



Sustainable Development Policy Institute

Working Paper Series no: W-02

**Psychology and Development: A
Conceptual Itinerary**

**Arshad Zaman and Riffat Moazam
Zaman**

01 October 1992



All rights reserved. No part of this paper may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission of the publisher.

A publication of the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI).

The opinions expressed in the papers are solely those of the authors, and publishing them does not in any way constitute an endorsement of the opinion by the SDPI.

Sustainable Development Policy Institute is an independent, non-profit research institute on sustainable development.



© 1992 by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute

Mailing Address: PO Box 2342, Islamabad, Pakistan.
Telephone ++ (92-51) 278134, 278136, 277146, 270674-76
Fax ++(92-51) 278135, URL:www.sdpi.org

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Shifting the Psychological Gaze	2
Redefining “Underdevelopment”	3
Toward an Idiographic Theory of Social Helplessness	5
The Possibility of Psychosocial Therapy	7
Conclusion	9
References	10

The Sustainable Development Policy Institute is an independent, non-profit, non-government policy research institute, meant to provide expert advice to the government (at all levels), public interest and political organizations, and the mass media. It is administered by an independent Board of Governors.

Board of Governors:

Mr V. A. Jafarey
Chairman of the Board

Khalid Ahmed
Editor, AAJ KAL

Syed Babar Ali
Advisor, Packages Ltd.

Dr Tariq Banuri
Executive Director, SDPI

Dr Parvez Hassan
Senior Partner, Hassan & Hassan Advocates

Aban Marker Kabraji
Country Representative, IUCN-Pakistan

Sohaib Sultan Khan
Senior Advisor, NRSP

Dr G. M. Khattak
Co-ordinator, Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy

Abdul Rahim Mahsud
Regional Representative for West Asia, Nippon Gieken Associates

Dr Atta-ur-Rahman
Director, HEJ Research Institute, Karachi University

Dr Arshad Zaman
Former Chief Economist to the Government of Pakistan

Under the Working Paper Series, the SDPI publishes research papers written either by the regular staff of the Institute or affiliated researchers. These papers present preliminary research findings either directly related to sustainable development or connected with governance, policy-making and other social science issues which affect sustainable and just development. These tentative findings are meant to stimulate discussion and critical comment.

Psychology and Development: A Conceptual Itinerary

Arshad Zaman and Riffat Moazam Zaman¹

Abstract

This paper suggests that psychology can contribute to a better understanding of conditions prevailing in "underdeveloped" countries. To do so, however, psychologists must overcome psychology's almost exclusive focus on the individual; and economists the tendency of their to look at "developing" societies not in terms of their own experience but in terms of the experience of European-type societies. With these shifts, the paper proposes a three point strategy: a) "underdevelopment" should be defined not in terms of deficits of wealth and capital accumulation, but in terms of appropriately selected psychological variables (for example, by combining Hirshman's Exit-Voice-Loyalty framework with Bandura's social cognitive theory, deficits of perceived self-efficacy -- at individual and collective levels -- can provide a potential alternative definition); b) an ideological theory of "social helplessness" if then sketched, in the light of historical experience of Pakistan; and c) the possibility of psychological therapeutic (or, policy) interventions with reference especially to Bandura's work on human agency and Beck's work on treatment of depression. In conclusion the paper calls for a greater consensus on the paradigm proposed, or extensions of it, before further research takes place.

The purpose of studying economics is not to acquire a set of ready made answers to economic questions, but to learn how to avoid being deceived by economists.

Joan Robinson (1960:17)

In the animal kingdom the rule is eat or be eaten. In the human kingdom, define or be defined.

T. S. Szasz (1973:20)

This paper puts forward the view that psychology can contribute to a better understanding of what is loosely called development, or less coercively, of the economic conditions which prevail in what have been called "underdeveloped" or "less developed" nations, to use the older terms which have gone out of fashion. In particular, we believe that psychologists can help us better understand the economic problems and prospects of the Muslim community in the Indus valley, or henceforth, of Pakistan, for short.

For some time now across many countries there have been many psychologists who have sympathised with these, or similar, sentiments (Sinha 1989, and references therein, including Moghni 1987). Yet, the enthusiasm for the project of psychology-in-aid-of-development (development as practice, or as understanding) had been exceeded only by the paucity of concrete achievements (the notable exception being the work of McClelland and his colleagues (see McClelland 1957, 1961, 1971; McClelland & Winter 1969), and to a lesser extent, Hagen (1963). This paper analyses the constraints to the realisation of this project and proposes how these constraints may be overcome to get ahead with the task.

1. Chief Economist, Planning Commission and Clinical Psychologist, Aga Khan University. This paper is written in a personal capacity, and does not necessarily reflect the views of the institutions to which the authors belong.

