AMERICAN PROFESSORS IN WEST PAKISTAN: A STUDY OF CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

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DAVID KENNETH WINTER

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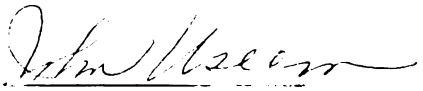

Major professor

Date May 18, 1968

ABSTRACT

AMERICAN PROFESSORS IN WEST PAKISTAN:
A STUDY OF CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS

by David Kenneth Winter

Americans are increasingly involved in the social structures of other societies, and yet these roles are not well understood. The patterns which characterize the interaction of men from two or more societies who work together have been called the "third culture." In many locations the colonial third culture is being replaced by a modern third culture. American professors today work in higher educational institutions of West Pakistan as administrators, advisors, and colleague-teachers. There are stresses involved in each of these roles.

This study was designed to investigate the patterns of interaction between American and Pakistani professors, in both social and working relationships. The role of Europeans in the history of higher education in India and Pakistan is traced, with particular attention to the missionary colleges. The character of public and private higher educational institutions in Pakistan today are described in some detail. The Pakistani professors in several types of institutions are compared in terms of their world-view, and their response to the presence of foreign educators in their midst.

The influence upon the American professors of a number of social structural variables is explored, including the American organization sponsoring the professors, the size of the American

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group within the institution, the local American community, as well as the type of Pakistani institution, and the existence of patterns for cross-cultural interaction. Two major categories of American professors are delineated: the missionary educators, and the professors with the United States Government and private foundations.

The research involved participation as a temporary faculty member of a Pakistani college for a period of sixteen months, and depth interviews averaging three hours each with forty American and forty-three Pakistani professors. The forty Americans comprised all of the American educators working in higher educational institutions in the northern half of West Pakistan. The Pakistani professors were selected on the basis of their close working relations with the Americans. In many cases they were the counterparts of the American advisors.

The third culture in Pakistan today is no longer colonial, yet the modern third culture lacks the support of bi-national communities and social structures. The role of administrator is essentially closed to Americans in Pakistani educational institutions, and it is difficult to gain acceptance in the role of colleague or teacher. The advisor is the most common role of American professors in Pakistan; this represents a transitional third culture, between the colonial and the modern, in which the American is expected to lead without holding a superior status. Few of the professors find the advisor to be a satisfactory role.

This dissertation is intended to be a contribution within the combined traditions of anthropology and sociology, for the study of modern social structures in cross-cultural contexts.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS IN WEST PAKISTAN:

A STUDY OF CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS

By

David Kenneth Winter

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1968

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to a number of people for their assistance to me at various stages of the research.

Dr. John Useem was chairman of my guidance committee and he provided continuous encouragement and insight, and devoted far more time to this project than his position required.

The initial doctoral committee also included Dr. John Donoghue, Dr. Charles P. Loomis and Dr. Glen L. Taggart. At the time of the oral examination Dr. Loomis and Dr. Donoghue were away from campus on academic projects; Dr. Ralph Nicholas and Dr. William T. Ross replaced them as members of the final guidance committee. Each of these professors was very helpful to me.

A grant from the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities, Inc. made the field research possible. Dr. Glen L. Taggart, Dean of International Programs and Dr. William T. Ross, Director of the Asian Studies Center, were responsible for the administration of the grant.

Dr. Ruth Hill Useem contributed many suggestions and ideas during the fieldwork as well as in the process of writing the dissertation. She also assisted in reading the manuscript.

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The Pakistani and American professors whom I interviewed in Pakistan gave generously of their time to discuss their roles in their institutions.

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Special appreciation is due the staff of Forman Christian College in Lahore for their hospitality in allowing us to participate in their institution.

The Ford Foundation (Pakistan) was very helpful to us in several important instances.

Officers of the United States Information Agency in Lahore assisted me in the reconnaissance stage of the research.

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CHAPTER I

CROSS-CULTURAL RELATIONS AND THE ROLE OF THE ETHNOGRAPHER

The Context of Theory

In the last fifty years there has been a great increase in the amount of contact and mixing between people of different cultures. This process takes many forms, but one of the most common today is the individual who lives for a time within a society that is not his own. Thousands of students, Peace Corps Volunteers, missionaries, businessmen, educators, diplomats, and technical assistance personnel have roles within foreign societies. This is a trend which is likely to be maintained as the interdependency between societies continues to grow.

But the process by which men take on roles within other societies is not well understood. Its cross-cultural dimension introduces new variables which are exceedingly complex. Both the individual and those with whom he interacts are required to interpret strange patterns of behavior, and respond to situations which are not structured by their own culture. Out of this interaction new patterns and values may emerge which then characterize those engaged in the cross-cultural relationships; or the interaction may break down and finally cease.

In his discussion of cultural diffusion, Anthony F. C. Wallace (1961) has suggested that culture traits will not diffuse from one culture to another unless they (1) can pass through the existing "cultural screen," that is, make sense to the people in

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terms of their culture, (2) appear to meet their "needs," primary or derived, and (3) are tied to indigenous organizations or reference groups. This third factor emphasizes the importance of social structure in the process of diffusion. The acceptance of cultural innovation is partly dependent upon the role of the innovator and the position of the innovator's group in the society.

As Edward Spicer warns, "no instance of acculturation can be adequately described so long as the social structure of contacts is omitted" (1958:433). One form of acculturation takes place through an intersection of social structure in which individuals from one culture have roles in another culture. Cultures affect other cultures in part as these cross-cultural roles modify the social structures into which they are introduced. The new social patterns continue to affect other patterns, and by this means aspects of the entire culture are changed.

But we must have conceptual tools to study the social structures which allow men to be related to two societies at the same time. Charles Loomis has contributed a useful conceptualization of this in his term "systemic linkage." By this he means "the process whereby the elements of at least two social systems come to be articulated so that in some ways they function as a unitary system" (1959a:55), or "the organizational arrangements for group interdependence" (1960:32-3). Using this concept Loomis has analyzed instances of social change (1959b), the social organization of disaster relief (1960), religious sub-cultures in the United States (1960), and a Mexican community in New Mexico (1959a). The application of this term is appropriate both within single cultures

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In regard to its cross-cultural application, Loomis has noted that "whole organizations sometimes have the sole function of systemic linkage" (1960:303). He gives as examples a national boundary commission and boards of international trade. These groups are said to have "dual-natured status-roles the expectancies of which originate in the linking social systems as well as those so linked" (1960:33).

The term "third culture" introduced by John and Ruth Useem refers to the culture of those who operate within more than one society at the same time. The emphasis here is upon the patterns of interaction and the cultural contexts rather than the social structure. Third culture is defined as "the patterns generic to a community of men which spans two or more societies" (1963:484). Their research on bi-national and international communities has isolated a number of cultural characteristics which emerge as people from several societies interact over a period of time.

One hypothesis suggests there is great similarity in these communities and cultures, wherever they are found; that it is possible to move from a diplomatic or educational position in Nigeria to a comparable position in Pakistan without leaving the modern third culture. Some of the characteristic values include equality, tolerance, science, technological change, and a broad geographical and historical perspective. Others concern the way men behave in prolonged roles of cross-cultural interaction.

