SOCIALIZATION IN PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

SOCIALIZATION IN PAKISTAN

by Mary Jane Beech

The purpose of this study has been to provide an overview of the significant aspects of socialization and of childhood social systems in Pakistan. To this end all of the available students from Pakistan who were studying at Michigan State University during the academic year 1963-64 were interviewed. The findings from these interviews, examined in the context of current research on socialization, are intended to serve as guidelines in the formulation of specific problems for field research.

The child is socialized as he learns to participate in various types of organizations including the domestic group, the classroom group and the peer group. Through their power over him the other members of these groups seek to bring the child's behavior into conformity with their expectations of appropriate behavior for a person of his age and status. In the patrilineal, patrilocal domestic group in Pakistan, the father-son relationship is the pivotal one for the transmission of property and office, and through his control over these resources, the father has very effective control over his son's behavior. The

father also has considerable control over his daughter's behavior through his control over her dowry. The mother has relatively little control over her son, but has the responsibility of training her daughter in the household skills and hence, has considerable control over her behavior.

Education is not yet compulsory in Pakistan and fewer than half of the children in the primary age group presently attend school. In general, primary and secondary teachers are inadequately trained, are poorly paid and have little prestige. Within the classroom the basic goal of both students and teachers appears to be the students' good performance on the annual examinations, particularly on the nationwide matriculation and intermediate examinations.

In contrast to the incorporation of facts which occupies the pupil in the classroom, the peer group offers the child training and practice in interpersonal skills through participation in activities which are "models" of adult social organization. These model activities may emphasize either a particular "role" or the overall "system" of relationships. The model activities may also be considered as being either "pure" in the sense that they represent formal or abstract models or they may be considered as being "applied" in the sense that their organization closely approximates that of the adult society. Four types of activities have been defined by these two dichotomies, and each of these types is illustrated with information

provided by the informants. The effects of the absence of early peer group experience are also discussed. Throughout the thesis hypotheses are suggested which require further research.

SOCIALIZATION IN PAKISTAN

By

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CHAPTER I

SOCIALIZATION IN PERSPECTIVE

An overview of socialization in Pakistan must be placed within the context of current research in sociology, anthropology and psychology. Socialization may be thought of as either the process of "causing one to become social" or of "becoming social." Those writers who have stressed the causative sense of socialization have focused on socializing agents, whereas those who have stressed the developmental sense of the term have focused on the person who is "becoming social." Differences in focus are also evident in the various definitions and usages of the root word, "social." It is generally accepted that man is a social animal, but there is disagreement about the essence of man's social nature. Some writers have stressed the significance of cerebral as opposed to instinctual control of motivation and behavior, and others have focused on man's use of symbolic forms of communication. Some writers have stressed the development of empathy or the ability to identify with another person, and others have stressed the importance of human group-living. There are, then, many shades of meaning which may be attached to the word socialization. For the most part, the precise meaning of

"socialization" being used by a particular scholar is not made explicit but must be inferred from the type of problem he chooses.

Two general clusters of studies may be isolated in the current body of social science research. Studies of socialization done in anthropology, psychoanalysis and clinical psychology usually focus on the agent of socialization, especially on the mother, on the process of socialization as it occurs in the earliest years of life, and on the connection of certain socially acceptable habits or customs with basic drives or motivations. On the other hand, studies in sociology, in social psychology and occasionally in personality theory usually focus on the individual being socialized, on the process of acquiring symbolic communication skills, and particularly, on the learning of new roles by persons of all ages. This separation does not appear to be artificial; there is little evidence of communication between the two groups of scholars. A brief summary of the basic concepts used and the findings of these two kinds of studies follows.

Socialization in Culture and Personality Writings

Child (1954) summarizes the orientations and work of the first group of theorists in his chapter on socialization in the Handbook of Social Psychology. The emphases on childhood and on the socializing agent are apparent in his initial statement.

> Socialization refers to a problem which is old and pervasive in human life--the problem of how to rear children so that they will become adequate adult members of the society to which they belong (Child 1954: 655).

Child cites the various groups which he considers to have contributed to the study of socialization. Nowhere in the chapter, nor in the bibliography, is the work of G. H. Mead or the subsequent "interactionists" mentioned.

> The most important influence of all must surely be assigned to social anthropology. . . .
>
> First, awareness of the role of socialization as the mechanism of culture transmission and survival has led to the study of socialization as itself an important part of the culture of any group which is studied. . . . [Whiting, Margaret Mead, Whiting and Child, Heinicke and Whiting]
>
> A second movement has to do with the effects of socialization on personality. [Sapir, M. Mead, Benedict, Linton] . . .
>
> A second discipline of great influence is psychiatry, and in particular the psychoanalytic movement. [Freud, Fenichel, Blum, Dollard, Davis and Dollard, Kardiner, Erikson]
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Within academic psychology, meanwhile, there have been two main developments which have gradually been merging with these influences from other disciplines. One is the study of child behavior. . . .
>
> The other current development in academic psychology of great importance is the vigorous growth of general psychological theory. . . . Thus far the theory of greatest influence here is a behavior theory based on stimulus-response analysis [Nowlis, Sears et al., Whiting and Child, Winterbottom] (Child 1954: 655-56).

In his empirical work Child, with Whiting, narrows the study of the process of "becoming adequate adult members of the society" to the study of the acquisition of five systems of behavior.

> [We have selected five systems of behavior] . . . oral, anal, sexual, dependence, and aggression--on the assumption that these systems would occur and be subject to socialization in all societies.
>
> The first three of these, the oral, anal and sexual systems, we would expect to be universal on the basis of the fact that they could be presumed to be motivated by the primary or innate drives of hunger, elimination, and sex respectively. The fact that we were drawing many of our hypotheses from Freudian theory which holds that these three systems are in part expressions of developmental stages in the libido gave us another reason for the choice of these three.
>
> Dependence and aggression have a somewhat different status. These systems we would suppose to be motivated primarily by acquired drives rather than by innate primary drives. Even if they are acquired, however, these drives are probably universal (Whiting and Child 1953: 45).

Whiting and Child make cross cultural comparisons of the acquisition of each of these systems of behavior in a sample of the societies included in the Human Relations Area File. For each system three judgments were made: degree of initial indulgence, age of socialization, and severity of socialization. Three judges individually recorded their ratings for each of these items on a seven point scale. Using these ratings, Whiting and Child compute the interrelationships among these particular child training practices. They also demonstrate several "relationships between customs of child training and other customs which will provide indices of the adult personality traits characteristic of the members of a society" (Whiting and Child 1953: 65). Recently, field studies have been conducted in six widely divergent cultures (B. Whiting 1963, and Minturn and Lambert 1964) in which the basic concepts developed by J. Whiting

and Child are expanded and elaborated much more than was possible in the original statistical comparison.

Preceding the cross-cultural work by Whiting and Child, there was a series of studies using a similar frame of reference, but comparing different socio-economic classes within American society rather than geographically separated societies. The initial study in this series was done by Davis and Havighurst (1946) in Chicago. It was followed in 1951 by a study of child rearing in Newton, Massachusetts (also called the Harvard, or Boston, study) by Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957). Havighurst and Davis (1955) reanalyzed some of the data from the Newton study to make it as comparable as possible with their own data, and summarized the similarities and differences in the findings of the two studies. Two additional studies attempted to reconcile the differences: one done in Eugene, Oregon, by Littman, Moore and Pierce-Jones (1957), and the other conducted in Palo Alto, California, by White (1957). Bronfenbrenner (1958) summarizes the findings from all of this research in which the dependent variables are specific child training practices but he does not discuss the rationale for the use of such variables. It is necessary to return to Davis and Havighurst's original article to discover the reasons for the choice of these variables as the primary indices of socialization patterns. They state that they base their research on studies by "cultural anthropologists and social psychologists . . . of the relationships between

personality and socialization" (Davis and Havighurst 1946: 698). They cite M. Mead, Davis, Dollard, Warner, du Bois, and Kardiner, and describe their interest as being in the cultural aspects of personality. Davis and Havighurst do not question the anthropologists' interest in these areas, which was in turn derived primarily from Freudian psychoanalytic theory.

In the middle of the period when these studies were appearing Sewell, Mussen and Harris (1955) published an article which seems to have been almost ignored. These authors present a factor analysis of thirty-eight commonly studied child training practices. Of the 703 correlations, between pairs of practices, only 123 were significant at the .05 level and of these, one-third were negative. Although eight factors were generated, none accounted for much of the variance (four percent on the average). Sewell, Mussen and Harris conclude,

> the results of this study throw into serious question the previous generalizations about the interrelationships among child training practices and particularly the belief that specific practices reflect some general attitude toward the child or philosophy of child training on the part of the parents. The negative findings on this point also suggest that there is need for more careful study and assessment of the importance of other aspects of parent-child relationships in the socialization process (Sewell, Mussen and Harris 1955: 148).

Criticisms of the work of Davis and Havighurst and others who have used a similar theoretical framework have also appeared in several more recent articles. In most of these articles an attempt is made to modify the indices

used to measure socialization. Changes are made in the particular parental behaviors studied, but the emphasis on particular practices of the socializing agent remains. For example, Leslie and Johnson (1963) relate specific infant training practices to the specific normative pattern which receives authoritative support, to the way in which the infant is exposed to the norms and to the explicitness of the norms. Kohn in three articles (1959a, 1959b, and 1963) examines the theoretical weaknesses of the work summarized by Bronfenbrenner (1958) and presents data from his study of preadolescents in Washington, D.C. In Kohn's theoretical formulation, values serve as a bridge between position in the social structure and the behavior of the individual. Kohn is concerned, first, with the effects of social class on values held by parents and, second, with the effect of parental values on their adolescent children's behavior.

Following the group of studies initiated by Davis and Havighurst and the group of cross-cultural studies initiated by Whiting and Child, there is what may be regarded as a third group of studies initiated by McClelland. He studies achievement motivation, first, in the United States (1953), then cross culturally, using data from the Human Relations Area Files and from other written materials (1961). McClelland (1961) relates the need for achievement created by specific child training practices to several indices of national or societal productivity. Rosen (1955, 1962)

relates achievement motivation to such structural variables as socio-economic class, family size and age of the mother. He questions whether it is necessary to posit an individual personality characteristic and specific child training practices as intervening variables between the social structure and national productivity.

All of the studies thus far discussed represent increasingly specialized attempts to answer the question posed in the study of culture and personality: what are the effects of culture in determining personality? Following the leads given by Kardiner, Margaret Mead and others, these studies have examined childhood training practices. One of the principal assumptions of this theoretical perspective is described by Gorer (1953) as that of "social continuity."

> . . . in any given society (or portion of society, where the society is large enough to be differentiated by regions or classes or a combination of both) the observable adults shared experiences and vicissitudes of childhood [were] similar to those which observable infants and children are now undergoing; and further, that observable infants and children will grow up to have shared predispositions and characters similar to those of the observable adults. . . . It is assumed (a) that these shared adult predispositions are related to shared earlier experiences, and (b) that these shared earlier experiences are of the same nature as those experiences now being shared by the contemporary infants and children. This postulate is at present unproved; but it would be capable of proof or disproof if societies in which the vicissitudes of childhood and the predispositions of adults have been adequately described were to be revisited after the lapse of a generation (Gorer 1953: 63).