The major constraint to a psychological construction of social reality (economic development, political modernization, or social change) had been the pervasive individualism of psychology - in epistemology, methodology, and substance (Manicas 1987). For deep-rooted historical reasons, the unit of analysis of psychology had been the individual; even social psychology has not been a psychology of the state of society, but a psychology of the individual-in-society or as he interacts with society (Pepitone 1981). Clearly, if psychology is to contribute to a better understanding of development, then psychologists must begin to get interested in social development as a primary phenomenon deserving study.

A second constraint has been the insistence of economics to look at non-Europeanate societies in terms of the experience of Europeanate² societies. The implicit assumption being that there is a uniform process in history, exemplified in the Europeanate experience, against which the experience of all other societies can be seen - in terms of conformity with or departures from it. To speak of the "development" of Pakistan, for example, is to be coerced into explaining why the economic history of Pakistan has not followed the early economic history of Europeanate societies. Clearly, if developments in Pakistan are to be understood in terms of their own logic, then the key features of Pakistan's economic history should be explained without forcing them into the procrustean patterns of Europeanate history.

Once psychologists become interested in social phenomena, and that too in those relating primarily to the country or countries under study, then a three-point strategy is proposed in this paper to realize the potential of the programme. First, just as economists have chosen wealth and capital accumulation as the operational variables which capture the state of development and underdevelopment, a set of suitable psychological variables should be selected (we propose concepts derived from the cognitive perspective in psychology). Second, on this basis, it should be possible to extend many of the insights from established psychological theories to explain social conditions in non-Europeanate societies. Finally, with the aid of these theoretical insights, the prospects for society-specific "therapeutic" (or what economists call policy) interventions may be examined.

Shifting the Psychological Gaze

The idea that an exclusive concern with the individual may now be an undue constraint on insights in the psychology of social change (and even of the dynamics of personality) is gaining ground in both Europeanate and incipient non-Europeanate psychology (see Bevan 1991; Flannery & Harvey 1991; Sampson 1989; Cherns 1969; Sinha 1989).

In the United States of America, for example, in keeping with the social constructionist position (e.g. Gergen 1985; Sampson 1988), it has been argued that psychology's concern with the dynamics of "the self-contained individual" was a natural outcome of the historical transition of European society from its pre-modern to modern form, in which a sense of the individual emerged, as autonomous form, and *antecedent*, to the community or society to which he belonged - which gave him values, meaning and roles (Sampson 1989). On this basis, Sampson goes on to argue that with emergent global changes, the primacy of the individual is increasingly being challenged, and the time is ripe for a new theory of the post-modern person, which pays closer attention to the global context.

2. With apologies for the barbarism, the double adjective, Europeanate, is employed to suggest attributes associated with Europe and Europe-like societies. It is both shorter and seems better than competing expressions like Western, industrial, or peoples of European stock, or Europe and her descendents overseas, all of which have been employed by various writers. The formulation is adapted from Hodgson (1974, 1:57-60, 95).

In non-Europeanate contexts, the widely felt need for more appropriate psychological frameworks has also led to a demand for a psychology of "macro" (and, of recent, "meso") structures (e.g. Sinha 1989). This view has been shared by economists, who have been all too aware of the partial nature of their efforts. In one of the first textbooks on the economics of development, Benjamin Higgins (1959: 772), citing McClelland's (1957) early work on achievement motivation with approval, lamented the unwillingness of other social scientists to undertake the study of economic development:

It is clear that research needed to improve our empirical knowledge of the development process must be interdisciplinary...So far, most of the research on non-economic factors in economic development had been undertaken - or at least organized - by economists, whose limited training leaves them inadequately equipped for the task. If psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists are to be really useful in the field of economic development, however, they must also be willing to undertake some revisions of their own scope and method and perhaps even of their training.

The rest of this paper outlines what these revisions might entail and the directions that a new "macro psychology" could take (Cherns 1969; Sinha 1985).

Redefining "Underdevelopment"

On the assumption that there is a will (to undertake a psychological explanation of social change), we turn now to outlining a way. The argument, put forward in general, is drawn largely with the experience of Pakistan in mind.

Despite the enormous interest generated in the project of psychology-in-aid-of-development among both economists and psychologists, the definition of economic development and the strategies of understanding defined by economists (and to a lesser extent, political scientists and sociologists) have not been critically examined by psychologists (for a good multi-disciplinary review of the literature and issues, see Banuri 1990a, 1990b). This, in our view, has been a major constraint to progress.

The word, development, has come to embody within itself a description, a diagnosis, an etiology, and a prognosis. Moreover, "underdevelopment" has not been defined directly, but has been viewed as a state of dissonance from development. For economists, "underdevelopment" describes a state of physiological and material poverty. This diagnosis is arising mainly from an absence, or a slow rate, of capital accumulation. The etiology, in current mainstream versions, being poor laws, the heavy hand of state on individuals (and on markets), and consequent distortions in prices and incentives. The prognosis, given good laws, sound government, and "efficient" markets, progressively higher levels of consumption and capital accumulation.