These same values also appear to be central in the civilized world which Kroeber (1946), Hewes (1961) and McNeill (1964) refer to

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as the "ecumene." According to Hewes, one of the major characteristics of the ecumene is a consciousness of being a part of and related to other communities or peoples. A role within the third culture might provide a model of relatedness, and supply the perspective necessary for participation in the ecumene. Or, putting it the other way, it is difficult to conceive of ecumene existing where no third culture is present. In a sense, then, these two phenomena may be the same thing, at two levels of abstraction. Perhaps the third cultures, where they exist, are the result of diffusion of the ecumene by means of international organizations and representatives; or ecumene may be the result of many common situations in which there is interaction between two or more societies.

Research Design

The original purpose of this study was to observe the cultural patterns of people from two societies who work together. (1) To what extent do new patterns of behavior emerge from the cross-cultural interaction and relationships? (2) What variables are most significant in the behavior of men in cross-cultural roles?

This was an ethnographic study in which the patterns of culture of a predetermined community were observed and described. The field techniques involved participant observation and depth interviews conducted over a period of sixteen months in the field. In view of the limited knowledge we have of cross-cultural relations and because of the preparation and interest of the researcher it seemed most appropriate to conduct this kind of study. Hopefully other research can follow up some of the tentative generalizations

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The choice of location for the study was not determined solely by the nature of the study. There are bi-national organizations in most parts of the world, and it seemed certain that a satisfactory population could be found in a number of places. However, I had a long-standing interest in the Muslims of Asia which began some twelve years ago when my brother served with an educational assistance program in Afghanistan. Since that time I had become acquainted with a number of people from Afghanistan and an Afghan student had lived in our home for a year while attending the University of Southern California. There seemed to be a large and interesting international community in Kabul and I felt that my acquaintances could provide me access for a study there.

But it proved impossible to secure adequate financial support to conduct field research in Afghanistan and so I applied for a grant from The Midwest Universities Consortium of International Activities, Inc. (financed by the Ford Foundation) to go to West Pakistan. My knowledge of Afghanistan was helpful in preparing for a study in Pakistan, and I spent much of the last six months reading about Pakistan and taking courses in South Asia. Michigan State University has an educational assistance contract with the Ford Foundation for the support of institutions in Pakistan.[1]

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[1]An opportunity to study United States military personnel in Korea, and their relationships with village people complicated my preparation, and for a time I was diverted from my study of South Asia to learning about the international community in Seoul, Korea. With just eight weeks left before time of departure we were awarded the fellowship to study in Pakistan, and accepted the opportunity to perform the research in a cultural area in which we felt better prepared.

After settling on West Pakistan it was necessary to decide on the particular segment of the American community whose cross-cultural relations would be studied. From talking with professors who had recently returned from Pakistan, and Pakistani students studying at Michigan State University it was learned that in West Pakistan there were large numbers of educators, diplomatic personnel, missionaries, businessmen, technical aid advisors, engineers with private American firms, and military personnel. Educators were chosen because (1) many educational institutions have a long history of bi-national participation, (2) a variety of Americans and American agencies are represented in these institutions, and (3) educators are most apt to appreciate the reasons for research and provide the necessary access for the study.

After arrival in West Pakistan the first few months were used in reconnaissance of the area in order to determine if there were sufficient educators in the northern half of West Pakistan for the study. It appeared that there were about fifty American professors in the colleges and universities in Lahore, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, and no others were working in this half of the province. The decision was made to settle in Lahore, interview all fifty Americans and fifty Pakistanis with whom they worked, for a total of one hundred interviews. As it turned out there were just forty-eight American professors. Two departed for home before the schedule was prepared, and six others in Lyallpur were not interviewed because the outbreak of the war made it difficult to return to their area as I had originally planned. The final schedules were used with forty American professors; there was no sampling involved

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since all American professors in Pakistani educational institutions were interviewed, except for the eight mentioned above.

Sampling was required for the Pakistani professors, since there were far more than fifty Pakistani faculty in the institutions that were studied. The attempt was made to identify counterparts, or those who were working with (or being advised by) the American professors. This worked well in institutions with AID teams, but in the missionary colleges the Americans were primarily teachers, and there was no particular Pakistani that could be considered a counterpart. In these instances I waited until I had interviewed the Americans, and then asked one of the Americans whom I felt understood the nature of the research to help me choose Pakistanis with considerable experience working with Americans, and who represented a variety of attitudes toward the presence of the American professors.

Three months after our arrival in Lahore a pilot study was conducted in which ten American professors were interviewed. These interviews were brief, averaging one hour each, and were based on a topical outline rather than a detailed schedule. During this study it became apparent that the Americans and Pakistanis working together did not consider themselves a bi-national community, or a group of men with common values or patterns of behavior. It was difficult for me to recognize third cultural patterns without the presence of a bi-national community. Much later, after our return to the United States, I was able to identify some of the cross-cultural working patterns which comprised the existing third culture.

However, the focus of the field research was modified from the original design stated earlier. The subjects which became

most important were these: (1) the character of Pakistani higher educational institutions, (2) the cultural patterns of Pakistani professors, (3) the roles American professors hold in Pakistani higher educational institutions, (4) the reactions of Pakistani professors to the roles of Americans, and (5) certain ecological and structural variables involved in the behavior of the American professors.

Data were also gathered on the adjustment of the families of American professors, and the readjustment of Pakistanis as they returned from study in the United States. This information was later considered marginal to the focus of the research and was not used in the present dissertation.

The Schedules

It was not possible to organize the schedules on the basis of the research outline; in fact the questions could not be written directly in terms of the information that was being sought. A critical stage in the research involved the construction of a schedule which would encourage the respondents to express the needed information and attitudes. This task is complex; no other single part of the research was as difficult, or as important.

As a first step I developed a three page outline of the information I proposed to gather. Then I composed questions to get at all of the points on the outline. The final step involved rearranging these questions in a sequence appropriate for the interview sessions, for the final schedules had to be written with the interviewee in mind. The wording and sequence were designed to bring out the significant data without dwelling on irrelevant facts, to

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allow the individual to express himself thoroughly on a subject by proceeding in a logical order. Questions had to be straightforward and simple but not petty and detailed. The sequence of items was very important, to avoid forcing the respondent to jump back and forth, or repeat himself.

One of the problems that emerged during the construction of the schedules was the difficulty in communicating with the chairman of my guidance committee in East Lansing, Michigan. Mail took from five to seven days each way, which meant that an answer to a question could not be received in less time than two weeks, and frequently the round trip consumed a month or more. The schedules went through two major revisions and these took place during a frustrating period of approximately ten weeks.

In the schedule used for Pakistani professors the first section focussed on the individual's background and experience, and included eight questions designed to indicate the professor's general attitude toward culture change and modernization. The particular issues used for this purpose were the place of Islam (or Christianity, depending upon the religion of the interviewee) in higher education, the desirability and probability of Urdu replacing English as the medium of instruction, and a discussion of cultural changes in Pakistan considered desirable and undesirable. Data from this section are discussed in Chapters II and III.