Alongside the research on child training practices, there has been a continuing series of cautions and criticisms,

among which Sewell's article has already been mentioned. As early as 1949, Orlansky outlined many of the criticisms of using specific child training practices as the principal way of operationalizing socialization. Lindesmith and Strauss (1950) summarize Orlansky's criticisms as follows:

> (a) various writers attribute different and contradictory effects to the same or similar childhood experiences; (b) the alleged influences of given infant disciplines or types of experience on personality have not been proven within our own society, to say nothing of others; (c) the method of "proving" that early infancy is of primary importance is shot through with anthropomorphism and unsupported assumptions; and (d) post-infantile childhood experiences are probably of more vital importance in shaping personality than the prelingual ones (Lindesmith and Strauss 1950: 596).

Another important criticism is made by Apple (1951). He points out that in thinking of man as "learning" his culture one distinguishes man from other animals who are thought to inherit complex instinctual patterns for behavior. However, in trying to understand how man learns his culture, somehow the distinction between "learning" and "training" is lost. In equating "learning" and "training" it is assumed that training proceeds according to laws of learning formulated by the experimental psychologist. While this assumption may be made, it is not a necessary assumption, particularly at this stage in the development of theories of learning and of socialization. Moreover, simply because learning is an individual process, the study of socialization need not necessarily be reduced to the study of the relationship between a single socializing agent and the individual who is being socialized.

Socialization in the Theory of Symbolic Interaction

Merton's definition of socialization, which "is in the current sociological tradition," (Loomis 1961: 309) clearly expresses the typical emphases of the second group of theorists.

> The technical term socialization designates the processes by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills, and knowledge--in short, the culture--current in the groups of which they are, or seek to become, a member. [sic] It refers to the learning of social roles (Merton 1957: 287).

G. H. Mead, taking ideas from James and Dewey and more directly from Cooley, developed the nucleus of the theory which has become known as symbolic interactionism.

> With Cooley, we have the idea that the self is a mirror of others, that it is through the perception of others and the control of others that the child develops a self capable of autonomous action. . . .
>
> Mead offers a more developed theory of the growth of the self through the use of language and gestures to participation in the play and the game. The interactional process gives rise to the symbolic process (Pitts 1961: 821).

After language begins to appear, the next crucial process is the development of the concept of "role" through childhood play in which the child imitates the role behavior of mother, father, baby, postman, milkman, and so on. The child who can act the role of another is, however, not yet socialized. He must learn to play the game, which is to incorporate all of the attitudes of the other players to him and to each other.

> The fundamental difference between the game and play is that in the latter the child must have the

> attitude of all the others involved in that game. The attitudes of the other players which the participant assumes organize into a sort of unit, and it is that organization which controls the response of the individual. The illustration used was of a person playing baseball. Each one of his own acts is determined by his assumption of the action of the others who are playing the game. What he does is controlled by his being everyone else on that team, at least in so far as those attitudes affect his own particular response. We get then an 'other' which is an organization of the attitudes of those involved in the same process (G. H. Mead 1956: 231).

Mead's emphasis on the learning of roles has led to the development of an interest in adult socialization as well as in childhood socialization. The basic similarities in the two processes became apparent, and adherents of the symbolic interactionist theory were primarily attracted to the study of adult socialization which had previously been neglected. Merton's book, The Student-Physician (1957), is an example of this trend.

The Sociology of Child Development (Bossard 1948) is one of the earlier studies of childhood socialization using the symbolic interaction framework, and it remains a basic example of research done from this theoretical perspective. In his analyses of American childhood, Bossard uses autobiographies as his main source of data and supplements these with personal interviews. Bossard (1956) also documents the significance of family size as a structural variable in determining the nature of family interactions. More than others, with the possible exception of Parsons, Bossard considers the family as a social system.

Parsons' "thesis is that the socialization process goes through a series of stages, defined as learning to participate in the various levels of organizations. . . " (Parsons 1959: 30). In the first stage the individual learns to participate in the nuclear family (Parsons and Bales 1955). The second stage centers around the primary and secondary schools and the third stage revolves around higher education (Parsons 1963). Although Parsons analyzes the groups into which the person is being socialized as social systems in which "socializee" is a defined status, he is, nevertheless, more Freudian in his frame of reference than most sociologists. Parsons posits four phrases in the process of socialization into a group (and in psychotherapy), which are in the order of their occurrence (1) permissiveness, (2) support, (3) denial of reciprocity, and (4) manipulation of rewards (Parsons and Bales 1955: 38-39).

Sullivan, although a psychiatrist and basically a neo-Freudian, in his Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (1953), focuses more on child-other interaction than on parental training practices. He stresses the importance of "compeers" and teachers in the juvenile school-going period and the importance of a special chum in pre-adolescence. His term "significant other" has been widely adopted and with it the focus in the study of socialization has been expanded from the parent-child relationship to the child's relationship with a variety of "others" important to him.

The general trend within the second group of theorists, then, is to consider socialization a process about which general laws can be formulated regardless of the age of the person and the type of role into which he is being socialized. In a "Conference on Socialization through the Life Cycle" (Brim 1964) a group of social scientists made a preliminary outline of some of the important dimensions of socialization. They specified these as significant variables: (1) the formality of the relationship between the socializing agent and the person being socialized, (2) the group context of the person being socialized (whether the person is being socialized alone or as a member of a group, and whether the person or group being socialized is one of a series, passing through the socializing agency, or the only one of its kind), (3) the power and support in the socialization relationship (the degree to which the socializing agent exerts dominance or authority in his relationship to the person being socialized as against being permissive or democratic, and the degree to which there is a highly affective relationship between the socializing agent and the individual being socialized in contrast with one of low affectivity), and (4) the content of socialization (whether the emphasis is on learning the values and behavior expected in the role, the skills necessary to meet the role requirements, or the desirability of practicing the behavior in pursuit of the appropriate ends.

A concern with roles may be seen to dominate symbolic

interactionism and sociology in general, and "socialization" has become almost synonymous with "role-learning." Goffman's The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), in which an analogy with the dramatic performance is employed to emphasize the role-taking nature of man, is a particularly cogent example of the current focus on roles. Drama, however, and role-playing in general are more nearly extensions of "play" than of the "game" as these terms were used by Mead. It seems that in the development of symbolic interactionism, the game analogy has not been fully exploited.

The playing of "games" requires a greater conception of the organized whole than does the dramatic performance. Furthermore, competition is much more crucial to the "game," than it is to the dramatic performance. A theory of socialization based on "game" playing could be developed, in which the focus would be on the kind of "game" or system which is being learned rather than on the type of role which is being learned. Such "games" might be categorized in terms of the organization of the players or in terms of the rules for competition. Some of the types of "games" played in economic competition have been studied in game theory, and the approach to game typing used in game theory suggests several types of games which are also analogous to various sorts of social competition (von Neumann and Morgenstern 1953). It is suggested that an analysis of the "games" people play would prove more fruitful for the study of the dynamics of social stratification, and

the exercise of political power and social control than "dramaturgical analysis" has proven.

In summary, the culture and personality theorists have focused on cultural variation in childhood training practices and on the effects of specific childhood training practices on the development of personality. The symbolic interactionists, taking many of their theoretical formulations from Cooley and G. H. Mead, have focused on the learning of new roles by persons of all ages. However, while Mead stresses the importance of "game" playing in the socialization process, the current emphasis on role-taking stresses the play-like aspects of social organization to the partial exclusion of the game-like aspects.

The present discussion of socialization in Pakistan employs many of the concepts of symbolic interactionism. The three social systems in which the child has an important position: the domestic group, the classroom and the peer group, are each discussed in terms of the functions they have for the socialization of the child. An attempt has been made to discuss not only the roles which their members play, but also the conflicts of interest which are inherent in each of these groups.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

The purpose of this study is to provide a general overview of the patterns of socialization in Pakistan and to delimit problems for future field research. Because it is a pre-study, the approach has been adapted to the available subjects. The most appropriate subjects for the study of patterns of childhood socialization would have been those currently being socialized, the children, and the socializing agents most actively engaged in training them, their parents and teachers. There are, however, no Pakistani families in this area. Therefore, Pakistani students studying at Michigan State University were asked to provide recollections of their childhood experiences.

Sample Size

During Fall and Winter Quarters, 1963-64, there were eighteen students from Pakistan studying at Michigan State University. Attempts were made to reach each of these students and to arrange for an interview. Interviews were conducted with fourteen of the students. Of the four who were not interviewed, one student could not be reached, one refused to be interviewed and the other two broke appointments and could not be reached to make further

appointments before they left the university. Two additional Pakistani citizens in the community, men who were formerly students at Michigan State and who continue to associate with the student group, were also interviewed. The total number of persons interviewed was thus sixteen. Each of these informants was interviewed once and five of them were interviewed a second time, thus making a total of twenty-one interviews.

Sample Characteristics

Of the sixteen informants, fourteen are male and two are female. They range in age from twenty to thirty-five years, with most of them in their middle or late twenties. All of the informants are Muslims, ten from West Pakistan and six from East Pakistan. Most of them spent their childhoods in what is now Pakistan although several spent some portion of their childhoods in what is now India. All of the informants, however, grew up in the larger culture area of South Asia and, in fact, in the northern half of the sub-continent.

In contrast to the general population these students are from the middle and upper classes to which less than ten percent of the people of Pakistan belong. Many are upwardly mobile within the middle class and will, upon their return, have higher positions than their parents have had. Again in contrast to the general population, most of these students are from urban areas whereas ninety percent

of Pakistan's population lives in rural communities. Those informants who are the sons of rural landowners spent their early years in the village, but went to school in the city and returned to the village only for vacations after they entered school. Clearly the educational attainment of these students is above that of the general population of which only twenty percent is literate. Of the sixteen informants, only one is an undergraduate. The remaining fifteen are working on graduate degrees or in the cases of the two ex-students, have finished them. The educational attainment of the informants generally exceeds that of their fathers, many of whom were educated in the traditional madrasahs. These students form an unrepresentative sample not only because of their high socio-economic and educational statuses, but also because they are living in a foreign culture, an experience which may, indeed, bias their reflections on their childhood experiences. Thus, this sample of informants differs from the general population in many important respects, an unfortunate but necessary condition in this type of preliminary research.

Data Gathering

Each of the informants was interviewed separately in a small office on campus. Each of these interviews was tape recorded. The tape recorder was set up before the informant arrived and was placed on the floor out of his direct vision. A small microphone was placed on the table

between the informant and the interviewer. The informant was not required to hold or wear the microphone nor was he instructed to speak particularly clearly. It was thus hoped to minimize the resistance which the tape recorder might create and which might discourage the respondent from making disclosures about himself. After a brief period of introduction in which an attempt was made to establish rapport, the informant was asked if it would be all right to record what he said. He was told that the material was confidential, that the recording was being made to obtain an accurate record of what he said, and that he would not be identified in any material which was used in the thesis. Each of the informants gave his permission for the recording, although three repeated the request that the material be kept confidential.