This perspective can be subjected to four criticisms. First, this is more a self-serving explanation of the Europeanate experience, than a description of the "underdeveloped" countries. Second, it suggests implicitly that the levels of consumption and accumulation achieved by Europeanate societies is available to all mankind; a view increasingly challenged by recent theories of sustainable development. Third, we believe that development (whether in Europe or in Pakistan) is an epiphenomenon - like the speedometer of a car, which registers speed, but neither causes nor explains it. The primary phenomenon which needs to be studied is human behavior, in its widest sense which is not in some sense "prodevelopment" (as in Europeanate society) but instead sustains poverty, disease, illiteracy, etc. Finally, in understanding why this is so, idiographic approaches (which examine specific historical antecedents) are likely to be more

fruitful than nomothetic ones (which, emulating the natural sciences, seek to validate universal laws), which underlie this perspective.

To overcome these limitations, we need to look not at development but at stagnation and deterioration, and to attempt to seek the proximate behavioral causes of these conditions. There is fortunately a theory of deterioration - in individuals, groups, firms, organizations, societies, or nations - put forward by the eclectic American economist Albert Hirschman (1970, 1987), which can serve as a point of departure. In seeking to explain prolonged deterioration without remedial attempts, Hirschman has identified two homeostasis mechanisms (*exit*, studied mainly by economics, and *voice*, by political science), and a related factor (*loyalty*, which in, our view, could perhaps be construed as of concern to psychology).

Exit refers to withdrawal from a relationship built up as a buyer of merchandise or as a member of an organization such as a firm, a family, a political party or a state - which serves as a signal to the management of firms or organizations that something is amiss, leading to a search for causes and remedies, and to efforts to restore performance. *Voice*, to the direct attempt at repairing and perhaps improving the relationship through an effort at communicating one's complaints, grievances and proposals for improvement. (A useful distinction has subsequently been made between *horizontal* and *vertical* voice: the first being an exchange of opinions, concerns and criticisms among citizens; the second, actual communication, complaint, petition, or protest to those in authority by a citizen or, more commonly, a group). Finally, *loyalty* is a factor that might delay over-rapid exit upon the slightest manifestation of decline, even if rival organizations were available (Hirschman 1987: 219-220).

The interaction of exit-voice, operating singly or jointly (reinforcing or undercutting each other), all depending on the situation, serves to maintain order or quality. The threat of exit by an important group may powerfully reinforce its voice. By contrast, actual exit would diminish the voice of remaining groups - leading to cumulative deterioration if the organization is more sensitive to voice than exit. This framework has been applied to a wide variety of situation - trade unions, public services like education and health, migration and political action, the dynamics of political parties in a democracy, etc. (for references, see Hirschman 1987).³

In this framework, disorder, deterioration, and decline is understood as a malfunctioning of the exit-voice mechanism (mediated by the action of loyalty: delaying exit and activating voice). This malfunction may result from a "shortage" of exit and voice, despite discontent and unhappiness, due to their repression, leading to "passivity, acquiescence, inaction, withdrawal, and resignation" (Hirschman, 1987:220). Traditional applications and extensions of this framework have focused more on the identification of phenomena which can be re-articulated in terms of sub-optimal exit-voice interactions (especially in rich countries), and less on the factors which give rise to persistent exit-voice deficits (in individuals, firms, and organizations).

Enlisting this perspective, we can say that no society has gone from success to success. All societies suffer from occasional, and sometimes prolonged, periods of deterioration, disrepair and decay. The healthy society, however, possesses social homeostasis mechanisms which serve to trigger corrective responses by social groups and organizations in the event of social failure. What has been called "underdevelopment" may be seen primarily as a dysfunction of social homeostasis mechanisms. This

3. In relation to psychology, Zimbardo and Snyder (1970) had pointed out how the role of loyalty in the Hirschman's framework related to Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. More recently, Weitzman (1985) has applied the insights of this framework to the analysis of marriage and divorce, and Gilligan (1986), to adolescent development.

dysfunction has been exhibited in secondary characteristics (like poverty, failure to accumulate capital, to establish corporate consensual arrangements for taking collective decisions, etc.) which have attracted the attention of economists (and political scientists and sociologists) as primary phenomena.

An alternative description of "underdevelopment" may therefore focus on actual and perceived constraints to collective action, exhibited in motivation, affect and behavior; diagnosed as arising from repressive social-political structures, and a dysfunction of individual and social cognition; the etiology, being related to the formation of maladaptive expectations, beliefs and memories of traumatic interactions between local communities and social-political authorities; and the prognosis, given suitable efforts at restructuring cognition and behavior, positive. In other words, we suggest that the predicament of non-Europeanate societies, today, may be viewed primarily in terms of a shortage of actual and perceived collective efficacy.