The second section of the schedule was introduced as questions about the respondent's job and organization, but the bulk of the questions had to do with cross-cultural relations and the roles of Americans within the institution. A few questions tapped the

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Pakistani's attitude toward certain characteristics of American education, as further data on personal values. The other questions sought to determine the role Pakistanis expected Americans to hold within the organization, and the actual roles Americans were performing. The questions posed specific work situations and asked the respondents to describe common patterns of behavior in those situations. Chapter VI includes a typology of cross-cultural work roles.

The final section was labeled social life, and in most cases it had to do with interpersonal relations across cultures. There were a few questions at first regarding the frequency and importance of social activities with students, colleagues, and old friends as compared with interaction with family and relatives. But otherwise the questions dealt with what was done socially between the American and Pakistani professors. A particularly productive pair of questions was: "Would you say your social contact with Americans has been less or more than what the other Pakistani staff have had?" and "What are some of the reasons that might account for this?" By requiring one of the two responses, "less" or "more," the interviewee could not reply "about the same as the others." Then it was possible to probe into the reasons for the difference between the individual and his perception of the others. The social interaction of the Americans and the Pakistanis is discussed in Chapters IV, V and VI.

The wording of some of the questions was designed to communicate a sensitivity to their circumstances. For example, I asked: "What education has your wife been able to have?" since the wives of many of the professors were raised in homes where girls were not sent to school for more than a few years, and there was some embarrassment

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about this. I assumed they believed that Islam (for the Muslims) should receive more attention in Pakistan and so I asked: "How can Islamic traditions be given greater importance in Pakistan, than at present?" and "What specific kinds of Islamic traditions should receive greater attention?" Because there was great controversy regarding the language to be used as a medium of instruction in Pakistan and since Americans consistently favored the English language, I asked: "How long is it going to take to adopt the Urdu language for instruction in the universities and colleges of Pakistan?" and "How is this going to work out?" and "In ten years what place will English have in this institution?" These questions allowed me to ask about relevant issues but in the process communicate my understanding of their situations and my respect for their positions. A discussion of the world-view of Pakistani professors, including specific reference to some of these questions, appears in Chapter II.

Pakistanis are not accustomed to making critical remarks about Americans while in the presense of an American. Therefore questions such as this, "What are some of the traits or characteristics of the Americans in this institution that tend to annoy you?" did not elicit many specific answers. The same problem was expressed when the professors were asked how they would handle disagreements with American staff. Most said they did not have any specific disagreements that required a resolution, and so they could not answer the question.

One question used only in the early stages of the interviewing was: "To what extent should students have a part in planning or administering the program of this institution?" This amount of

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involvement by students is not an option in Pakistan today, and so the question seemed irrelevant to the Pakistani professors. Other questions were not productive because the respondents found it difficult to generalize about the information, such as: "What specifically do you talk about with Americans, when you are together socially?" Both the Pakistanis and the Americans responded to this question in ambiguous terms. Information on this point was finally obtained by observation, rather than through the interviews.

The schedule prepared for American professors is almost twice as long as the one used for the Pakistanis. A section on family adjustment was added and the section on the working role is much more detailed. Otherwise the general categories remain the same, even though it was possible to probe somewhat deeper with the Americans. The schedule begins with twenty-nine questions about the individual; these include reasons for coming to Pakistan, and some details of background and experience which might have a bearing on their behavior in Pakistan. Responses to these questions are used in the description of American professors in Chapters IV and V. The second section of twenty-nine questions asks about the living situation, the adjustment of the family, and the characteristics of the American community in the area. For purposes of the dissertation the data regarding the American family adjustment were not analyzed. The American community is an aspect of the ecological variable presented in Chapter IV.

The third section is the largest, and comprises sixty-four questions. Here the focus is upon the job and the context of the institution. The early questions ask for a description of duties,

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and typical work day. Probing questions are directed toward the role of the Americans in their relationships with Pakistanis, and the problems involved in being an administrator, advisor, counterpart or colleague. Many of the questions inquire about the American's perception of the roles and behavior of the Pakistanis. Six questions refer to the Pakistanis who have been educated in the United States and the impressions Americans have regarding their adjustment and contribution now that they have returned. These six items are not discussed directly in the dissertation, but the remainder of this section is used as the basis for the typology of work roles in Chapter VI, and contributes to the discussion of American professors in Chapters IV and V.

The fourth and final section is concerned with the Americans' social activities with Pakistanis. This includes American visits to Pakistani homes, Pakistani visits to American homes, and other social activities in which both participate. The social activities of Americans are referred to in several parts of Chapters IV and V.

In asking questions of the Americans I was aware of certain social norms that are frequently present among American groups overseas. Thus, even though in the United States it is proper for an educator to change jobs in order to receive a higher salary, it is contrary to the norms for him to indicate that he would accept a position overseas for that reason. Service to humanity or added breadth in one's professional discipline are the "correct" motivations to express. For this reason I did not expect to learn much from the question: "What are some of the reasons you decided

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to take this present job in Pakistan?" However, by encouraging several responses rather than just one, some information was obtained.

An expression of this same attitude was observed in the answers to a question about other groups of Americans present in Pakistan. The professors were asked to describe the varied groups individually--how they differed from their own group, the way they lived, and their general attitude. Commonly the other groups were not as "hard working" or "sincere," and they were said to be more interested in making money. These responses were not useful as a direct indication of motivation, but they comprised a projective test of the professors' norms. By combining these responses with the participant-observation certain generalizations emerged and these are discussed in Chapter IV.

It was very difficult to find out whether the Americans felt they were doing anything improper in their relations with Pakistanis. But the following question appeared to get at this information in a manner that did not threaten the professors: "Can you think of anything in the behavior or attitude of the Americans in this group that could annoy or offend the Pakistani staff?"

At several points I found it appropriate and productive to ask how the professors felt about something. Many times attitudes were expressed directly in response to such questions that otherwise were difficult to recognize. For example, I asked: "Have Pakistani colleagues often discussed their personal life or problems with you?" and "What sort of question or matter is discussed?" This question was followed with "How do you feel about this sort of relationship?"

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My frequent surprise by their answer to this last question indicates that I was not getting their attitude from the responses to the two prior questions.

The American professors knew that I was interested in the amount of social contact with Pakistanis that was initiated by the Americans. For this reason I found that they tended to give a rather high estimate in response to the following: "How often, this past year, have you had Pakistanis into your home, say in an average month?" If I followed up the question with a probe such as: "What about the last four weeks?" the response was almost always lower in frequency. But it appeared that I was testing to see if they were telling the truth, and so where possible I began by asking about "the last four weeks" instead of "an average month." However, many of the Americans were interviewed during the three month period after the war, and the social relations with Pakistanis were so infrequent during this period that it was necessary to ask about the typical or average month.

The last two questions in the schedule rarely added new data or information, but it gave the interviewees an opportunity to summarize any feelings they wanted to express to me, and it seemed to bring the interview to a close in a very positive manner. I asked: "In what ways do you feel you have changed personally as the result of your time over here in Pakistan?" and "Can you think of anything I have not asked about, which might help me to better understand your experience over here?" The professors appreciated the opportunity to consider the effect of the total experience, after sharing it with me as they had. Then the final question gave

them the chance to clear up any misunderstanding they felt might have been produced by an earlier response.