The interviews were open ended. Each respondent was asked to tell about his childhood. He was asked to start with whatever occurred to him first, and the interview proceeded from this point. The informant was sometimes asked to explain a particular statement further, but for the most part comments by the interviewer were not intended to direct the conversation. Specific and detailed questions were avoided and there was no order in which topics were to be covered.

There was some tendency for the informants to consider the interview from a psychological perspective. Many seemed to be aware of the current psychological premise

that the problems of adulthood have their roots in early childhood. They tended to focus on their problems and to discuss their childhoods mainly in relation to these problems. Unfortunately, at the elementary level of this inquiry more information was needed about the everyday lives of the informants and less about crisis situations.

It should also be noted that no precise upper or lower age limits were set on the period of the informant's life which was to be discussed. The informants tended to concentrate on their adolescent years and gave more information about college and university activities than about their earlier years.

Data Analysis

Each of the interviews was transcribed from the tape recording. Copies of these transcriptions and notes made on rehearing the tapes were cut and categorized according to the "significant others" to whom reference was made and according to recurrent topics. In the following chapters an attempt is made to isolate important aspects of the socialization process as it appears in these interviews. There is reference to current research when it appears to support or to contradict particular aspects of the interviews. These findings are presented primarily as hypotheses to be investigated in future research. The small sample size and the fact that the sample is not representative of the general population of Pakistan makes accurate generalization problematic.

CHAPTER III

THE DOMESTIC GROUP

The domestic group is composed of those persons who reside in a single household and eat food prepared in a single cooking center (kitchen, rānnāghar). In most of Pakistan the domestic group consists of:

1) the oldest male in a patrilineal descent line,
2) all of his adult male descendants,
3) the wives and minor children of the men in categories (1) and (2), and
4) the wives and minor children of deceased men included in categories (1) and (2).

The oldest male has jural authority over the members of his domestic group. He controls the resources allotted to the domestic group, particularly agricultural land. His sons inherit his land and other property upon his death. Generally, his daughters are married and leave to reside in the domestic group of their husband shortly after reaching puberty.

Following the life cycles of its members, the domestic group passes through phases in what Fortes (1958) has called its developmental cycle. Three types of family organization based on the number and relationships of the adult male members follow one another in cyclical fashion in the patrilineal, patrilocal domestic group defined above. These are (1) the joint family between a father and his

married sons (and their dependents), (2) the joint family among brothers (and their dependents), and (3) the nuclear family (Nicholas, 1961). It should be noted that widowed mothers, sisters-in-law and daughters-in-law and their minor children may be included in each of these three phases of the domestic group without changing its classification according to this model. These phases in the developmental cycle have been defined according to male membership because it is the men who own and control most of the wealth of the domestic group in Pakistan. For different types of analysis sets of phases could be defined, based on the number of adult females and their relationships to one another, on the ages of the children or on other micro-demographic characteristics of the domestic group.

The joint family between a father and his married sons is normally maintained until the father dies. The low life expectancy in South Asia means that in many cases the period in which there are three living generations is short and in some domestic groups this phase is, thus, non-existent (Cohn 1961: 1052). With increasing industrial employment one or more of the sons may be absent from the domestic group for much of the time. In such cases he ordinarily leaves his wife and children with his father while he is working in the city. The husband contributes at least part, and ideally all, of his salary to the joint budget for the maintenance of the entire domestic group. In return, he shares in his father's inheritance from which

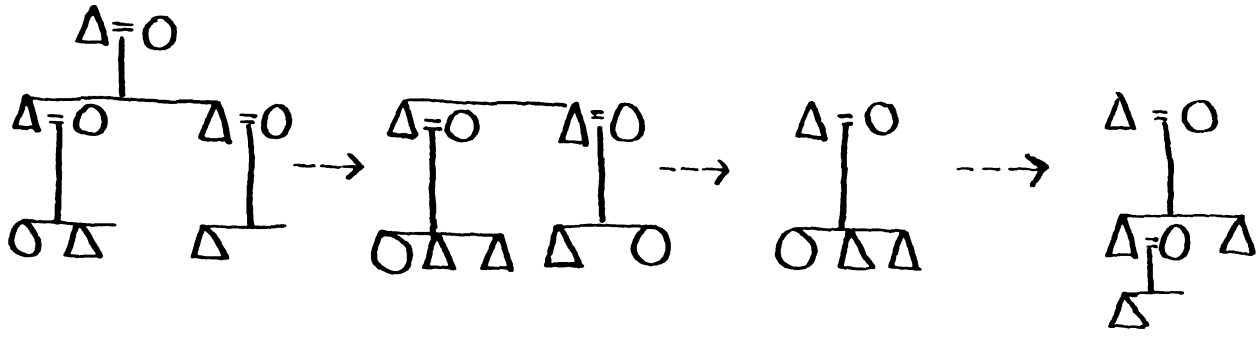
he might be excluded if he took his wife and children with him to the city.

The phase of the joint family among brothers begins when the father dies, if he had more than one son. This phase is a transitional and inherently unstable phase which ends with the partition of the property among the brothers and the division of the household or the construction of a new house for the seceding family. Its composition does not follow the rule given above since it includes at least two men in the oldest generation. Each of these brothers is entitled to an equal share of the property and although the oldest brother is the head of the domestic group and his wife has the authority to control household affairs, neither of them has any real sanctions at his disposal and it is difficult to enforce unwelcome decisions (Nicholas 1961: 1059). The factors which favor and oppose maintaining joint property and residence are discussed by Cohn (1961), Nicholas (1961) and Glasse (1965), and include the relative wealth of the domestic group, the number of adult women in the household, the social rank of the family and the degree of social isolation of the domestic group within the community. Even under the circumstances most conducive to joint family organization, however, the joint family among brothers rarely outlasts the lives of the brothers to become a joint family among patrilateral parallel cousins.

The phase of the nuclear family begins with the partition of the property among brothers, or with the death

Figure 1

The Developmental Cycle of the Domestic Group in Pakistan

Phase in the Developmental Cycle	Joint Family Between a Father and His Married Sons	Joint Family Among Brothers	Nuclear Family	Joint Family Between a Father and His Married Sons
Diagram of Family Structure				
Transitional Event	Father's Death	Partition of Property	Marriage of Son	

of the father in a joint family between a father and his only son. It continues until one of the sons in the family marries, at which time the domestic group again takes the form of a joint family between a father and his married sons. It may be noted that when the joint family among brothers breaks up, the result is not necessarily nuclear families. One or two nuclear families may detach themselves, leaving a smaller joint family behind (Glasse 1965: 5).

Role Relationships

In order to study the changing pattern of control within the domestic group, the complex network of interpersonal relationships may be divided into a series of paired role relationships. A general statement may then be made about the relative power of the two related roles.

> A's control of B's behavior (or A's power over B) is directly related to A's propensity to reward B.

In any relationship between two persons, A and B, power is not exclusively the possession of one of the persons; B's control of A's behavior is, likewise, directly related to B's propensity to reward A. Indeed, the distribution of power between the two may be grossly unbalanced, but if B had no power whatsoever, there would be no reason for A to control B.

This proposition about the relationship between power and the ability to reward reflects Homans' discussion of authority in Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (1961).

Homans' interest is in authority or influence which is acquired through voluntary interaction rather than through inheritance or other processes of allocation which do not require individual effort. Homans is not specifically interested in power which is the result of economic dominance, but he states that he considers his theory compatible with economic theory. In the domestic group authority is inherited and the rewards at the disposal of its members include material goods and other forms of economic reward. Thus, consideration of economic reward is an important part of an analysis of power in the domestic group. Homans' theory is cited because it provides a general frame of reference for the explanation of many types of behavior. A parsimonious and general set of theorems, such as Homans offers, may be adapted for a particular study while also providing for the integration of that study with the general body of research.

Productive resources may be thought of as being of several types: (1) labor, (2) motivation, (3) skills, (4) knowledge, (5) fertility, (6) capital and (7) office. The items on this list are quite varied, and yet all of them are assets through the use of which the individual may increase his power and hence his control over others. Each of these types of resources is transmitted to the child in an orderly process which is determined by the child's stage in the life cycle. Through the provision of the basic necessities of life (food, shelter, human interaction),

the parent makes it possible for his child to grow into a physiologically mature adult capable of performing labor. The provision of such nurturance is especially emphasized in infancy and early childhood. After that the child is increasingly expected to contribute his labor to the pool of family resources. The creation of the desired pattern of motivation also has high priority during infancy. In this process the basic drives of the infant are gradually transformed "into secondary desires for human values and finally to more specific cultural values" (Brim 1964: 5). Training in the skills necessary for adult occupational performance and the transference of knowledge through formal education are emphasized during later childhood and in adolescence. Reproductive rights are transferred to the individual at the time of his marriage or at the consummation of the marriage if the child is married before puberty. Control over the use of capital and rights to office are the last resources to be transferred to the individual and may be retained by the parent until his death.

Each adult is responsible for the transmission of certain resources to the members of the succeeding generation. In accordance with the basic proposition about the relationship between control and the ability to reward, stated above, it is hypothesized that at any particular time in the child's life, the parent's control over him is directly related to the value of the resources which the parent has not yet transmitted to him but which he is

expected to transmit in the future.

The Father-Son Relationship

The major steps in the sequence of the son's acquisition of the power of an adult man are the attainment of physical maturity, entrance into an occupation, access to the reproductive capacity of women, and finally ownership of capital. The father provides for the maintenance of his son during his childhood, but does not directly feed or care for him. The father is, however, directly responsible for training his son in the skills and knowledge necessary to fulfill an adult male occupational role. The father also has the responsibility for arranging his son's marriage, and thus for granting his son access to the reproductive capacity of a woman. The most pervasive source of the father's control over his son, however, appears to be the control over land and other capital which the father retains until his death.

According to the hypotheses stated above, it is predicted that if a father is a laborer and is not skilled in any trade or profession and also does not own land, his control over his son will decrease markedly after his son has become physically mature and after he is married. If the father is a skilled worker or craftsman, but does not own land, his control over his son is expected to decrease markedly after his son is mature, has completed his training and is married. Among the traditional craftsmen and skilled laborers the age at which the son reaches physical

maturity and the age at which he completes his training are so nearly the same that there may be little reason to make a distinction. However, among the professional classes higher education continues up to ten or even more years beyond physical maturity, and the additional period of dependence upon the father created by the greater length of training appears to be significant. Marriage is frequently postponed until the son's education has been completed, and the father's control over his son's marriage appears to be an added factor in lengthening the son's dependence. For example, although most of the subjects interviewed for this study have almost completed their formal educations, and although most are being supported by sources outside the domestic group (mainly government and foundation scholarships), the fathers of these informants may still manipulate their behavior partially through control over their marriages. The most significant retention of the father's control over his son, however, appears to occur where a large portion of the son's potential income depends upon his gaining the use of capital over which his father has control. Thus, the peasant son whose father owns land, often remains dependent on his father well into adulthood. Certain inheritable rights, such as the seyp or contract to work for a particular zamindar family which the kammi son inherits from his father, may also serve to make the son dependent upon his father well into adulthood. Among the upper classes commercial or industrial stock is another

form of capital which the son expects to inherit from his father, and through which the father can control his son's behavior. But whatever form of capital the father owns, if it forms a major portion of the son's potential income, it is predicted to increase considerably the son's dependence upon his father.