This is not to suggest that the environment, in the broadest sense, is not restrictive; it is. Yet, it is not the sole constraint on the exercise of human agency in these societies. The individuals too, and communities, and civil society, are characterized by a failure to seize the opportunities which exist (in however limited a fashion, as may be argued), due to a shortage of perceived self-efficacy, individually and collectively (the language employed here derives from Bandura's work on social learning/cognitive theory; see references below). The political implications of this viewpoint lie in devising strategies not only on resistance (Appfel Marglin & Marglin 1990), but of coping and prevailing.

It is this neglected aspect of the state of non-Europeanate society, which in our view could benefit from the contribution of psychologists. In particular, if economic "underdevelopment" can be viewed as the existence of fractured loyalties, and persistent exit-voice deficits (or, as we have suggested, social helplessness, for short), then a socio-psychological analysis can provide meaningful and useful insights into the phenomenon we know as economic development. This is the central thesis of this paper. In support, we sketch in the next section how existing psychological theories may provide insights into the phenomenon of social helplessness.

Toward an Idiographic Theory of Social Helplessness

To recapitulate, we suggest that "underdevelopment" may be viewed, from a psychological perspective, as a deficiency of actual and perceived self-efficacy in individuals and groups in what we have called helpless societies. These deficiencies, which arise from and contribute to fractured loyalties among citizens and social groups, impair the ability of individuals and groups to resort to the exercise of exit-voice mechanisms, which can alleviate deterioration, restore quality, and event be a source of progress. They may also account for the pervasive distrust and anxiety which is observed in civil society. Before proceeding with an examination of the potential applications of existing psychological theories (and their suggest extensions) to these phenomena (including, to what might be called the "presenting symptoms"), we should comment on the etiology of social helplessness which we hypothesize.

Why, in other words, should societies like Pakistan exhibit social helplessness? We believe that the answer would lie in the experience of repressive interactions between the citizen and society (under colonialism, and earlier), transmitted by social memories (Connerton 1989) an social cognitive structures, and the post-colonial experience of individuals and societies, in which structures of the state and society have retained a large measure of continuity. In particular, we have in mind the traditional interactions with the police, justice and taxation, and more recent ones with government officials in education, health,

irrigation, communications, etc. Although space limitations preclude a full discussion, we sketch the argument, to establish its plausibility.

The link between colonialism and underdevelopment has been amply commented on in the literature (Amin 1977, Frank 1967, 1975, among others). In most accounts, however, income and wealth have been the units of account in which the gains and losses from colonialism have been assessed, both by defenders of colonialism and by its detractors (for an exception, see Nandy 1983). In our view, the main damage of colonialism was not economic (although plunder there was); it was cultural (Said 1978), and by proxy, psychological (Roland 1988 provides a novel integrative analysis of the psychology of the post-colonial Indian self). This was particularly true for the Muslim community in India (for a general history, see Ikram 1966), which was the object of a well-planned campaign of empowerment by psychological degradation, economic impoverishment (Hunter 1871), and physical brutality. The effects of these policies survive to the present day (Ansari, n.d., offers a perceptive analysis of present-day corruption, in the light of the detritus of these historical conditions).

To suggest something of this history of psychological warfare, we cite a few examples. In the course of their rule, the English took to dressing their doorman in a dress remarkably similar to that of Tipu Sultan, complete with the golden sash, the chapras, which only the king could wear. With the devaluation of the king's dress, all other native dresses were automatically degraded. The *chaprasi*, who survives to this day is a vivid reminder of the cultural assumptions which underlie the power relations between the agents of the crown and the populace. (The sources of why the dispute over official dress has aroused such passions in the middle classes in more recent years are also perhaps to be found here).

Similarly, the English took to calling their personal servants by names borrowed from the official ranks of the Moghul army: the sweeper, became *jama'dar* (company commander; the rank, incidentally, enjoyed by Nawab Bahaduryar Jang in the Nizam's army); the cook, *khan-e-saman* (quarter-master general); the sub-inspector of police, *subedar* (governor of a province); and every Muslim clerk was officially addressed as *maulvi* (an honorific reserved for the local intellectual elite, the *ulema*). In terms of degradation ceremonies (Garfinkel 1956), in *darbars* held by commissioners (and more senior officers) the *imam* of the mosque was placed with the *kammi* (serf). Finally, historical events (the events of 1857, and after) served to underscore the helplessness of social action in powerful ways, which was preserved in memories, proverbs, literature, poetry and re-interpretation of traditional wisdom.

In the face of a systematic degradation of the self, the Muslim elite resorted to two courses of action: the conservative orthodoxy (associated with Deodand and Nadwatul Ulema) resorted to exit (in some cases, even by emigration to Mecca, Medina, and elsewhere, but more commonly by withdrawal from civil society, in a successful effort to preserve culture), while the reactive modernists (exemplified by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and the Aligarh movement) took to expression of loyalty and voice. In time, destiny chose the reactive modernists to emerge as the market of Pakistan, but society was forever divided into two classes - the anglophile and the vernacular - which shared so little in common that collective action became a perennial problem (Zaman 1990, and references therein). Shils (1958) was one of the first to note the pernicious effects of this phenomenon:

The real advantage of xenophobia is that it arises from and fosters a lack of intimacy with material environment and is a form of social blindness to the capacities and incapacities of one's fellow countrymen and their problems.