The Field Techniques

It is particularly appropriate to discuss field techniques in this dissertation because the role of researcher required many of the same adjustments as those of the professors being studied. The general living situation and adjustments were identical; the process of taking on a role that would make sense to Pakistanis was very similar. I was one of the American educators seeking to relate to Pakistani faculty; the American professors accepted me as another American faculty member in Pakistan, and the Pakistani faculty thought of me as an American educator. In this sense I was a participant-observer: I was studying people such as myself. A discussion of the field experience is at the same time a commentary on the adjustment of American professors in Pakistani institutions.

But in the more limited sense participant-observation was used as a technique when we began living and teaching at Forman Christian College in Lahore. Since we were not affiliated with any organization in Pakistan it was necessary for us to locate a place to live on our own. By agreeing to teach two English sections for one three-month term we were allowed to rent a faculty home for the period of our stay in Pakistan. Our immediate neighbors were both American and Pakistani faculty of the college; we borrowed Presbyterian and Methodist furniture, and in some ways were accepted as part of the missionary staff. Our church membership and background made this possible. I participated in the weekly faculty meetings,

and my wife and I attended the regular meetings of the Christian staff which included American and Pakistani faculty and wives. Because it was the centenary year of the College there were numerous social and official functions throughout the year and we attended as many of these as possible. My wife worked in the office of the Vice Principal and became an active assistant to me in observing the life of the College.

The subject of the research was never hidden in any way, yet it became a relatively insignificant aspect of my role within the College. For the first four months I was busy in my role of instructor, making general contacts, getting settled in our home, and constructing the schedule. The next four months were spent interviewing professors at other institutions. So by the time I got around to Forman Christian College the faculty knew me rather well, and had accepted me as a part-time faculty member and neighbor.

But I was not Pakistani; I was American, and this meant that the Pakistanis could not speak freely with me about certain aspects of their relations with the American staff because they knew that these Americans were friends of mine. This was a disadvantage of the participant role only partly offset by unusually long and frank interviews with the American professors. However, the interviews with Pakistani faculty in institutions where I was in no way a participant did not show much difference in terms of their perception of my role. One Pakistani told me that a saying of theirs was, "all missionaries have the same great-grandmother," which he said meant that all missionaries know whatever any one of them knows. My feeling was that the Pakistanis in the other colleges thought of me as an American who

was hearing their complaints on behalf of the American missionary board. I was not a neutral observer, neither American nor Pakistani; there were just two categories, and I was an American.

A comparable situation prevailed in the case of the government institutions: in one case I was able to achieve limited identification and participation with the American team, and in the other two cases I tried to prevent such an identification. Through a variety of social activities and time spent in their offices I came to know one AID team rather well. But I was therefore identified with the American staff in the minds of the Pakistani faculty. However, my experience in the other institutions where I conducted interviews leads me to believe that I could not avoid being identified as a representative of the American organization, one to whom they could communicate their general gripes and frustrations about their relations with Americans. And it gave me virtually unlimited time for discussions and private interviews with these Americans, and greater depth responses than with any other AID team.

When one is a participant he is not considered a neutral observer; however the role of researcher is a form of participation in itself. Thus in one sense the research required a degree of participant-observation, and the only question was the role in which I was to participate. I found it impossible to escape being linked with the Americans, and so in two major institutions I actively identified with the American group. This increased the quantity of data received from the Americans, and did not significantly decrease the amount of data received from the Pakistanis.

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to the work of missions. I was very conscious of this personal value in the course of the study. Were it not for this background it is unlikely that we could have participated in Forman Christian College. I do not feel it interfered with the study because it was not my purpose to judge the effectiveness of missions, but to describe the role of missionary professors. The fact of being a Christian made me more sympathetic to the Pakistani Christians, but I was describing their social and not their spiritual condition.

Participation in Forman Christian College was important in gaining access to other Christian colleges. Those on the staff with friends on the other staffs provided introductions, though the fact that I taught some classes at Forman would have been sufficient to establish my identity. I had not anticipated any problem gaining access to any group. At the time I did not realize the importance of living on the campus of Forman Christian College, but I now suspect that if we had not done so it would have been extremely difficult to gain access to the Pakistani staff of any Christian college. In Chapter II there is a discussion of the importance of the principal in Pakistani institutions. It was necessary to receive the clearance of the principal in order for any interviews to be conducted, and I doubt if an American not identified with missionaries would have been permitted to conduct such a study. The Pakistani faculty of Christian colleges rarely know any American other than missionaries. The Pakistani principal probably would refer any American wishing entrance to the senior missionary, and the missionaries would have recommended against allowing an unknown American to interview the Pakistanis, and would have been very guarded in their own interviews.

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As it was all of the missionaries cooperated fully with the study, and because of this the Pakistanis responded very positively as well. Living on the campus of Forman College allowed the staff there to know me, and gave them confidence that I supported the work of missions and had empathy for Pakistani Christians. They knew that this was a serious academic study and that I would not reveal the particular source of the information I received.

My role in Forman Christian College was no help in gaining access to the AID related institutions. In some cases it was helpful to mention that my research fellowship was administered by Michigan State University. At other times I stated that the total grant came from the Ford Foundation. We were not "Ford Foundation staff members" in Pakistan, and so in most respects were not permitted to use their facilities. But it was proper to identify the ultimate source of our grant, and it frequently proved helpful to do so since in Pakistan the Ford Foundation is very well known and highly respected. Michigan State University is also known because of its Ford contract in which the Academies for Rural Development were established and supported. But the identification which seemed to help the most was the fact that I was a doctoral candidate doing research for my dissertation. They were very tolerant of me and probably felt that nothing said in a Ph.D. dissertation could hurt them very much.

For a time it seemed that there would be a greater problem of access with the United States Government than with the educational institutions. A large survey had been conducted several years previous to our arrival in which the total American population had been sampled and interviewed regarding their attitude toward Pakistanis,

their salaries, etc. At the time a number of Americans objected to the Consul General, and he finally requested that Americans not cooperate with the study.

Early in our stay the head of the United States Information Service for Lahore heard that we were doing a study of Americans and their relations with Pakistanis and assumed that it would take a similar form. However, I had called on the Consul General and explained the nature of the study to his satisfaction, and after learning of this the U.S.I.S. official was satisfied. The experience frightened me, and when speaking of my research publically I began emphasizing the educational institutions involved rather than the cross-cultural relations.

In conducting the interviews I felt that many of the Americans and Pakistanis tended to oversimplify my research and think of it as a study of the "problem" of Pakistani-American social relations. The Americans assumed I was out to study the "ugly American," and the Pakistanis thought I was investigating the reasons for the anti-Americanism said to exist within Pakistan. I tried to explain that my purpose was to understand what an "advisor" does in an educational institution, and how the Pakistani educational system operates. In the Christian colleges I spoke of my interest in the history of Christian colleges, and the position missionaries have today.