In addition to the sources of control just discussed, for which a rather definite period of transfer from father to son can be established, the father appears to have further control over his son through the pervasive influence of his social status within the community. In a culture in which the individual's ascribed characteristics have a relatively great importance in comparison with his achieved characteristics, the position the individual occupies within his family is central. The son who maintains himself in good standing within the domestic group and particularly with his father is accorded a general social position similar to that of his father. This social position appears to be a function of the length of time the father has been known in the community, his general reputation, and the number and quality of his affiliations with other members of the community, as well as the general position of his kinship group and caste.

It should also be remembered that even though the adult son is dependent upon his father, the son may also use his labor and whatever skills he has acquired to reward his father. During the father's old age he may be dependent

on his son for support. Consequently, if the son can expect to get an equal or higher income elsewhere, his threats to secede from the joint family may counterbalance his father's control over him. In summary, then, the relationship between a father and his son is a pivotal one in the domestic group in Pakistan. The patrilineal father has not only the domestic and parental roles of provider and educator, but also rights over his son's inheritance which are enforceable by judicial sanction (Fortes 1958: 13). Considering the magnitude of the father's responsibility and the concentration of the son's expectations, it is not surprising that interaction between father and son is characterized by respect and obedience.

The Father-Daughter Relationship

In the long run the father has less responsibility for his daughter and less control over her behavior than over his son's behavior. Just as with the son, the father's control over his daughter decreases as she grows older, and likewise, at any particular point in the daughter's life her father's control over her is hypothesized to be directly related to the value of the resources which the father has not yet transmitted to her (or to those who control her behavior, specifically her husband and his parents). In contrast to the father's responsibility for training his son, a father is not directly responsible for training his daughter in the skills necessary for her performance

of the adult female role. Only if his daughter is to have some formal education does the father assume a significant responsibility for her training. The major transfer of capital from father to daughter normally occurs at the time of her marriage when she is supplied with a dowry of household goods and personal property. According to Muslim property law, daughters are supposed to inherit half the portion which sons receive at the time of their father's death. In practice, however, daughters usually receive a dowry at the time of their marriage but do not share in the division of land or other immovable property (Wilber 1964: 124). This pattern may be changing with the greater enforcement and acceptance of the property law, so that daughters more often receive a portion of agricultural land either as dowry or as inheritance after the father's death (Eglar 1960: 186-89). Such changes, if they are widespread, may be expected to produce major changes in the relationship between a father and his daughters as well as in other relationships in the domestic group.

In the traditional pattern the father's control over his daughter decreases very markedly after her marriage. At marriage the jural authority over a girl is transferred from her father to her husband. The primary economic control over the girl, however, appears to be transferred from her father to the groom's father, and the actual supervision of the girl's labor in the household is then delegated by the groom's father to the groom's

mother, the girl's mother-in-law. The daughter's relationship with her father and with her natal home is, however, not completely severed at marriage. If the daughter is married during childhood, she may continue to reside in her parent's home until some time after she reaches puberty. Even after she goes to live permanently with her husband in his father's home, the daughter returns to her natal home for regular visits which may last several weeks. She returns for the birth of her first child and sometimes also for subsequent births (Eglar 1960).

Among the different regions of Pakistan there is considerable variation in the frequency and duration of a girl's visits to her natal home. In the Punjab, and to a lesser degree in Bengal, there appears to be frequent movement of a woman between her husband's home (saure) and her father's home (peke) (Eglar 1960: 81), whereas among the Pathans visits by a girl to her father's home are apparently much less frequent and of smaller consequence (Barth 1959: 39). It is hypothesized that the frequency of a daughter's visits to her natal home is directly related to the relative ability and inclination of her natal domestic group to reward her as compared with that of her husband's domestic group. It is further hypothesized that the propensity for the natal domestic group to reward her, and also to reward indirectly the members of her husband's domestic group, is demonstrated by the value of the dowry which the girl brings at the time of the marriage and of

the value of the presents which she brings with her after visits to her natal home. However, not only positive rewards, but also negative rewards, or punishments, should be considered. Thus, the assignment of an excessive amount of work by her mother-in-law, beatings by her husband or other grievances may make the natal domestic group appear more rewarding to the woman, and a sudden unplanned departure to her natal home appears to be a culturally understood form of protest by a wife or daughter-in-law.

The Mother-Child Relationship

The mother generally has less responsibility for transmitting economic resources to her children and consequently fewer real sanctions with which to enforce her decisions than does the father. She must, therefore, rely much more on personal influence and affection to get her will than the father must. The mother is responsible for the physical care of both her sons and daughters. She is also responsible for training her daughter in the skills she will need to manage a household, and because of this responsibility the mother may expect a fairly high degree of obedience from her daughter. In the mother-son relationship, on the other hand, after infancy the son may even have somewhat greater control over his mother than she has over him. The birth of a son is in many ways the mother's ticket to respect in her husband's household, and after her husband's death the mother will be dependent on her

son for support. For such reasons, then, the son's requests are generally honored, and two informants reported that even when they stole money from them, their mothers did not complain to the boys' fathers.

The Father-Mother Relationship

The basic tenor of the specific parent-child relationships is set by the relationship between the husband and wife. It is hypothesized that the husband's control over his wife's behavior is directly related to the proportion of her potential income which he provides. In the early years of marriage when his parents dominate the household, the relationship between husband and wife is almost exclusively a sexual one. The mother-in-law, getting her authority from her husband, controls most other aspects of the girl's behavior, just as the father controls most aspects of his son's behavior. Thus, the son's economic dependence on his father, which results in his continued residence in his parents' household, also results in the control of his wife by his mother. The strength of the relationship between his wife and her natal domestic group, discussed previously, also minimizes the control which the husband may exert over his wife. A third factor which may operate to minimize the husband's control over his wife is the control over resources which the wife herself maintains. In the lower castes where the wife may have a specific occupation, such as midwife, or where she participates

directly in the field work, it is predicted that the wife will have considerable power, and hence, an effective voice in decision making within the domestic group. On the other hand, in agricultural households and among the middle and upper classes in urban areas where the wife is kept in purdah, her actual and potential resources are ordinarily very small in proportion to those of her husband, and he, therefore, may be expected to have considerable control over her after his father's death. In such well-to-do households the wife's main sources of power appear to be the control she has over herself as a sexual object and her access to rewards from her natal domestic group and she may use these to gain a voice in particular household decisions.

The parental roles of the husband and wife are also strongly influenced by the specific phase of the developmental cycle through which the domestic group is passing. In the joint family the father appears to have less influence on the conduct of domestic affairs than he does in the nuclear family. It appears that most of the father's interactions within the joint domestic group are with the other adult men rather than with his wife or children. The mother, in these circumstances, appears to have more direct responsibility for the children and is more likely to deliver admonitions and minor punishments and to issue permissions herself. In the nuclear family, on the other hand, the father appears more likely to maintain direct

control over his children's activities. This appears to be partially a function of the smaller size of the nuclear family as compared to the joint family and of the resulting intensification of each of the relationships (Bossard 1956: 310). Another important factor is that the father in the nuclear family has been released from his earlier dependence on his own father and is now free to exert his increased power over his wife and children (Wilber 1964: 124). Still another factor to be considered is that the children in the nuclear family are likely to be older than those in the joint family because in the normal developmental cycle of the domestic group in Pakistan the phase of the nuclear family generally occurs after the death of a man's father and before his own children become adults. As a consequence, the boys, in particular, are likely to spend much of their time outside the home and, thus, beyond the control of their mothers who are confined to the courtyard. The father must, therefore, assume a greater responsibility for directing and disciplining his sons.

Sibling Relationships

Relative age is an important criterion in determining the nature of any relationship between siblings. Terms of respect are often used in addressing an older sibling, even though he may be only a year or two older, whereas younger siblings may on occasion be called by name. At least during childhood the older brother has the authority

to request favors from his younger brother and may under certain circumstances (which require further study for more precise specification) punish him. The authority of the older brother appears to be considerably greater where there is a relatively large difference in the ages of the two brothers, but even among brothers who are similar in age, physical strength and educational status at least minimal deference is generally accorded to the older brother. After the father's death the oldest brother inherits the father's authority in matters relating the joint family to the community, and this position in the succession of authority within the domestic group appears to be the source of the oldest brother's control over his siblings. However, as has been pointed out previously, the father's property is divided equally among his sons, and thus, the oldest brother has no real power to enforce decisions. The competition which develops for land and other resources often leads to very strained relations among adult brothers.

Younger sisters are also expected to show respect for their older sisters, but the oldest sister appears to have less authority over her younger sisters than the oldest brother has over his younger brothers. Rivalry among sisters may revolve around differential treatment by their father and brothers and particularly around the relative sizes of the dowries and of the gifts which they take back to their saures. Married sisters may also compare the value of the jewelry and clothing which their husbands have given

them and the relative social positions of their husbands' families.

Traditionally the relationship between brother and sister has been one of the warmest in the domestic group. "At best, the brother is protective and confidential with his sister, sharing with her some of his experiences outside the household, while she for her part tells him the gossip of the other women, ministers to his food preferences, and intercedes in his behalf with their parents" (Wilber 1964: 126). During adulthood the woman's brother's home is a vacation spot where she is relieved from the drudgery of housework and where she receives presents which enhance her status in her husband's household. Traditionally the sharp separation of male and female roles appears to have prevented competition between brothers and sisters. Two current changes, however, seem likely to result in increased competition between these two roles. One of these changes is the greater adherence to the laws giving women full rights to inheritance; the other is the greater entrance of girls into formal education. Both inheritance and education involve an allocation of scarce resources and hence, are inherently competitive.

The Child's Relationship to the Larger Kin Group

Eglar (1960) has very aptly described the relationship of the child to the relatives with whom he comes in contact from an early age.

> As the child grows up, he soon learns that the household and the village he lives in are his dadke--his father's father's place--while the household and the village he frequently visits with his mother are his nanke--the place of his mother's parents. . . .
>
> Dadke is the child's own village, its parents' home. Here is most of the family land and here live most of his biraderi, his paternal uncles and cousins, whose number and unity add power and prestige to his family and who are the first to come together and to help on special occasions.
>
> Nanke is cherished throughout life. It is the place where a child is supposed to be treated with great affection and indulgence. From early childhood when one visits one's mother's family one is given much love, and when one returns home one is given sweets and new clothes to take back. When a boy marries, his mother's brother gives him a substantial gift; when a girl marries, part of her dowry comes from her nanke (Eglar 1960: 80).

The mother's relatives are not only a source of presents and good times; they also present standards by which the child may measure his own performance and that of his parents. In meeting his maternal cousins whom he has not seen for several months the child is presented with an opportunity to compare his recent growth and accomplishments with those of his cousins. The contrast between the way he remembers his cousins and the way they appear upon renewed acquaintance seems likely to direct the child's attention to changes within himself. Any differences in the development patterns of the various children is likely to be further emphasized as the mother and her brothers' wives compare their children. In this respect the members of the mother's kin group seem to serve the function which Bossard (1948: 221-61) attributes to the guest in the

American household. In fact, guests in Pakistan are normally addressed by kinship terms and are expected to interact with the domestic group as a kinsman would.