In psychological terms, the rise of the anglophile class, its behavior, and cognitive structures, can be seen as the classical response of identification with the aggressor, as a fairly common mechanism to cope with fear and inadequacy, observed in conquered people (ibn Khaldun 1377: 1, 299-300), fearful children (A. Freud 1936: 119), and concentration camp prisoners (Bettelheim 1943). The fact, however, that in the post-colonial period all power passed into the hands of the anglophile class had significant consequences. Alienated from its own society and unfettered by review and scrutiny by the British Parliament, the anglophile class had been unable to mitigate the burden of tyranny upon the common people.

As a result, surveys conducted during 1980-86 showed that the bulk of Pakistanis view birth in a rich family, and recourse to corruption, as the main sources of affluence in society (hard work and remittances from abroad, come third and fourth); and luck and birth, as the major cause of poverty (followed by lack of education, laziness and honesty!). Some 47 per cent of the respondents thought that taxes benefit only the few; 49 per cent, that only the corrupt can succeed in business; and 59 per cent, that public donations are misappropriated. The political process is seen equally dismally: 78 per cent believe that those who contest elections, do so for their own interest. Over half would rather not be involved with the police (considered the least trustworthy, most corrupt institution) in the event of an accident, or even when they are witnesses to anti-state activity. Even courts do not enjoy a high degree of trust, which is enjoyed only by the armed forces and the ulema. (Cited in Ansari n.d.)

With this historical background, we can speculate on the etiology and dynamics of social helplessness in Pakistan, with the aid of insights provided by existing psychological theories. Although these theories were developed to explain individual behavior, we feel that they can be extended to group processes. In particular, we would draw attention to three well-known psychological theories which can be pressed into service for the development of theoretical perspectives on what we have called social helplessness:

1. Learned helplessness theory (which provides the foundation metaphor for the term we suggest) provides a startlingly parallel analysis of animal and human behavior, in which experience of inescapable shock leads to behavior which can be viewed as a weakening of exit-voice response (Abramson 1978; Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale 1978; Hiroto 1974; Maier & Seligman 1976; Overmier & Seligman 1967; Seligman 1975).
2. Unlike learned helplessness, which is contingent on the personal experience of "repression" or "tyranny" (to mix metaphors by resorting to Hirschman's vocabulary), social learning/cognitive theory accounts for similar behavior by appeal also to vicarious learning - suggesting a more general theory for the existence of social helplessness (Bandura 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1986a, 1986b, 1989, 1991); and finally,
3. The existence of cultural/social memory, viewed as cognition, although somewhat controversial, provides yet a third mechanism to supplement factors which may account for social helplessness (Connerton 1989, Halbwachs 1925, 1950).

Limitations of space do not permit extended discussion of the well known insights of existing theories and empirical results in these areas which seem readily extendible to individuals and groups in what we have called helpless societies. We turn, however, to how these insights may be applied to schemes of social reform, in which so far economists have held most of the ground, with psychologists conspicuous by their absence.

The Possibility of Psychosocial Therapy

In one of his more famous passages, Freud (1930: 144) posed the question:

..... If the development of civilization has such a far-reaching similarity to the development of the individual and if it employs the same methods, may we not be justified in reaching the diagnosis that, under the influence of cultural urges, some civilizations, or some epochs of civilization ---possibly the whole of mankind - have become 'neurotic'? An analytic dissection of such neuroses might lead to therapeutic recommendations which could lay claim to great practical interest.

But, cognizant of the difficulties of extending an analogy beyond its limits, Freud resiled from the possibility of what might be called social therapy, with the hope that "in spite of all these difficulties, we may expect that one day someone will venture to embark upon a pathology of cultural communities". Unfortunately, although many have been tantalized by the possibilities, none have taken up Freud's suggestion (but see, Skinner 1971). No doubt, the totalitarian overtones of the project altered the political colour of the undertaking. (The sombre, last sentence of Freud 1930, was added in 1931 as Hitler's rise was beginning to be apparent.) Also, the psychoanalytic perspective was eclipsed by the rise of American behaviorism.

We believe, however, that the idea of social pathology and the possibility of social reform (or therapy) should not be lightly dismissed (notwithstanding criticism of McClelland's and Hagen's work as 'attempts to medicalize the problem of development' by Nandy & Visvanathan 1990). In practice, symbols, meanings, cognitive structures and behaviors are being shaped in powerful ways by the rise and increasingly global impact of the mass media and education systems. In fact, theorists of international relations have spoken of the changing nature of power in which influence over ideas and thoughts has increasingly replaced economic patronage and coercive control as the dominant instrument for the exercise of influence, hegemony and control (Strange 1989). This influence is exhibited in patterns of behavior which we have acquired, which may well account for many of the social ills of which we are aware.