There was some hesitation among some in agreeing to the interview, but in almost all cases as the interview proceeded the respondents relaxed and appeared to enjoy the sessions. Almost all of the professors either were trained in the United States, or had worked long enough with Americans to feel comfortable talking to an

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American, and in most cases interviewing as a research technique was familiar to them. With the Americans the interviews averaged over three hours each, and this meant at least two separate appointments. Our meeting was normally held in the home of the interviewee, since the offices were seldom private. The Pakistani interviews averaged two hours and were completed most often in one session. In some cases they were held in Pakistani homes, occasionally in offices, but most frequently in our home. I would invite them for a meal and we would then have the interview. The Pakistanis were genuinely cooperative, but in some cases they were reluctant to be seen being interviewed in their offices. Their homes provided little privacy, and Pakistanis did not often invite Americans into their homes, even those they knew well. The best solution seemed to be for me to invite them for a meal, which defined the situation publically as social and reduced their anxiety. They enjoy being entertained in American homes, and our family appreciated this opportunity too; we learned about aspects of life not covered in the schedule, and it allowed us to show our appreciation for their cooperation.

The Americans were sensitive to the ugly-American image. It was necessary to convince them that I was understanding of their situations and shared some of their frustrations and feelings in regard to living in Pakistan. Once they were convinced of this they usually accepted probing of their responses with very little defensiveness. But even while probing I tried very hard to avoid any inference of judgment or evaluation. After the interviews were completed, the Americans almost invariably made some remark to the effect that it had been helpful to them to think through their relations and

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In most institutions the Pakistanis tended to think of me as a "trouble shooter" sent out by the parent American organization to investigate the problems that existed between the American staff and the Pakistanis. This reflects the fact that in these institutions the cross-cultural relations were sufficiently strained so that a mission of this kind was conceivable. It is also true that field investigators had visited many of these institutions in the past, and some of the questions I asked had been asked before.

An additional factor which further misled the Pakistanis regarding my role was the normal access route by which I entered the institutions. As explained earlier, I do not believe I could have received permission to conduct the study on any of the campuses if I had first contacted the Pakistani principal or Vice-Chancellor. The separate roles of Pakistanis and Americans in Pakistan are such that it would have appeared unusual and suspicious if I had by-passed the American group. But by gaining access through the American chiefs-of-party it became difficult for me to disassociate myself from the particular American organization when I interviewed individual Pakistanis. Probably in some cases they never accepted my explanation that I was doing a study wholly unrelated to the parent American organisation. Often the Pakistanis think of all non-missionary Americans as employees of the United States Government, whether Ford, AID or Michigan State University. Certainly in the context of their economy it is difficult to believe that I came all the way to Pakistan to conduct an academic study unrelated to the operation of the American group.

However, their conception of my identity did not prevent them from speaking frankly about the stress that existed between themselves and the Americans; it may have encouraged such a response. This was their opportunity to get it off their chest. Now they could tell one of the Americans how they felt without having to continue working with him after the interview. Apparently they were satisfied that I would not reveal the sources of my information since they did say some things that were not generally known by the Americans.

My greatest concern while interviewing Pakistanis was to avoid revealing any defensive attitude on my part toward the Americans. In some cases Pakistani Christian faculty were strongly critical of certain short-term missionaries, stating that they had come to Pakistan in order to enjoy an easier life, make more money, etc. I knew the missionaries well and was aware of the financial sacrifice involved for them in coming to Pakistan, but it would have terminated the interview had I argued the point. In one case I probed the particular response, and asked what the Pakistani thought the missionary's salary in the United States might be compared with his present salary. This was particularly difficult to do without revealing my attitude, but I believe it was done successfully.

At first a tape recorder was used during the interviews. But I found that before they were typed they had to be condensed, and this amounted to spending twice as much time as would be consumed by taking notes during the original interviews. Thus I recorded the interviews in hand-written form during the sessions and then had them typed later by my wife. This became a problem when my wife and daughter were evacuated by the United States Air Force during the

war between India and Pakistan in September, 1965. For the next three months my notes were not typed, and they remained untyped until the following summer. I did go over them and try to make sure they were in readable form, but there were problems of translation later because of this considerable lapse of time.

A more serious problem in taking written notes was the difficulty of maintaining rapport and a conversational level while both recording what was said and thinking ahead to future questions. Probing was received in a less defensive manner when the conversational style was maintained, and yet such a style allowed little time for recording information. The answers of the respondents depended to some extent upon my response of interest but not surprise; and this was measured by nods of understanding, the matter-of-fact expression of my face, and brief written notes. If I stopped to record some lengthy comment word-for-word it was a signal to the respondent that what he had just said was significant. In most instances I did not want the respondent to know which of his responses were significant and in some cases I had to move on to another question of less importance and use the time there to write the response to an earlier question.

It is a fine line to maintain the distinction between understanding or empathy toward the individual, and approval of his point of view. Their responses were more open and free when they could see that I respected and appreciated them as persons, and could understand their attitudes. But for me to communicate approval of a particular position encouraged a consistent line of response and hid any ambivalence or inconsistency that might have been present.

The interviews were complimentary to the participant-observation role. The schedules were essential to the study: they focussed and accelerated the observation I was making informally. They allowed a systematic comparison of attitudes held by the sample on specific points. But it is hard to imagine constructing the schedules without the opportunity for participation first. I do not believe the schedules would have included the same questions if I had not spent some six months living and working as an American in a Pakistani institution before the schedules were written. Without participating the access to the individuals as well as the access to the institutions would have been difficult if not impossible. And by participating I was able to evaluate and check the meaning and significance of the responses which were received.

The war between India and Pakistan was an unexpected but crucial variable in the study. Lahore is located about fifteen miles from the border, and the guns woke us up the morning hostilities broke out. All educational institutions in Pakistan were immediately closed down, and they remained inoperative for approximately six weeks. After the actual fighting had terminated I was able to resume interviewing American faculty. In fact there was so much free time that appointments were easily arranged and the professors did not object to a more leisurely pace in going through the schedule. But there was a different tone or attitude represented regarding their role in Pakistan: they were more skeptical of what had been accomplished and pessimistic toward the future. The professors used the past tense to describe their roles. Several times I felt the professor looked upon my study as no longer relevant--the era had passed. Their

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families had been evacuated and they were concerned about them and burdened with various decisions and worries. At that time virtually all Americans felt that it was doubtful whether they would be allowed to continue their work; this was true of the missionary professors as well as the others, though some missionaries were not as pessimistic.

During the war there was almost no social contact whatsoever between American and Pakistani professors. When the educational institutions started up again relations were minimal and strained, at least for the first six weeks.[2] There were a few sharp exchanges between the Pakistanis and Americans in one of the universities, but generally the interaction was cool and correct. Politics and the war were discussed constantly within each group but not between members of the two groups. The American professors came to the campus for their classes and then returned home. Some Pakistanis stopped by American homes but these were those few who had identified themselves with the American professors prior to the war. Several went out of their way to be pleasant to the Americans and assured them that the Pakistanis realized that they were not personally responsible for the foreign policy of the United States.

But there was considerable suspicion and mistrust. When I began interviewing Pakistanis again I found that they thought of the Americans as a clique, a group that was foreign to their institution. The missionaries were uneasy and insecure, but with the Pakistanis they pretended that things had not changed, and consciously cultivated friendships. Their Pakistani colleagues responded

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[2]At this point, in December 1965, I returned to the United States.

courteously but with little warmth. The presence of American missionaries in their institutions was an embarrassment to the Pakistani Christians who were seeking to disassociate Christian institutions in Pakistan from a foreign image.