Conclusion

The domestic group is a very complex institution which includes a wide variety of roles and types of interaction, only a few of which have been discussed here. The focus in this chapter has been on the relative power involved in the different role relationships. Further research on relationships within the domestic group must focus on the effects of particular stages of the developmental cycle on the quality of specific relationships. Bossard's (1956) study of the large family system provides an example of the effects of one structural variable on family relationships. However, in analyzing the domestic group in Pakistan it will be necessary to consider not only the effects of a varying number of a children, but also the number of adults and their relationships to one another.

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Formal Organization

"Pre-university education in Pakistan as a whole is divided into the following stages:

Stage	Duration	Age
Primary	5 years	5+ to 10+
Middle	3 years	10+ to 13+
High	2 years	13+ to 15+
Intermediate	2 years	15+ to 17+"

(Pakistan 1960: 115).

In Classes I through X there is one general curriculum with few variations offered. Students are promoted on the basis of their performance on annual examinations given by the local school. Following the completion of the tenth class, there is a nationwide "matriculation" examination. Those who pass this may enter a two year intermediate program (Classes XI and XII). At the intermediate level a choice is made among arts, science, commerce and several specialized curricula. The completion of the twelfth class is marked by another nationwide examination, the "intermediate" examination. Those who pass it may proceed for a Bachelor's degree. In the college a major is chosen and thereafter the majority of the courses taken are in the major field. Colleges in Pakistan offer two types of

Bachelor's degree, the "pass" for the terminal student and the "honors" for the student who expects to continue his education. Bachelor's programs generally require two years beyond the intermediate examination, though many are being expanded to three and even four year programs. Colleges are under the jurisdiction of universities which are responsible for preparing and evaluating the final Bachelor's examinations (Pakistan 1960: 42-44).

Efforts to upgrade the quality of education in Pakistan have included several changes in the organization of the system. As part of the Second Five-Year Plan jurisdiction over the intermediate program was transferred from the universities to the boards of secondary education (Pakistan 1961: 340). The middle classes (VI through VIII), which were formerly lumped with the high school classes (IX and X) as secondary education, are referred to as "junior high" classes in the Third Five-Year Plan. Secondary education now refers to Classes IX through XII (Pakistan 1964: 157-83). The first eight classes will be compulsory as soon as it becomes possible, with the emphasis in these classes on producing functional literacy. Class VIII is to be the terminal level for students not proceeding to the matriculation examination.

Education in Pakistan is not exclusively a government effort. "The private sector has in the past played an important role in the advancement of education. Most of the existing primary and secondary schools and some of

the colleges were established through private effort" (Pakistan 1961: 341). The government continues to rely on private sources for the establishment of additional schools and the education of a large portion of the population.

Some primary schools, private and public, are coeducational. At the secondary level, however, almost all schools have separate classes for each sex or are exclusively boys' or girls' schools. Only at the university level are classes again coeducational.

Although there are many outstanding exceptions, in general, teachers are inadequately trained, are poorly paid and have little prestige. This is especially true at the primary level. There are often too few texts and supplementary reading materials. Classes are large, often including more than fifty pupils even at the primary level (Pakistan, 1960: 259, 265-66).

Less than half (45%) of the children in the primary age group (6-11) presently attend school. Less than one-fifth continue into the middle classes (Pakistan 1964: 162). At every level the number of male students far exceeds that of female students. "It has been estimated that in the last year of the Second Plan period the ratio of female to male students is 1:3, 1:6 and 1:7 at the primary, secondary and higher education levels respectively" (Pakistan 1964: 178). Facilities for both primary and secondary education are being rapidly increased. A goal of seventy

percent attendance among those in the primary age group has been set in the Third Five-Year Plan (Pakistan 1964: 162). It seems unlikely that this goal will be reached in view of the slow rates of increase in attendance over the past ten years. However, even if this goal is achieved, the school is not a social system in which all children may be expected to participate in the near future.

Goals

The primary goal within the educational system appears to be good performance on the annual examinations and particularly on the nationwide examinations. Rewards for educational achievement seem to be given almost exclusively on the basis of performance on these tests. Entrance into each successive class depends on passing the final examination over the work of the preceding class. Employment opportunities are directly related to one's score on the matriculation, intermediate or B.A. examinations. Thus, the rewards and goals are generally consonant.

The Commission on National Education, however, has criticized the narrowness of this orientation and has stressed the need for much more inclusive educational goals.

> The present system of evaluation is confined to intellectual attainments and is based on written examinations conducted by the schools at the end of every term. These are hardly more than formalities and are not taken very seriously by either the pupil or the teacher, and there is no attempt to base promotion through the year on an objective and comprehensive assessment of the work done throughout the year.

> On the other hand, the public examinations held at the end of classes X and XII are taken too seriously and absorb the entire attention of the teachers and school authorities. Their short-comings are notorious: they consist solely of written tests in which success can be achieved through mere memorization, and practically no effort is made to test the pupil's intelligence, and no credit is given for the work done during the two years' course covering the examination curriculum. This completely destroys any incentive to study until "E-Day" looms near, for it is too distant a goal to encourage sustained effort over a long period. The few weeks beforehand are then spent in an orgy of cramming. The whole effect is to undermine school discipline and to arrest the development of character (Pakistan 1960: 122-23).

In contrast with this situation the Commission advises that evaluation of the student " . . . must cover not only his intellectual but also his moral, social and physical growth" (Pakistan 1960: 122). Correspondingly, it has established a set of broad objectives for each level of education. The inclusiveness of these new goals may be seen in the set for the primary level.

> Primary education should be designed to:
> (a) make a child functionally literate;
> (b) develop all aspects of his personality, moral, physical, and mental;
> (c) equip him with the basic knowledge and skills required of an individual and a citizen and prepare him for further education;
> (d) arouse a sense of civic responsibility, love for his country, and willingness to contribute to its development;
> (e) develop the habits of industry, integrity, and curiosity; and
> (f) awaken a liking for physical activity and sports and games (Pakistan 1960: 183).

These new goals, however, are not likely to be accepted unless the rewards of the system are made conditional on their acceptance. Thus, in accordance with the effort

to reduce the emphasis on the matriculation and intermediate examinations, the Committee recommends that twenty-five percent of the final evaluation be based on classroom performance including performance on bi-weekly tests over recently covered material. In the effort to increase the teachers' interest in creating the desired student attitudes and values, there are to be accelerated promotions and special increments for teachers who receive good evaluations. Any large scale manipulation of teacher salaries to promote the nationally recommended methods of teaching seems, however, a dim prospect with present salaries both inadequate and locally controlled and with no practical means of widespread evaluation based on the new expanded goals. The "class examination pass percentage," thus, seems likely to remain the primary standard of teacher evaluation for some time (Pakistan 1960: 129).

Role Relationships

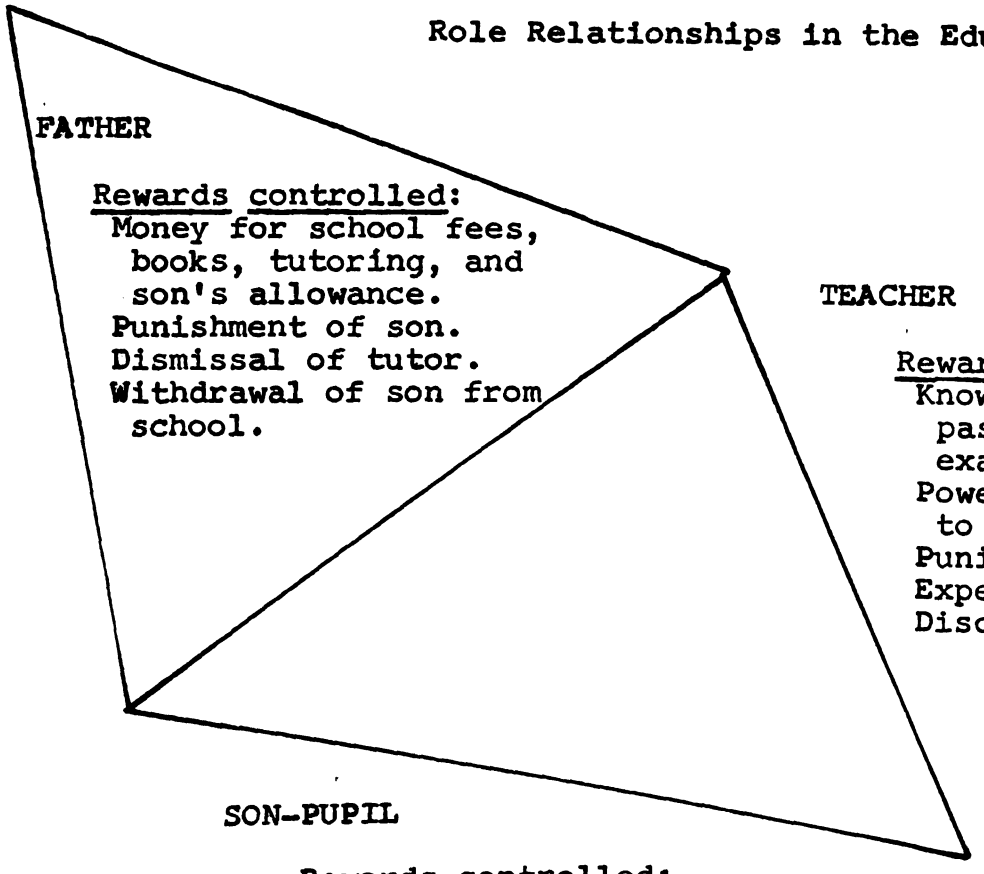
This analysis focuses on students who, like the informants, belong to the urban middle and upper classes. Such students are being educated for professional and business occupations and hence, have a long term commitment to the educational system. It must be remembered that this type of student is not representative of the members of his age group in Pakistan. It should also be noted that this analysis is concerned with pre-university education and particularly with the primary and middle school years.

The diagram on the next page shows the three principal actors in the local educational system: the teacher, the pupil and the pupil's guardian, who is usually his father. Each actor controls certain rewards which another expects to receive for the performance of his role. In making arrangements for his son to enter school, the father initiates the action. In many cases he pays the teacher both the standard tuition fee and, in addition, money for tutoring his son after regular school hours. Thus, the teacher is dependent on the fathers of his pupils for his salary. The teacher, however, has specialized knowledge which the father wants his son to learn. The teacher may also have the final authority over whether the child passes a given class, although not over his score on the matriculation or later examinations. The father exercising his responsibility for his son, sends him to school. The father also punishes his child if he skips school or if his performance does not meet the father's expectations. Although the son is clearly subordinate, the transaction between his father and the teacher, which is profitable to both of them, requires his obedience as well as his actual learning of the material being taught, and thus he has a slight control over the interaction. Moreover, in the long run, compliance in learning will bring the pupil independence and prestige in the community.

Father-Teacher Relationship. The father-teacher relationship, as any role-relationship, is strongly influenced

Figure 2

Role Relationships in the Educational System



FATHER

Rewards controlled:
Money for school fees, books, tutoring, and son's allowance.
Punishment of son.
Dismissal of tutor.
Withdrawal of son from school.

