest elite-mass gap of the three categories.

Table 25 summarizes the position of the three categories, primarily as regards the two criteria of language of education and the place of elite education.

If our hypothesis is to be supported, the countries in category I must have experienced a higher level of instability than those in categories II and III, and the one country in category III the highest level of stability of all the countries analysed. There are four indicators that we have listed in Tables 23 and 24.\textsuperscript{51} Figure 1 gives a graphical representation of Table 23.

\textsuperscript{51}See p. 61 and 62.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Mass-Gap</th>
<th>Elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
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### Table 25

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria 1</th>
<th>Criteria 2</th>
<th>University educated abroad</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language of Education</td>
<td>Same/different</td>
<td>Percent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Different</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Over 70.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Over 54.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Different</td>
<td>7.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>35.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mass-Gap</td>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>50.0</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Mass-Gap</th>
<th>Elite</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
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### Continuation on page 68.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Different</td>
<td>Less than 5</td>
<td>19,682</td>
<td>14,611</td>
<td>-25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Over 65.0</td>
<td>2,618</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>-26.8</td>
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<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>No evidence of any</td>
<td>17,716</td>
<td>22,229</td>
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<td>1,240</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Enrollment at Primary Level
(b) Enrollment at Secondary Level
(c) Enrollment at University Level

Source: Compiled from Tables in this Study.
FIGURE 1 - Graphical representation of Rank order of the 8 countries based on the number of deaths as a result of domestic group violence during the period 1950 to 1967. See Table 23, p. 62.
By plotting the independent variable, elite-mass gap, along the Y axis, in categories I, II and III for the three groups of countries, and the dependent variable, level of stability, on the X axis, as indicated in the rank order by the indicator, number of deaths by domestic group violence during 1950 to 1967, we are able to produce a "scatter diagram" showing the correlation between the two variables. The hypothesis, that elite-mass gap, due to the similarity or difference in the language of education between the political elites and the mass, and the place of education of the elites, correlates with the level of stability, is weakly confirmed, at best, on this indicator.

52 See Table 23 p. 61
This study, however, recognizes that there are other social and cultural factors that give rise to political violence such as agrarian conflicts, religious conflicts and endemic violence which is a result of the peculiar culture of the particular polity. The elite-mass gap as a result of different language of education is but one dimension of political instability. India, Philippines and Mexico show fairly high figures on the number of deaths as a result of group violence. The Philippines high figures in the early 1950's was as a result of agrarian uprising, India had experienced religious riots fairly often during the 1950's and the Mexican high figures may be due to some endemic violence.

Ghana has experienced, as shown, a high degree of stability on this indicator but when we examine the level of literacy against the Feierabend and Nesvold results we find the literacy figures fairly low. When we combine this with the level of enrollments at the primary level which is the mass level of education, during the 1950's and 1960's and which showed a decrease of -0.5 percent, we find a lowering of the level of social mobilization. This could reasonably be the explanation for the high degree of stability. Where enrollment figures are high at the secondary level it is an indication of there being available a large number of secondary school graduates to perform the broker role as a communication link between the elites and the mass so that with Ghana having the largest increase in enrollment at this level, this helps to bridge the elite-mass gap which raises the level of stability.
In figure 2, by again plotting the independent variable, elite-mass gap along the Y axis, as in figure 1, and the dependent variable, level of stability, on the X axis based this time on the final scores obtained on the three other indicators of major insurrection, civil war or extended political violence; illegal or unconstitutional change of chief executive; and constitutional change of chief executive; we again produce a "scatter diagram" showing the correlation between the variables. On the basis of this representation the hypothesis is strongly confirmed. Six of the eight countries examined show evidence of direct linear relationship between the two variables.
LEVEL OF STABILITY  
Dependent Variable  
- measured on score obtained on three indicators in Table 29.

FIGURE 2 - Graphical representation of final scores obtained on the three level of Stability indicators in Table 2.
When we take into consideration the fact that there must be an overlap between the violent death indicators and major insurrection, civil war or extended political violence indicator (See (1) on Table 24), we find that Figure 2 representing Table 24 is a much better indicator of the results of the analysis.

The two countries which showed a not too strong correlation on this indicator are Turkey and Ghana. An explanation has already been proffered as regards the case of Ghana.\textsuperscript{53} In the case of Turkey, the elite-mass gap created by the foreign trained elites, 33.3 percent, was somewhat minimised by the fairly rapid increase of High School graduates to fill the broker role as a link between the elites and the mass. Hence producing a higher level of stability.

If we agree with the explanations as regards the violent deaths indicator and accept the more comprehensive measurement as indicated in Table 24 and Figure 2 we can reasonably conclude that there is a high degree of probability that there exists some correlation between the elite-mass gap, based on the similarity or differences of language of education between the elites and the mass and the place of education of the elites, and the level of stability.

\textsuperscript{52}See page 71 above.
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Registrar, University of Guyana (1964-1972).