It would seem legitimate to expect that psychologists will address themselves to the study of national problems, from a psychological perspective. The pervasive helplessness (and the associated distrust and anxiety) which is commonly observed in civil society -- among individuals, communities and social groups -- show an uncanny similarity to descriptions of cognitive mechanisms encountered in learned helplessness, low self-efficacy, and even depression.

In their presentation and analysis of the cognitive model of depression, Beck and his colleagues have put forward three concepts which could be a useful point of departure in the analysis of social helplessness. The first, *the cognitive triad*, consists of three major patterns which induce the depressive patient to regard himself, his future, and his experiences in an idiosyncratic way: first, he has a negative view of himself (seeing himself as defective, inadequate, diseased, or deprived); second, he tends to interpret his ongoing experience in a negative way; and third, he has a negative view of the future. The second concept relates to a pattern (*schemas*) of maladaptive interpretation of external events. Third, due to *cognitive errors*, the depressive patient engages in faulty information processing: arbitrary inference, selective abstraction, overgeneralization, magnification and minimization, personalization, and absolutistic dichotomous thinking (Beck et. al. 1981: 10; Beck 1985; Hirschfield & Shea 1985). Is it not unlikely that similar mechanisms may be active in individuals and groups in Pakistani society?

The instruments of social therapy which could be employed would range from cognitive reconstruction at the national level through media and education policies, community development programmes

(aimed not at the construction of physical infrastructure, but at enhancing collective efficacy), and changes in style of individual psychotherapy to take account of the historical and social context of the post-colonial individual (for a pioneering analysis see Roland 1988).

There is a tradition of content analysis of educational materials and media programmes (Bano 1985; Perveen 1984; Pervez 1984; Sahibzada 1985). This can be readily extended to work done in this area by learned helplessness theorists on attribution analysis of historical texts, which can provide an empirical validation of the theoretical perspective proposed here.

In this state of affairs, local communities (and, indeed, the state) have a role to protect indigenous culture, an important component of which are cognition and behavior. In recent years, references have been made to "the cognitive revolution in psychology" (Dember 1974; Mahoney 1977; Weimar & Palermo 1974). We believe that many of the insights from cognitive-behavior therapy may be employed in the making of public policy directed toward the creation of healthy societies. In designing therapeutic strategies, the conventional distinctions made between short and long-term cognition can be employed.

In terms of short-term cognitive structure, effort should be directed to building more healthy exceptions (of outcome and self-efficacy), appraisals, and attributions (external-internal, stable-unstable, global-specific). In terms of long-term cognitive structure, beliefs and memories conducive to greater self-efficacy can be promoted. The principal instruments would be government policy on mass media and education. In addition, with the use of these psychological insights, specific programmes of community development can be restructured to enhance their effectiveness. In particular, there is probably good reason to believe that the literature on community psychology which emerged in the United States of America in the 1960s, but did not catch on (see Bernstein & Nietzel 1980, 433-61, and Scuzzo & Kaplan 1984, 235-76), could be adapted to yield more fruitful insights in the context of what we have called helpless societies and communities (Sinha 1989 provides references to some works in India, surveyed by Pareek 1980, 1981 and Pandey 1988, to which we have not had access, which may in fact be along these lines).

In this, some work had been done in the context of small groups. On the basis of this experience, Bandura (1986b) suggests that there are four principal ways to enhance self-efficacy beliefs: through mastery experiences; modelling coping strategies; social persuasion; and changing physiological states. Ozer & Bandura (1989) report on the results of a successful application of these methods to training women to ward off potential unarmed assailants.

Apart from political controversy, the subject of "social control" raises significant questions about potential strategy and instruments. On strategy, some guidance can be provided by approaches developed by cognitive-behavioral therapists. On instruments, the main choices relate to the design of a suitable policy framework for the mass media and educational system, and the implementation of community programmes. It would not be inappropriate in this context to mention the need for suitably adapting individual psychotherapy methods.

Conclusion

In the light of this discussion, it is hoped that a case has been made for the proposition with which this paper starts: that psychology has a role to play in the better understanding of development. before an

agenda for research can be set out, however, there is need for a greater consensus on the methodological stance and the development of theoretical constructs, in response to (or in furtherance of) the approach sketched in this paper. What is presented here therefore is more in the nature of a "conceptual itinerary" than an agenda for research (Erikson 1963, p. 11). We hope that psychologists would find enough here to be provoked into efforts of their own.