TEACHER

Rewards controlled:
Knowledge necessary for passing courses and examinations.
Power to pass the child to the next class.
Punishment of pupil.
Expelling pupil.
Discontinuing tutoring.

SON-PUPIL

Rewards controlled:
Respect.
Obedience.
Attention to studies.
Learning and good performance on examinations.

CLASSMATE

Rewards controlled:
Cooperation.
Support.
Friendship.
Limited knowledge or predictions of information needed.

by the relative ranks in the community social structure of the two particular role incumbents. The fathers of the subjects interviewed for this study, most of whom are in the middle and upper classes, generally have higher ranking positions than their children's elementary and in most cases also their secondary school teachers. The greater power associated with their higher positions results in a likelihood that the father will tend to dominate any interaction with the school teacher. Accordingly, it is hypothesized that the probability of the father dominating in interaction with his child's teacher is directly related with the magnitude of the difference in their status ranks.

The actual exercise of a father's power over his child's teacher, however, also seems to be inversely related to the structural separation between the domestic and educational systems. As an illustration of what is meant by structural separation, a public school system in which salaries are paid from tax funds and teachers are hired by a school board involves a much greater structural separation between the domestic group and the educational system than is present when a large landholding family hires a teacher to instruct its sons. In Pakistan the practice of hiring the teacher for private tutoring seems to result in a relatively low degree of separation between these two systems, especially at the elementary school level. Even in fairly large private schools and in public schools, the teacher's salary is generally insufficient to support him and his

family. The teacher supplements his salary by providing tutoring in the homes of well-to-do students. In doing this, the teacher seems particularly dependent on the fathers of his pupils, whereas the father has gained a certain measure of control in the educational system.

Among the lower socio-economic classes of the population where the teacher holds a higher position than the fathers of his pupils and where parents cannot afford private tutoring for their children, the relationship between father and teacher may be expected to be quite different. Particularly if the educational system can offer the child occupational opportunities beyond what he can expect to get from his father, the father's power over his child is hypothesized to be considerably reduced.

Teacher-Pupil Relationship. The principal reward which the teacher controls is knowledge. Under ideal circumstances the child's curiosity and eagerness to learn, reinforced by the importance his father attaches to education and the teacher's active interest in presenting new information combine to form an atmosphere of intellectual pursuit. Often, however, the student does not appear eager to learn, yet his parents require him to remain in school. Even the student who is motivated to perform well on the final examinations may show little interest in what the teacher says if the final examination requires only the verbatim repetition of the material from a few specified text books.

> Prevailing teaching methods can only be described as the mechanical communication of theoretical book-learning to reluctant children. Too much stress is laid on memorization and far too little on initiative, independence of thought, habits of industry, imaginative use of knowledge and self-reliance (Pakistan 1960: 112).

Teachers appear to be unaccustomed to the extensive use of positive inducements to study, and as many of their students are not sufficiently motivated by the continued presentation of material to be memorized, the teacher in the typical classroom appears to rely mainly on punishment and the threat of punishment to maintain order and keep his pupils busy studying.

The various classroom punishments described by the subjects interviewed for this study as well as the punishments reported by a sample of fifty-three teachers in the Lyallpur area (Smitter and Dar 1957: 123-27) may be considered according to the nature of the insult delivered by the teacher. The first and apparently most common type is corporal punishment. In this type the teacher retaliates with a direct physical attack against the offender. Included as corporal punishment are slapping, hitting, beating and caning the pupil and pulling his ears.

In the second type of punishment the offending pupil is separated from the rest of the class and required to remain in a particular posture for an extended period. Maintaining that posture may be physically tiring and somewhat punitive. The main element of punishment, however, seems to derive from the fact that the offender is conspicuous

to the rest of the class and to anyone who may pass by. This appears to create a feeling of shame from which the pupil is not allowed to retreat by removing himself. Variants of this type of punishment include requiring the pupil to stand or squat in front of the classroom, to stand on his bench or chair, to kneel keeping his back straight and to "make a cock." "Making a cock" is an interesting example of this type of shaming. The particular posture involved is not immediately apparent from its name and yet appears to be uniform over a fairly wide area, at least in West Pakistan. While squatting the pupil puts his hands between his legs from the back and holds his ears, a very tiring and very humiliating posture. The effects of such punishments, which appear to be common in schools in Pakistan, are obviously complex and much more research is needed on the effects of different types of punishment, both on their relative disruptiveness to classroom activities and on their psychological effects on the pupil.

However, in spite of the fact that in the daily classroom functioning, sanctions appear to be predominantly negative, some rewards are also used by most teachers. The rewards mentioned most often by the informants were for outstanding performance on the final class examination. The student within the class who receives the highest score is said to have "topped" the class. Among other ways, "topping the class" is recognized by personal certificates, "Honors Boards," and by tuition scholarships. Several of

the informants from West Pakistan mentioned a custom by which the pupil who makes the highest score on the final examination is designated "class monitor" for the coming year. The class monitor is assigned a variety of tasks by the teacher including that of being in charge of the class in the teacher's absence, preparing materials for the class, and even watering plants. As with punishment, the relative effectiveness of different types of rewards is a matter requiring considerable research. The question to be answered is how to manipulate the interaction among the students to maximize the amount of learning by each student including the highest and lowest achievers.

Pupil-Pupil Relationship. The social solidarity of a class group is hypothesized to be a function of the extensiveness of the interaction of its members. The school itself may sponsor extra-curricular activities which promote cohesiveness among the members of a class. School athletic teams, Boy Scout troops and other clubs are organized in many schools, although school sponsored activities appear to be relatively infrequent in elementary schools particularly in rural areas. It also appears that there is a greater cohesion among students in classes whose members also form voluntary peer groups outside school. Peer groups appear to be more likely to form when the school is a neighborhood school and when the students come from homogeneous socio-economic backgrounds. Peer groups appear to be less likely to form in cities where students from

well-to-do families may live at some distance from the school and from their classmates. Such well-to-do students are often taken to and from school by their fathers' drivers. Large, informal get-togethers of classmates are unlikely to occur in such circumstances where any after school activity requires special permission from each child's father and special arrangements for transportation.

Social distinctions between the students, as a group, and some perceived out-group may also contribute to a sense of social solidarity among the members of a school. For example, in villages the distinction between school boys and boys who do not go to school, reinforced by differences in family power and prestige, may contribute to a "we" feeling among the school boys. Certain private schools pride themselves in having a select group of students or in producing a certain type of graduate. The school reputation becomes a rallying point for esprit de corps. Competition between the members of such school groups and outside groups contributes to the establishment and reaffirmation of that particular school group and maintains its boundaries against the surrounding social world (Coser 1956: 38).

Research

Research on education in Pakistan is needed and must be conducted, as the following statement from the Second Five-Year Plan indicates.

> The need for basic research in education is particularly urgent. The problems which require

> study are numerous. They include critical observation and analysis of the learning process; controlled experimentation in educational methods; study of sequential relationship between primary, secondary and higher educational stages; research in methods of measuring results within the educational process; and study of careers and performance in relation to educational attainment. Research is also called for in educational theory and psychology, child psychology and growth, curricular development, tests of aptitudes and intelligence, quality and content of text books, and in such practical fields as educational administration and the economics of education (Pakistan 1961: 345).

A number of questions of sociological interest requiring research in rural as well as urban areas are of particular interest. What are the socio-economic backgrounds of primary and secondary teachers? Are they typically upward or downward mobile, or socio-economically stationary? What were the occupational alternatives available to the present group of teachers? Do teachers typically return to their native community to teach or are they employed in communities in which they are initially strangers? These factors may be expected to be closely related to teachers' acceptance of such government supported attitudes as the dignity of labor and the need for mass education of all classes of the population. They may also be related to the political role of the teacher in the community and his influence over its members.

Does school attendance merely reaffirm the social position of the upper classes or is it also an avenue to socio-economic mobility? What are the effects of varying amounts of education for the individual? Specifically,

how is the number of years of education related to future income and to geographic mobility, particularly migration to urban areas? Is there a detectable difference in the effects of education on persons who were educated during different historical periods? Is there a discrepancy between the prestige acquired through education and the actual increase in income (Nair 1961: 145-59)?

In asking and answering such questions the researcher must examine the multitude of functions which the educational system serves in relating the individual to the community. The school is both an agency of socialization " . . . through which individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles [and] . . . from the point of view of the society, an agency of 'manpower' allocation" (Parsons 1963: 28-29).

CHAPTER V

THE PEER GROUP

A peer group is a primary group "characterized by intimate face-to-face associations and cooperation" (Cooley 1961: 315). In contrast to other groups the peer group is characterized by the similarity in age of its members and by the voluntary nature of their association. The focus in this chapter is on such voluntary associations among peers in the first part of the life cycle, particularly during late childhood and adolescence. An attempt will be made to analyze the functions of spontaneous age-graded interaction among children and adolescents in Pakistan.

The major proposition is that the peer group is the primary agency through which the individual is trained in the methods of political[1] or interpersonal influence. Not only training in interpersonal skills, but also evaluation of the individual's performance in interpersonal

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[1]Political power is obviously based in large part on economic dominance. However, within any group whose members have approximately equal economic power, certain members dominate on the basis of their skill in manipulating the group interaction so as to reward a larger number of their fellow members. Political influence, as it is used here, refers to skill in manipulating persons through the use of "social" rather than "material" rewards. (See Homans 1961)

relations takes place within the peer group. Beginning in childhood but particularly in adolescence, the members of the group are sorted by their peers into those who effectively exercise interpersonal or political influence and those who do not. By the end of the adolescent period the ranking of persons within an age grade according to interpersonal power closely resembles the ranking which will persist through adulthood.[2]

The allocation of adult occupations within the kinship and educational systems has been discussed in the two preceding chapters. By the assignment of occupational position, major limits are set on the economic power of the individual. The individual's "political" position in the community appears to be largely established through the evaluation of interpersonal skills in the peer group. These two dimensions of role allocation, "occupational" and "political," cross-cut one another in their ordering of the members of society. Thus, among persons having similar economic power there are some persons who demonstrate greater interpersonal influence than others in the same category.

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[2]In analyzing the American high school, Parsons describes a similar dichotomy between "two components of achievement," the "moral" and the "cognitive." "Moral achievement" corresponds to high political or interpersonal influence; "cognitive achievement" corresponds approximately to low interpersonal influence. "Those relatively high in 'cognitive' achievement will fit better in specific-function, more or less technical roles; those relatively high in 'moral' achievement tend towards diffuser [sic], more 'socially' or 'humanly' oriented roles" (Parsons 1963: 45).

This does not mean that there is not a positive relationship between economic and interpersonal power; in fact, persons who have greater economic power are also more likely to have greater interpersonal power. Nevertheless, the two types of power are distinguishable and moreover, they appear to be developed in different contexts within the total society.

Peer group activities may be categorized according to the types of training and experience in interpersonal relations which they provide. As is shown in the following diagram, peer group activities may be thought of as being differentiated according to the aspect of social organization which is being modeled and according to the degree of reality of the model.