The institutional affiliations of those interviewed are as follows:

	American Professors		Pakistani Professors	
	Sample	Population	Sample	Population
Forman Christian College, Lahore	7	7	12	55
Kinnaird College, Lahore	4	4	4	21
Gordon College, Rawalpindi	4	4	6	70
Institute of Education and Research, University of Panjab, Lahore	11	12	13	25
West Pakistan Agricultural University, Lyallpur	6	12	5	200
Miscellaneous smaller groups	8	9	3	NA

Some specific characteristics of these institutions are discussed in the body of the dissertation but it may be useful to describe them briefly at this point.

Forman Christian College of Lahore held its centenary celebration during the year of our study, 1964-65. It is said to have made a major contribution in scientific education in South Asia, and it retains an image of catering to the elite. The percentage of Christian staff and students has always been low. Its campus is one of the most spacious and well furnished of any in Pakistan, and it is located in a wealthy suburb of Lahore. For most of its history Forman

has been supported by the Presbyterian and Methodist churches of the United States. The student body numbers something over 1100.

Kinnaird College is the counterpart of Forman, for women students. Its location is about two miles from Forman, and it too has well kept grounds though they are not as spacious. The foreign staff members are supported by a group of missionary boards from the United States and Great Britain. Of the 462 students in 1965, 80 were Christian; the majority of the faculty are Christian, but most of these are British or American. The college has been in existence for fifty years and is generally considered to be the finest women's college in Pakistan.

Gordon College in Rawalpindi is a larger college, with 1845 students; 219 of these are women. The new capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, is now a suburb of Rawalpindi and this suggests increasing growth and importance for this area. The College is the only major higher educational institution in the city at the present time, though there are plans for a government institution to be built. Gordon has a new campus under construction. While Gordon has never had an elite image it has always maintained a very respectable position in higher education. Almost half of the faculty are Pakistani Christians, which represents a higher percentage than that of Forman Christian College. The affiliated mission board is the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The Institute of Education and Research is formally part of the University of the Panjab in Lahore. It is the result of an AID contract with Indiana University which has sent faculty and administrators to Pakistan, as well as provided graduate education

in Indiana for about forty Pakistani faculty. Primarily it is a teacher training institution, modeled after the College of Education in Indiana University. Classes began in 1960 and twenty-five different American faculty have been members of the staff at various times. The number of Americans on the faculty have numbered from six to twelve for most of these years, while the Pakistani staff has grown from around twelve to twenty-five.

The West Pakistan Agricultural University in Lyallpur began as a university in 1961 though it was built on to an agricultural college which was founded about fifty years ago. The present enrollment is 1200 students, and there are 200 faculty members on the staff. A few Americans participated in the earlier institution from 1954 on, but in 1961 a major AID contract was awarded Washington State University to support agricultural education in Pakistan. Instead of starting a new institution it was decided to develop the existing college in Lyallpur. Approximately twelve American professors have been present each year since 1961, and in the early years the Americans occupied high level administrative positions. Though Americans no longer hold policy positions this university has retained many of the patterns of American higher education, including the emphasis upon research, and the internal examination system.

The miscellaneous smaller groups included three Fulbright professors who were on one year post-doctoral teaching fellowships. One of these was assigned to the Psychology Department and another to the History Department of the University of Panjab in Lahore. The third was teaching economics in The Civil Service Academy, Lahore, where junior civil service officers are trained. Pakistani colleagues

of two of these three professors were interviewed.

Two other American professors were teaching in the Department of Public Administration in the University under an AID contract with the University of Southern California. No Pakistani professor from this department was interviewed.

The remaining three Americans were serving under the Ford Foundation. One was a woman advisor to the principal of the College of Home and Social Sciences in Lahore, on a contract with the University of Oklahoma. The second was a consultant on student affairs who worked with the University of Dacca and Panjab in setting up student centers and other student facilities. His contract was administered by the University of Chicago. The third was on a contract with Michigan State University and served as an advisor in the West Pakistan Academy for Rural Development in Peshawar. The principal of a women's college in Lahore and a Pakistani faculty member from the Academy were interviewed as well.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN AND THE PAKISTANI PROFESSORS

This chapter and the next will be devoted to the Pakistani colleges and universities in which American professors are working. In this chapter the focus is on the educational system itself and the cultural patterns of Pakistani professors who teach in the public universities. Chapter III describes the history of missionary education in South Asia, and the characteristics of both Christian and Muslim faculty in Pakistani Christian colleges.

The History of Education in India

The Pakistani educational institutions cannot be traced to a specifically Muslim tradition of education. There have been Muslim schools in South Asia since the Muslim conquest, and there are isolated examples of Muslim libraries, museums and colleges. But these did not produce any characteristic pattern of education which has been passed down to the schools of today. (see Chamberlain 1899:15) In both Hindu and Muslim schools the content of teaching was different, but in most respects the schools were very similar: teachers had small groups of students, the subjects were learned through oral recitation and memorization, and the teacher's role included discipline and moral training. It is instructive to note some of the features of education in South Asia prior to the arrival of the British.

The ancient system of education in India required students

to board in the home of a Guru, or priest-teacher. The students would move into a Gurukula at about 14 or 15 years of age and remain for a number of years. These Gurus were highly respected, almost deified by the students, and the relations between students and Gurus were intimate and loyal. The sacred scriptures or Vedas were the basic content of this early education, and they were transmitted orally with great emphasis placed upon memorization and correct pronunciation. There were spiritual rewards for learning these scriptures and religious truths, and by 500 B.C. it was commonly believed that one's spiritual salvation depended almost entirely upon guidance from a Guru (Altekar 1965:50).

The authority of the Guru was unquestioned by either students or their parents. There is a record of one student in India who publically challenged his former teacher to a debate and because of this was stoned to death by his village (Altekar 1965:64). Yet this authority and respect did not necessarily bring wealth to the individual teacher, and this conforms to the pattern found within the early pre-industrial societies examined by Sjoberg.

> Though the teacher's prestige is high and his power in the schoolroom considerable, his economic rewards are rarely lucrative...Students are expected to lend him absolute obedience and not to contradict him in any way...One becomes a disciple of his mentor. This master-student relationship continues long after one completes his formal schooling. Throughout the history of India, devotion to one's Guru has been a highly valued norm (Sjoberg 1960: 306).

In his discussion of the nature of knowledge as understood by these societies, Sjoberg points out that the educated elite attempt to adjust themselves to the divine will, or the forces of nature. "Emphasis is on what ought to be, not on what is" (Sjoberg 1960:308).

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As a result, knowledge in the physical and natural sciences is often more common among the lower classes than among the educated or upper classes.

> ...the abstract thinking, or theoretical framework, of the intellectuals or learned men has not been related to the technical knowledge amassed over time by the common man; the two have been almost completely disjunct...Practical knowledge, being obtainable largely through work with the hands, has been devalued, often most strongly by highly literate, educated men (Sjoberg 1960:309).