References

- Abramson, L. Y. 1978. Universal Versus Personal Helplessness. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Abramson, L. Y. Seligman, M. E. P. & Teasdale, J. 1978. Learned Helplessness in Humans: Critique and Reformulation. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 87: 49-74.
- Amin, S. 1977. *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Ansari, Z. A. n.d. Social-Psychological Background of Corruption in Pakistan. Islamabad: National Institute of Psychology.
- Appfel, Marglin, F. & Marglin, S. A. 1990. *Dominating Knowledge: Development, Culture and Resistance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bandura, A. 1977a. Self-Efficacy: Toward a Unifying Theory of Behavior Change. *Psychological Review* 84: 191-215.
- Bandura, A. 1977b. *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. 1977c. Social Learning. In *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, eds. Alan Bullock, Oliver Stallybrass and Stephen Trombley. London: Fontana Press.
- Bandura, A. (1986a). The Explanatory and Predictive Scope of Self-Efficacy Theory. *Journal of Clinical and Social Psychology* 4: 359-73.
- Bandura, A. 1986b. *Social Foundations of Thought and Action; A Social Cognitive Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. 1989. Human Agency in Social Cognitive Theory. *American Psychologist* 44: 1175-84.
- Bandura, A. 1991. Human Agency: The Rhetoric and the Reality. *American Psychologist* 46: 157-62.
- Bano, M. 1985. An Analysis of the Themes of Children's Readers in Urdu in Terms of Achievement, Affiliations and Power Motives in Pakistan. Ph.D. diss. Peshawar: Peshawar University
- Banuri, T. 1990a. Development and the Politics of Knowledge: A Critical Interpretation of the Social Role of Modernization. In *Marglin and Marglin*, 29-72.
- Banuri, T. 1990b. Modernization and its Discontents: A Cultural Perspective on the Theories of Development. In *Marglin and Marglin*, 73-101.
- Bernstein, D. A. and Nietzel, M. T. 1980. *Introduction to Clinical Psychology*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company.
- Beck, A. T., Rush, A. T., Shaw, B. F. & Emery, G. 1979. *Cognitive Therapy of Depression*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Beck, A. T. 1985. Cognitive Therapy. In *Kaplan & Saddock*, 2: 1432-37.
- Bettelheim, B. 1943. Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 38: 417-52.
- Bevan, W. 1991. Contemporary Psychology: A Tour Inside the Onion. *American Psychologist* 46, 475-83.
- Cherns. A. B. 1969. Social Psychology and Development. *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society* 22: 93-97.
- Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dember, W. N. 1974. Motivation and the Cognitive Revolution. *American Psychologist* 29: 161-168.

- Erikson, E. H. 1963. *Childhood and Society*. 2d ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Festinger, L. 1957. *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Flannery, R. B., Jr. & Harvey, M. R. 1991. Psychological Trauma and Learned Helplessness: Seligman's Paradigm Reconsidered. *Psychotherapy* 28, 374-78.
- Frank, A. G. 1967. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York and London: Modern Reader Paperbacks.
- Frank, A. G. 1975. *On Capitalist Underdevelopment*. Bombay, London, New York and Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Freud, A. 1936. *The Ego and Mechanisms of Defence*. rev. ed. New York: International Universities Press, 1967.
- Freud, S. 1930. *Civilization and its Discontents*. Vol. XXI 64 -145, London: The Hogarth Press, 1961.
- Garber, J. & Seligman, M. E. P. eds. 1980. *Human Helplessness: Theory and Application*. New York: Academic Press.
- Garfinkel, H. 1956. Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies. *American Journal of Sociology* 61: 420-24.
- Gergen, K. 1985. The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology. *American Psychologist* 40: 266-75.
- Gilligan, C. 1986. Exit-Voice Dilemmas in Adolescent Development. In *Development, Democracy and the Art of Trespassing: Essays in Honor of A. O. Hirschman*, A. Foxley et al., eds. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Hagen, E. 1963. *On the Theory of Social Change*. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey.
- Halbwachs, M. 1925. *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan.
- Halbwachs, M. 1950. *La mémoire collective*. Paris: Presses Universitaires.
- Higgins, Benjamin. 1959. *Economic Development: Principles, Problems and Policies*. New York: Norton & Company, Inc.
- Hiroto, D. S. 1974. Locus of Control and Learned Helplessness. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 102: 187-93.
- Hirschfield, R. M. A. and Shea, M. T. 1985. Affective Disorders: Psychosocial Treatment. In *Kaplan & Saddock* 1: 811-21.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1981. The Rise and Decline of Development Economics . In *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond*, Hirschman A.O. Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1987. Exit and Voice. In *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*. eds. Eatwell, J., Milgate, M. and Newman, P. London: The Macmillan Press Limited 1: 219-224.
- Hodgson, M. G. S. 1974. *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*. Vol. 1, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hunter, W. W. 1871. *The Indian Musulmans*. London.
- Ibn Khaldun. 1377. *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Translated by Franz Rosenthal. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.
- Ikram. S. M. 1966. *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan (711-1858 A.C.): A Political and Cultural History*. 2d ed. Lahore: Educational Publishers.
- Kaplan, H. I. and Saddock, B. J. 1985. *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry/IV*. Baltimore and London: Williams and Wilkins.
- Mahoney, M. J. 1977. Reflections on the Cognitive-Learning Trend in Psychotherapy. *American Psychologist* 32: 5-13.
- Maier, S. F. & Seligman, M. E. P. 1976. Learned Helplessness: Theory and Evidence. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* General 105: 3-46.