Figure 3

Peer Group Activities

	System Modeling	Role Modeling
"Pure" Modeling	THE GAME	THE DRAMA
"Applied" Modeling	THE CLUB	THE "BULL SESSION" or THE FISHING TRIP

The basic difference between what has been designated here as "role modeling" and what has been designated as "system modeling" may be seen in its elementary form in the distinction Mead draws between "play" and the "game" (See Chapter I; and Mead 1956: 229-41). In play the emphasis is on perfecting the imitation and performance of

a specific role, whereas in the game the player must be simultaneously cognizant of the roles of all of the other players. In addition, he must know the object of the game, its rules, and its rewards and penalties. In short, the player of a game must comprehend a complete system of interaction, or in other words, a "social system." In role modeling the individual's attention is focused on the subtleties of a particular role or role relationship. Little attention is focused on the goal of the interaction or its rules, as is clearly illustrated in the theatrical production in which the climax is predetermined in the script and is not a consequence of the interaction among the actors.

The second dimension of peer group activity which has been isolated for discussion here differentiates between "pure" and "applied" modeling on the basis of the degree of "reality" of the interaction. For example, in the club the contest between two members aspiring for the presidency is real in the sense that the rules for competition are, for the most part, those of the society at large. The game is also a contest but the rules limit the nature of the competition much more closely. Likewise, the goals or purposes of the club are determined by the members to a much greater extent than is the goal of a game. In fact, many games have been passed down for generations with few alterations in either their rules or goals. In the other example of "applied" modeling, the "bull session," adolescents concentrate on learning and displaying their knowledge of the

adult male role. Conversation is focused directly on those aspects of adult male role behavior, such as sexual relations, smoking, and drinking, which are forbidden during adolescence but which the boy must be able to perform successfully upon reaching adulthood. On a fishing expedition away from the watchful eyes of neighbors and relatives, adolescent boys practice and exaggerate masculine role behavior. In contrast to such "applied" role modeling, the actors in a drama do not display their own knowledge of a role, but rather act out a previously formalized image. Like games, the themes of dramas and the heroes who are portrayed are often of ancient origin. Thus, in "applied" modeling there appears to be much more practice in actual interpersonal influence than in "pure" modeling. Likewise, the evaluation of the individual in "applied" modeling appears to be more closely related to the overall evaluation of his interpersonal skill than is the evaluation of his skill in "pure" modeling. The application of these proposed distinctions between "role" and "system" modeling and between "pure" and "applied" modeling will hopefully become clearer in the following discussion of the four "type-activities" which have been defined by these dimensions.

The Game

Games have been " . . . defined as a recreational activities characterized by organized play, competition, two or more sides, criteria for determining the winner, and

agreed-upon rules" (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962: 166). To distinguish the many types of activity included within this definition, Roberts, Arth and Bush have developed a classification of games according to the way in which the outcome is determined, whether by (1) the use of physical skill, (2) strategy, or (3) chance. Using this typology, these authors suggest that " . . . games of strategy are related to social systems, games of chance are related to religious beliefs, and that games of physical skill may be related to environmental conditions" (Roberts, Arth and Bush 1959: 604).

This game typology has been shown useful for making a certain kind of cross-cultural comparison. It is suggested, however, that the understanding of the functions which games play in the socialization process will be increased by considering not only the ways in which the outcome is determined but also the ways in which the players are organized in different games. Considering the organization of the players, then, games may be divided into (1) those in which teams compete as opposed to those in which individuals compete, and (2) those in which the number of sides is two as opposed to those in which there are more than two sides. Games with more than two sides may be divided into those in which a coalition among sides is permitted and those in which it is not. Among team games a further differentiation may be made according to the relative amount of role differentiation and the relative amount of rank

differentiation among the players on each team.

It appears that categorizing games according to the way the outcome is determined may be considerably modified by the introduction of these organization variables. For example, among games requiring strategy team games provide direct practice in interpersonal influence, which games requiring individual competition, like chess, do not provide. Team sports may well be more important for the training they provide in cooperative effort against an opponent than for the training they provide in the development of physical skills. The usefulness of each of these organization variables for demonstrating the functions of games played by different groups of children must be shown in future research. The following statements suggest the types of relationships which may be found in Pakistan.

Girls in Pakistan appear to play games much less frequently than boys. They do not compete in team sports or in other team games. Hopscotch and a game similar to "jacks" are popular among younger girls. Upper class girls may play many of the simpler board games with their siblings. In general, however, girls are not encouraged to engage in openly competitive games, and in the same manner, women should not quarrel or compete with one another. Those games which are played usually involve only a few girls. Similarly, both cooperation and competition among women appear to occur within groups of only two or three women, as among the daughters-in-law in the same household.

Games of lower class boys, in contrast to those of upper and middle class boys, appear to involve primarily individual rather than team competition. For example, marbles is said, by the informants, to be especially popular among lower class boys. Village sports teams are reported not to include lower class boys, nor are there often separate teams of lower class boys. This may be primarily because the equipment needed for team sports is quite expensive. On the other hand, there is less "team" effort among the lower class adults than among the upper class adults. Joint families are less common, and the son must, to a much greater extent, depend entirely upon himself for his income. Adults of the lower classes are also less likely to be involved in cooperative business enterprises or in governing councils which require joint action. Their supervisory and organizing activities are relatively few. Nevertheless, competition per se is not lacking within the lower classes, competition for even a subsistence level income may be very great and it is clearly important for the lower class child to learn to compete with those in his own economic class.

Roberts, Arth and Bush do not discuss the relationship between the ages of the players and the types of games played beyond noting that " . . . most games reported in the ethnographies are activities in which adults can participate" (1959: 597). In Pakistan the complexity of games appears to vary directly with the ages of the children by

whom they are played. Thus, younger boys are reported to play a variety of running, chasing, and hiding games, whereas older boys compete primarily in team sports such as cricket, soccer (football), and hockey. Likewise, younger boys play simpler indoor board and card games. Age is not only related to the complexity of the games played, but also, apparently because of complexity, to the type of games played. Thus, team games appear at a somewhat later age than games including individual competition. Among team games those with many roles appear later than those with few roles. Among the various card and board games, chance appears to be a greater factor in the games played by younger children. The child must master the concept of this type of non-physical, non-verbal competition before complex strategies can be acquired.

In summary, it has been proposed that games are natural models through which the child develops mastery of social systems. In addition to the current classification of games according to the way in which the outcome is determined, a further classification of games according to the organization of the players has been offered. Finally, some possible relationships between the types of games played by different groups of children in Pakistan and the social organization of the adult groups into which these children are being socialized have been suggested.

The Club

The most common type of adolescent club in Pakistan appears to be the athletic club, the manifest function of which is to organize the sports team. Other popular types of clubs are the dramatic society and the literary club. In each of these types of clubs, regardless of its expressed purpose, there appears to be considerable emphasis on formal organization and on the exercise of interpersonal power. In clubs with younger members the leaders gain experience in influencing their peers. In clubs of older adolescents and young men, the influence which the leaders exert may be used to sway opinion on local or even national political issues.

The description of a cricket club in a Punjabi village given by one of the informants illustrates the complexity of group organization which may occur at a relatively early age. This club, which existed while its members were in the fifth through the tenth class, had between eighteen and twenty-six members. It was organized by the informant and was named after him (Name's Cricket Club). This informant was the president of the club and the captain of the team throughout its duration. The other officers were vice captain, secretary, funds keeper (treasurer) and stores (equipment) keeper. These officers were elected annually, or more often if someone quit or moved away. Menial duties, such as sprinkling the playing field with water before games, were rotated among the members and each (including the

president) was required to take his turn. The dues of eight annas per week were collected by the treasurer and kept at his home. Additional funds were earned through the sale of tickets to plays, which were presented occasionally by the members of the club. The accumulated funds were spent primarily for sports equipment, but were occasionally used to buy prizes. Games were played with teams from other villages almost every weekend, usually on Sunday afternoon. The captain made the necessary arrangements with the captain of the other team and also selected the starting players from his own team.

Inter-village games appear to have provided the most frequent type of interaction between groups of adolescents in different geographic areas and hence to have performed an important linking function. However, this interaction, although initially friendly, often ended in open conflict. Fighting was said to start over disputes about rules or damaged or stolen equipment. The whole team often became involved in hand-to-hand fighting, until it became obvious which team was losing. The losing team then fled in mass. Fighting was reported most likely to occur after games between clubs whose members were of different social groups. The members of this Muslim Punjabi club were said to get in fights most frequently when playing teams from Hindu villages. Frequent fighting was also reported to occur between members of informal neighborhood sports clubs in a Bengal city. The neighborhoods were apparently segregated

according to the rural administrative district from which the residents came. Fighting occurred most frequently when the members of the two clubs came from different districts. Thus, the social cleavages which divide adult society are reflected in the inter-club relations of adolescents.

The social organization within adolescent clubs is also predicted to parallel that of the adult groups into which their members are being socialized. The relative tendency for the leadership of a club to be democratic or authoritarian is predicted to reflect a similar pattern of leadership among the adults. Unfortunately the interviews offer little information with which to test this hypothesis; clearly, further research must be done.

Direct adult supervision is noticeably lacking in the clubs which were described by the informants. Adult directed organizations such as Boy Scouts, although mentioned by three informants, were peripheral to the main current of adolescent as well as childhood group activity. This suggests that among boys of the upper classes the principles of group organization are sufficiently well understood, even before adolescence, that adult assistance is seldom needed. In a study done in the United States, the president in a club of middle class adolescents is shown to perform much the same role as the adult leader performs in a club of lower class adolescents (Maas 1960: 303). It is suggested that if clubs of lower class boys are organized in the schools or through development programs in

Pakistan, there will be a greater need for adult supervision than has been apparent in the clubs of upper class boys described by the informants. This is suggested on the assumption that lower class boys have less opportunity to learn about group organization because of a paucity of examples of adult groups and because of their lack of experience in group endeavors such as team sports.

The Drama

The play or drama is the formal counterpart of "play," and the two may be thought of as ends of a continuum. For the informal role copying of children to become organized into formal stage productions, such performances must be relatively highly evaluated by the adults of the community. In the dramatic productions which were described by the informants, the adult community not only provided the costumes for the actors, but also purchased most of the tickets and sometimes offered prizes for the best acting. The assignment of roles in the performance and of persons to find costumes and to sell tickets took place in the pre-existing clubs. The final assignment of roles appears to have been preceded by considerable maneuvering for position among the club members.

In most cases plays are apparently performed by actors of only one sex, and more often by boys. One Bengali informant, however, described a village program of skits and folk dances, in which numbers were performed alternately

by boys and girls. College dramatic societies were occasionally reported to be coeducational. Where this occurred, the presence of the girls, who were reported to have come from girls' colleges, contributed significantly to the popularity of these dramatic societies. Such coeducational societies appear to offer one of the few types of opportunities in the society for social interaction between boys and girls.