These patterns, then, suggest the traditional value system within the education of South Asia prior to the arrival of Europeans on the continent. In a summary of the status of education at this time in India, Chamberlain emphasizes the difference between the education of the Brahman class and that of the lower classes:

> On the average, about one boy in ten of the proper age was receiving some kind of indigenous education. The lower orders were entirely uninstructed. The classes of middle rank received a scanty and strictly commercial training. On the other hand, every Brahman was able to read and write, and a considerable body of this class had partaken of what may be stated a liberal education, while not a few had, further, obtained some eminence in such studies as grammar, rhetoric, mathematics and metaphysics. In physical science their knowledge was infinitely inferior to that current in Europe at the corresponding date. In these more practical branches, real progress had ceased for centuries. But the attainments of the Hindus were not inferior to those of any ancient nation, nor, indeed, to those of Europe, prior to the Renaissance (Chamberlain 1899:23).

European or western education in India began with the arrival of Danish missionaries in 1706. The first English mission was established in 1727. During these early days the chief emphasis of the missionary societies was the use of the vernacular languages: the publication of dictionaries and school books and the translation of the Bible. English was used only in seminaries and teacher training institutions.

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For most of this century the government itself did not become actively involved in education, particularly primary or elementary education. A few colleges were begun but they were carefully established as oriental (that is Indian, or indigenous) in content. "The promotion of Orientalism was, thenceforth, until the famous Minute of Macaulay in 1835, the settled policy of Government" (Chamberlain 1899:29).

Actually no stated educational policy existed at this time since the Royal Charter included no mention of responsibility for the education of the natives of India. The Royal Charter, under which the East India Company administered India, was renewable every twenty years, and in 1793 Wilberforce attempted to introduce an educational clause but failed. In 1813 Parliament was persuaded that something should be done and a new regulation was included in the Charter providing for one lakh (100,000 Rupees) each year to be used for education. The wording was ambiguous, and did not indicate whether this education should be oriental or occidental; it merely stated: "for the encouragement of the learned natives of India" (Ashby 1966:48). But the arguments at the time make it clear that the proponents of this measure had in mind the learning and achievements of the West.

> ...by planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion in our Asiatic territories we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies. We shall, probably, have wedded the inhabitants of these territories to this country; but, at any rate, we shall have done an act of strict duty to them, and a lasting service to mankind (quoted without reference in Chamberlain 1899:30).

This provision of 1813 was not implemented in India until 1823, when the Committee of Public Instruction was formed for the

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specific task of expending the funds already voted by Parliament. This money was used during the next ten years chiefly to support indigenous education and the publication of oriental books, though English classes were established in all of the government supported colleges.

In the year 1815 the ban on privately sponsored (and non-indigenous) education was removed, and western higher education was begun in earnest. Between 1817 and 1835 a number of colleges had opened their doors, most of which were sponsored by missionary societies. Dr. Alexander Duff, a Scottish Protestant, established a school in Calcutta which not only used English as the medium of instruction but also chose "the science and literature of Europe as the subject" of the curriculum (Chamberlain 1899:32). By 1835 many observers felt that this was the most successful college in India, in the excellence of teaching and in the number of Indian nationals seeking admission. The school was widely known and Dr. Duff's strong views on the importance of western education prepared the way for the famous Minute of Macaulay of 1835.

Lord Macaulay was a member of the Supreme Council and he arrived in India in 1834 with the specific purpose of ending the controversy regarding the introduction of western education. Both factions presented their arguments and he responded with his Minute. In its most frequently quoted passage Macaulay states:

> I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found any one of them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia (Chamberlain 1899:36).

Soon afterwards the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, issued

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a proclamation which established the triumph of the English language and of European studies in India. The effect of this proclamation on subsequent education in India was conclusive.

It is significant that at this time those who opposed the use of English as the medium of instruction, and European studies as the subject of study, were not defenders of the use of vernacular languages and the knowledge of practical subjects such as medicine, agriculture and science. It was Sanscrit and Arabic, and the ancient philosophies of Asia that were placed in opposition to modern or western learning, in the form of English education.

Today those who argue for the use of Urdu instead of English as the medium of instruction in the educational institutions of Pakistan do not question the goals of western education. They see the use of vernacular languages as the best means to communicate modern and practical education. But the basis of the early debate was the use of English as against the use of Sanscrit as the best means of gaining knowledge about the world. And on this basis the Orientalists had little chance of winning. The government attempted a compromise by remaining neutral in religious matters but gave its wholehearted support to western education.

The task of implementing the new commitment to western education dominated the years 1835 to 1850. New programs included primary and secondary education as well as higher education, but at this time missionary societies were more active in establishing primary schools than was the government.

> In the year 1852-53 there were in Government schools about 28,000 children receiving instruction, while at the same time the Protestant missionaries were teaching nearly

> 100,000...The State schools were almost entirely secondary, while the private schools were to a large extent primary... While in Government schools there was no trace of female education, the missionaries were teaching over 13,000 girls (Chamberlain 1899:40-41).

Throughout the preceding century the assumption was made that England's responsibilities in India did not include educating the natives. It became an issue only as England recognized that she was in effect the ruling power in most spheres of life. At this point some argued that the indigenous culture was worthy of support, and would not be helped by the imposition of English culture. However, the majority of those who opposed the introduction of western learning were convinced of the superiority of English culture, but believed that Indians receiving western education would be trouble-makers, and eventually threaten the peaceful use of India for British purposes. In 1854 Sir Charles Wood, president of the Board of Control, wrote:

> I do not see the advantage of rearing up a number of highly educated gentlemen at the expense of the State, whom you cannot employ, and who will naturally become depositories of discontent...If they choose to educate themselves, well and good, but I am against providing our own future detractors and opponents and grumblers (quoted in Ashby 1966:59).

Universities in Great Britain at this time were undergoing profound changes and were far from uniform in their curriculum and administration. The University of London, which was finally chosen as the model for export to India, was itself only established in 1836 "solely to conduct examinations for students of two rival independent colleges" (Ashby 1966:24). In 1850 the University of London offered degrees in arts, law and medicine. Only two years' study was required for the B.A. degree and this was awarded on the basis of a single

examination. Two additional years of study were required for the M.A. degree.

In contrast to the other British universities at the time, the University of London was non-sectarian and hence excluded all subjects having to do with Christianity and the Bible. Its curriculum was broader and more concerned with the use of the English language, history and natural science, as opposed to the heavy emphasis given to the classics in the other universities. For the B.A. examination competence was required in animal physiology, logic and moral philosophy, mathematics and natural philosophy, and classics. Even the section on classics was interpreted liberally to include French or German, and English history.

But the most attractive feature of the University of London, as a model for higher education in India, was not its curriculum but its administrative structure which required the colleges to perform the great bulk of the educational functions. The university simply maintained conformity of curriculum within the colleges, and certified standards of achievement by administering the examinations for degrees. The colleges performed the teaching.

> The need, for example, to unite in one system of higher education the scattered colleges of Bengal; the need to save money by avoiding a salary-bill for academic staff; and the opportunity to by-pass the problems of religious education by having non-residential universities: these were the considerations, more than curriculum, which commended London as a model (Ashby 1966:28).