- Manicas, P. T. 1987. *A History & Philosophy of the Social Sciences*. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell.
- McClelland, David C. 1957. *Community Development and the Nature of Human Motivation: Some Implications of Recent Research*. Paper presented to the Conference on Community Development and National Change. M.I.T., Center for International Studies, December 1957.
- McClelland, David C. 1961. *The Achieving Society*. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- McClelland, David C. and Winter, David G. 1969. *Motivating Economic Achievement: Accelerating Economic Development through Psychological Training*. New York: The Free Press, 1971.
- McClelland, David C. 1971. *Assessing Human Motivations*. New Jersey: General Learning Press.
- Moghni, S. M. 1987. Development of Modern Psychology in Pakistan. In *Psychology Moving East*. G. H. Blowers & A. M. Turtle, eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Nandy, A. 1983. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nandy, A. and Visvanathan, S. 1990. Modern Medicine and its Non-modern Critics: A Study in Discourse. In *Marglin and Marglin* 145-84.
- Overmier, J. B. & Seligman, M. E. P. 1967. Effects of Inescapable Shock upon Subsequent Escape and Avoidance Learning. *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology* 63: 28-33.
- Ozer, E. & Bandura A. 1990. Mechanisms Governing Empowerment Effects: A Self-Efficacy Analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58: 472-86.
- Pandey, J, ed. 1988. *Psychology in India: the State-of-the-Art*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Pareek, U. 1980. *A Survey of Research in Psychology 1971-76 Part II*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Pareek, U. 1981. *A Survey of Research in Psychology 1971-76 Part II*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Pepitone, A. 1981. Lessons from the History of Social Psychology. *American Psychologist* 36: 972-985.
- Parveen, S. 1984. A Thematic Analysis of Popular Urdu Short Stories in terms of certain Social Motives. M.Phil. Diss. Peshawar: Peshawar University.
- Pervez, S. 1984. *Content Analysis of Textbooks and Fiction Popular among Secondary School Children*. Islamabad: National Institute of Psychology.
- Robinson, J. 1960. *Marx, Marshall and Keynes Collected Economic Papers*. Vol.2, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Roland, Alan. 1988. *In Search of Self in India and Japan: Toward a Cross-Cultural Psychiatry*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Saccuzzo, D. P. and Kaplan, R. M. 1984. *Clinical Psychology*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Sahibzada, N. 1985. A Thematic Analysis of Pashto Short Stories M.Phil. Diss. Peshawar: Peshawar University.
- Said, E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Sampson, E. E. 1988. The Debate on Individualism: Indigenous Psychologies of the Individual and their Role in Personal and Societal Functioning. *American Psychologist* 43: 15-22.
- Sampson, E. E. 1989. The Challenge of Social Change for Psychology: Globalization and Psychology's Theory of the Person. *American Psychologist* 44: 914-922.
- Seligman, M. E. P. 1975. *Helplessness: On Depression, Development, and Death*. New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Sinha, D. 1985. A Plea for Macro-Psychology. In *Cross-cultural and National Studies in Social Psychology*, ed. R. Diaz-Guerrero, 277-283. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Sinha, D. 1989. Research in Psychology in the Developing World: An Overview. *Psychology and Developing Societies* 1: 105-26.
- Skinner, B. F. 1971. *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. New York: Knopf.

- Strange, S. 1989. Toward a Theory of Transnational Empire. In *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges: Approaches to world politics for the 1990s*, ed. E. Czempiel & J. N. Rosenau, 161-176. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books.
- Szasz, 1973. *The Second Sin*. Garden City, New York: Achor Press, Doubleday & Company Inc.
- Weimar, W. B. and Palermo, D. S., eds. 1974. *Cognition and the Symbolic Processes*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Weitzman, L. J. 1985. *The Divorce Revolution: The Unexpected Economic and Social Consequences for Women and Children in America*. New York: Free Press.
- Zaman, Arshad. 1990. *National Security and Development Strategy*. Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought.
- Zimbardo, Philip G. and Snyder, Mark. 1970. *The Effects of Severity of Initiation on Activism: Design for an Experiment* 146-55.

SDPI is an independent non-profit research Institute
on Sustainable development

Mailing Address: PO Box 2342, Islamabad Pakistan

Street Address: 3rd Floor, Taimoor Chamber, 10-D West,
Fazal-ul-Haq Road, Blue Area, Islamabad.

Telephone: +(92-51) 2277146
2278134 2278136 2270674-6

Fax: +(92-51) 2278135

URL: www.sdpi.org e-mail: main@sdpi.org