The "Bull Session" and the Fishing Trip

In informal gatherings the members of a peer group practice the behavior which will be required of them as young adults, in what has been designated here as "applied role modeling." For example, it was in the peer group that most of the informants learned to smoke. In fact, cigarette smoking is reported to be forbidden in the presence of one's elders, and is thereby exclusively a peer group activity during adolescence. Similarly, sex is reported to be a forbidden topic of conversation with one's elders. At least in this case, one's elders are specifically reported to include one's older brothers as well as the men of one's father's and grandfather's generations. The peer group, thus, appears to be the primary agency through which the boy receives knowledge about both sexual relations and reproduction. Within the peer group, knowledge about sex appears to be a positively rated attribute, so that several of the informants report surreptitiously buying books about

sex especially so that they would be knowledgeable when the topic arose in discussions with their friends. The sex education of girls may also begin through discussions with their friends or with their brother's wives. There appears, however, to be a greater likelihood of some more or less explicit information being given to the girl by her mother or grandmother. For the educated few, girls colleges apparently offer a class in female physiology and reproduction. In general, girls appear to receive more objective information but to have less opportunity to discuss this information with others.

Fishing expeditions and less frequently hunting trips offer the adolescent boy an opportunity which appears to have no parallel in the life of the ordinary Pakistani girl. On such trips boys can exercise their masculinity, away from their relatives and neighbors in front of whom they must present the deferential posture of a younger member of the society. Among their peers boys are evaluated on the basis of their fishing and hunting skills and the quality of this type of performance is considered in their overall evaluation within the peer group. In this respect, fishing and hunting trips appear to be especially important in binding a small group of friends together. It is hypothesized that cliques within the larger peer group are developed and reinforced particularly through mutual participation in activities like hunting and fishing which are more isolated from community observation and which require relatively great amounts of time.

Children without Peer Groups

About half of the informants had very few opportunities to participate in peer groups until after they entered college. These informants were from middle class families who lived in cities away from their kin. These informants' fathers were, for the most part, in jobs which involved frequent moves for the family and which also frequently required the father to be absent from the family on long trips. These same informants tended to go to schools which were some distance from their homes and they were generally not taken back to the school in the evening merely to participate in sports. They were further prevented from forming close associations with their classmates by parental admonitions against playing with children from lower ranking families. Thus, these boys and their families were not established members of stable neighborhoods. It is hypothesized that the principal difference between those communities in which peer groups form at an early age and those in which they do not is in the presence or absence of a stable neighborhood. Such neighborhoods are ordinarily present in villages and may be present in the established areas of cities. Substitutes for the neighborhood peer group can be provided through the boarding school or through allowing children to congregate at their fathers' sports club, but such arrangements are expensive. Ordinarily the cost of alternate arrangements and the danger of allowing

the child to travel unaccompanied through the city to the homes of his friends combine to preclude extensive peer group experience for the urban middle class child. Upon entry into college this type of adolescent is likely to join numerous clubs and to participate avidly. The informants who had not had earlier peer group experience describe feelings of freedom in their early college experience which were sometimes accompanied by a temporary lowering of grades. It appears that these boys were going through the stage in peer group activity which boys from stable neighborhoods had gone through several years earlier.

This delayed entrance into peer group participation appears to be psychologically significant. In the developmental theory of Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) both playmates in the juvenile era and a special chum in the preadolescent era are important for the development of normal skill in interpersonal relations. Sullivan suggests that when the preadolescent need for intimacy with a chum of one's own sex is not met before the lust dynamism matures, " . . . transient or persisting homosexual organization of the interpersonal relations is usual. . . " (1953: 277-79). These conditions, especially when coupled with the lack of interaction with members of the other sex and the general taboos on sexual discussion and activity, could be expected to increase homosexual interest. Smitter and Dar (1957: 141), in presenting an example from their study of middle class college students, report that, "homosexuality is common

among both young men and women." To test further the applicability of Sullivan's hypothesis for Pakistani society, a comparative study of adolescents who have had early peer group experience and those who have not, needs to be done to determine the actual frequencies of homosexual interest within these two groups.

Urban middle class boys are not the only group with little peer group experience. The available information suggests that both urban and rural girls have much less peer group experience than the boys in the same areas. Although they are allowed to play freely up until about the age of ten, after this they are confined to the courtyard and interior of the house. They rarely participate in games, and much less frequently in clubs. Role playing activities appear to be less curtailed, but still not as much encouraged as among boys of the same age. In girls' colleges there are some clubs and the girls apparently participate actively, but this participation appears to be much more individualistic and less organized than in the clubs in boys' colleges. Much more study of the nature of cooperation and competition among girls needs to be undertaken.

In summary, it has been suggested that the peer group is the primary agency through which the individual is trained in the methods of interpersonal influence. This training is provided through participation in activities which are "models" of adult social organization. These

model activities may emphasize either a particular "role" or the overall "system" of relationships. The model activities may also be considered as being either "pure" in the sense that they are formalized and removed from the actual organization or they may be "applied." Four types of activities have been defined by these two dichotomies, and each of these types has been illustrated with information provided by the informants. Finally, the effects of an absence of early peer group experience has been discussed. Throughout the chapter hypotheses have been suggested which require further research.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study has been to provide an overview of the significant aspects of socialization and of childhood social systems in Pakistan. To this end all of the available students from Pakistan who were studying at Michigan State University during the academic year 1963-64 were interviewed. The findings from these interviews, examined in the context of current research on socialization, are intended to serve as guidelines in the formulation of specific problems for field research.

The child is socialized as he learns to participate in a series of groups which includes the domestic group, the classroom group and the peer group. In each of these groups the child is defined both as a person who is being socialized and as a participating member. Through their power over him, the other members of the group seek to bring the child's behavior into conformity with their expectations of appropriate behavior for a person of his age and status. In order to obtain the rewards which these socializing agents offer, the child strives to fulfill their role expectations. Thus, the child changes and develops as increasingly complex behavior is expected from him.

The traditional patrilineal, patrilocal domestic group in Pakistan consists of the oldest male in a descent line, all of his adult male descendants and all of their wives and minor children. In keeping with this rule of composition the domestic group ordinarily passes through three phases in its developmental cycle: (1) the joint family between a father and his married sons, (2) the joint family among brothers and (3) the nuclear family. The domestic group is a very complex institution which includes a wide variety of roles and types of interaction, only a few of which have been discussed here. The focus has been on the relative power of each of the role incumbents in the different relationships which have been considered. For example, within the domestic group the father-son relationship is the pivotal one for the transmission of property and office; through his control over these resources, the father has very effective control over his son's behavior. The father also has considerable control over his daughter's behavior through his control over her dowry. However, in contrast with the son, the control over the daughter's behavior is more evenly divided between the father and the mother. The mother has relatively little control over her son, but has the responsibility of training her daughter in the household skills and hence has considerable control over her behavior.

Education is not yet compulsory in Pakistan and fewer than half of the children in the primary age group

presently attend school. The elementary and secondary teachers' roles appear to be accorded relatively low ranks (in the lower middle class), and the fathers of pupils from well-to-do families exert considerable control over the operation of the school and over their children's positions in it. This control appears to be related not only to the higher social rank of the fathers of these children but also to the practice in which elementary and secondary teachers supplement their extremely low salaries by providing private tutoring in the homes of their well-to-do pupils. The basic goal of both students and teachers appears to be the students' good performance on the annual examinations, particularly on the matriculation and intermediate examinations. Such annual goals are too distant to encourage sustained effort over the entire year and the daily pattern of classroom activity tends to revolve around a series of lessons to be learned by rote. Throughout such dull days, the pupils are kept in order primarily through the use of corporal and shaming types of punishment.

In contrast to the incorporation of facts which occupies the pupil in the classroom, the peer group offers the child training and practice in interpersonal skills. Following G. H. Mead's differentiation between the functions of play and the game, it has been hypothesized that play (whether informal or formalized as in the drama) offers training in role modeling, whereas participation in games and clubs offers training in competition by the rules of

simplified social systems. In Pakistan both boys and girls engage in role modeling in segregated peer groups. Only boys, however, seem to participate in a wide variety of games, and particularly in team sports, such as cricket, soccer (football) and hockey. Elaborately organized sports clubs exist for the collection of funds and the allocation of positions on the team, and concomitantly give the boys experience in internal politics.

Throughout this thesis hypotheses formulated in Western social scientific studies have been adapted as models for considering socialization in Pakistan. This requires the assumption that structural relationships are the same regardless of specific geographic locations or intrinsic cultural factors. However, granting that assumption, the effects of additional structural factors which are present in Pakistan but not in the West, on the relationships which have been hypothesized, still remain a central problem. The aspects of social structure which influence patterns of socialization in different societies will only gradually be discovered with continuing research.

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APPENDIX

A NOTE ON RELIGIOUS SOCIALIZATION

Although religious socialization has not been a focus of this study, it is clearly an important area of childhood and adolescent socialization. This note has been added to outline briefly the basic pattern of religious education in this Muslim nation.

Reading the Koran in the original Arabic is, perhaps, the principal religious activity of childhood. Eglar (1960) describes the way in which children read the Koran in a village in West Pakistan.

> While the little children are playing by the well, the older boys are in the mosque, where they go for an hour every day to learn to read the Koran from the village imam, and the girls study in the imam's house under the tutoring of his wife. This is the extent of the children's formal education. There are thirty chapters in the Koran containing altogether one hundred and fourteen suras, or sections, and most of the boys will not get beyond the third chapter. Instead, they help their fathers in their work and thus, if their fathers are kammis, learn their fathers' trade. All boys learn how to cultivate the land and take care of the cattle. The girls are more ambitious in their studies. Some may finish reading the Koran, an occasion on which the imam and his wife will get new outfits, a tray of food, and, if the girl's parents are well off, even a young buffalo. Otherwise, for his teaching, the parents send the imam a bushel of grain at each harvest (Eglar 1960: 61-62).

Although the informants came primarily from urban middle class backgrounds, they were also expected to read

the Koran, and the completion of one's first reading was a cause of celebration. For many of them this exercise began as early as the age of four or five, with the imam coming directly to their homes for the daily period of instruction. At a somewhat later age the informants began to participate in the adult religious observances, particularly in the saying of prayers five times daily and in fasting during the month of Ramzan. Young children are apparently not expected to observe the period of fasting; nor are they expected to participate fully in group prayer. Nevertheless, early participation in these religious activities appears to be praised and taken as a sign of the child's religious character.

Although many of the informants' fathers were reported to have attended madrasas (Muslim educational institutions, also called Makatibs and Dar-ul-Ulams in West Pakistan), none of the informants reported having attended such schools, at least not beyond the first few years. Rather, the current trend in Pakistan has been to introduce religious education into the public schools, laying both " . . . particular emphasis on moral and spiritual values and religious teaching on the one hand, and the teaching of other subjects required for useful living in modern society on the other" (Pakistan 1960: 278). The National Commission on Education has recommended that religious education

> . . . should be a compulsory subject for the first eight years and an elective subject from Class IX onwards. The promotion of higher learning and research has been ensured through arrangements for teaching and research in Islamic studies at the university level and in the Institutes of Islamic Research outside the universities. We believe that our recommendations contain a well-balanced structure which will develop in all students a love for the moral and spiritual values of religion and enable them to understand their fundamental duties towards God and man. It will provide adequate opportunities for the specialized study of Islam to those who want to undertake it. This will, we believe, give to religious education its proper place in the educational system and will also meet the demands of the scientific age (Pakistan 1960: 278).