The University of Calcutta was established in 1854. Indian students flocked to its classes and crowded its facilities, but its form and function were in most respects alien to South Asian culture. Candidates for admission grew in number from 280 in 1857 to 800 in

1861--a much larger number than in the University of London itself. "The growth was unquestionably luxuriant; yet from the outset there was an element of distortion and deficiency about it" (Ashby 1966:64). Even as late as 1917 a principal of an affiliated college and fellow of the University of Calcutta spoke of the University with misgivings:

> The University of Calcutta is altogether a foreign plant imported into this country, belonging to a type that flourished in foreign soil. The importation was an urgent necessity of the time, suddenly created by the abrupt introduction of new conditions of life with a new order of political situation; the founders of the new educational system had not the time to study the ideals and methods that were indigenous: the new system was introduced in entire ignorance and almost in complete defiance of the existing social order regulating the everyday life of an ancient people (quoted in Ashby 1966:47).

Sir Eric Ashby concludes that the failure of the University of Calcutta to successfully transmit western learning to Indian scholars must be traced to the nature of the Indian students as well as the English university.

> But if in some respects the system was at fault, there were special features in the Indian environment to accentuate its defects and confirm the trend to shallow scholarship. With its broad spread and prescribed epitomes, the curriculum was inherently vulnerable to learning by rote; and as a result of centuries of learning by this method, the capacity and instinct of the Indian for memorization was unusually strong. The traditional system of education had also endowed him with other intellectual qualities to hinder his progress in western scholarship: a reverence for authority which sapped his critical powers, and a speculative bias which weakened his ability to observe and appreciate facts, whether historical or scientific. The Indian, moreover, was abnormally precocious, and this, too, impeded the development of higher education for it produced a dangerous pressure to draw the level between student and schoolboy too low (Ashby 1966:67-68).

Muslims did not share equally with Hindus in gaining western education from the colonial system. Since the sixteenth century rule of Akbar, Muslim interest in education had generally declined along with their social position, relative to the Hindus. In the early days

the British were not at all hostile to the Muslims. "The British found more common ground with the Muslim than the Hindu aristocrat" (Spear in Mason 1967:37). But the anglicizing policy of Cornwallis removed the Muslim elite from their positions of subordinate officers and agents, and later, in the 1830's, when posts began again to be opened to them the English language was established as the primary qualification. Muslims held back from learning English and the Hindu Brahmans did not. The Mutiny of 1857 further alienated the Muslims and the British since the rebellion was identified with Islam, in the eyes of the British.[1]

The Hindu elite dominated Indian intellectual pursuits during the colonial period. The Hindus were in the majority and held the upper positions in society, and thus had greater access to the British colonial educational system. Conservative Hindus as well as Muslims resisted the implications of western education but segments of the upper class Hindus quickly recognized the advantages of a western education and the orthodox Hindus were not able to discourage them from participating. But the Muslims were slow to become involved.

> From the earliest days of government education great difficulty had been encountered in prevailing upon the Muhammadan population in India, which is in the proportion of one in five to the whole, to avail themselves of the means of school instruction. This reluctance is partly to be accounted for by the character of their own instruction, which is exclusively religious, with the Koran as the only text-book, and partly by their poverty and their love of the military profession. In 1871 special measures for their education began to be taken. Schools and scholarships were provided for

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[1]For a sympathetic account of the Muslims and Muslim education in South Asia see Huq 1965, pages 22-43.

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> Muhammadans, and Arabic and Persian were encouraged in the universities. To these special schools teachers and inspectors of the same creed were appointed. Everything reasonable, including a fee which was only one-half of that usually demanded of pupils, was done to attract Muhammadans into the schools. But, in 1882, the proportion, while increased, was found to be practically confined to primary schools (Chamberlain 1899:62-62).

In 1896 only fifteen percent of the students were Muslim though they represented twenty-two percent of the population. By this time there were few religious schools left even at the primary level.

> The exclusively religious oriental schools for Hindus or Muslims suffered most in the general changes in primary education. They could no longer receive grants from public funds; and they could no longer compete with the new [government] schools which were considered a straight route to lucrative employment. They therefore disappeared or receded to an inconspicuous place in the educational landscape (Siqueira 1960:64).

There were isolated instances of Muslim elements promoting ties with the West and developing modern educational institutions. The Aligarh Muslim College founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1875 became a center of Muslim modernist thought.

> It poured out a stream of young men who took their places in the government services and the public life of the country. Western education ceased to be regarded as a gateway to infidelity; the example of Aligarh was followed by degrees all over India. In this way the Muslim Westernized class grew up which, small though it was, contained men of great ability who carried the main burden of Pakistan in its early years (Spear in Mason 1967:40-41).

But institutions such as Aligarh were under the same pressures as all other colleges to prepare students for the standard university examination and so had little chance to integrate the education with any unique point of view. This will become more apparent in our discussion of missionary colleges in Chapter III. Thus the

main stream of education during the colonial period was secular, with little opportunity for distinctive Hindu, Muslim or Christian traditions.

At the time of partition almost all higher educational institutions in South Asia followed similar patterns of education and curriculum. The great majority of faculty and students were Hindu. There have been no fundamental changes since Muslims have administered the Pakistani institutions. In most instances these Pakistanis were not products of the vigorous intellectual tradition of Aligarh Muslim College, and Sayyid Ahmad Khan. They were the remnants of the pre-partition Muslim minorities in these same institutions that had been dominated by Hindu faculty. As such they could not be expected to have any distinctive Muslim approach to their teaching. Apart from the new departments of Islamic studies the overall educational patterns remain much the same as those in India today. And because of the relatively liberal values of most Pakistani professors it is unlikely that Pakistani colleges or universities will soon incorporate a religious character.

Higher Education in Pakistan

Today in Pakistan students enter the colleges after ten years of education at an age of about sixteen. An intermediate degree is granted after two years and the B.A. or B.S. two years later. Usually each college has several fields or disciplines in which the university with which they are affiliated allows them to teach courses leading to an M.A. or M.S. degree. The Masters degree normally requires two years and is thus received after a total of sixteen years

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of school, equivalent in time to the Bachelor's degree program in the United States. Since most college and university training is given in the English language this means that higher education is in the students' second (or third) language. In Lahore students usually speak both Punjabi and Urdu better than English.

Colleges perform undergraduate teaching and the universities give the yearly examinations, award degrees, and provide most of the graduate teaching. Thus the important examinations are not administered by the individual teacher, but are prepared by university professors and given uniformly to all students at the same level within the university. This is the "external examination" system, and it encourages learning set syllabi rather than the knowledge of individual professors.[2] A Commission of the Government of Pakistan has described the system in negative terms:

> For most students the examination has come to be more important than the acquisition of knowledge...Students have been quick to rebuke any teacher who wandered from the set syllabus...Examinations have come to dominate higher education, and the examining function of universities has dangerously overshadowed those of teaching and research. Moreover, as internal examinations have at present no value, the external examination is the exclusive pre-occupation of the student and he does not feel under strong immediate pressure to attend lectures or to secure his teacher's guidance personally or in the tutorial group (Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Report of the Commission on National Education, January-August 1959, Karachi, 1960, p. 23).

An exception to the usual pattern of university teaching is the Agricultural University at Lyallpur. This is a new institution established with the assistance of an AID contract team from

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[2]For a discussion of the philosophy of education in Pakistan today see Planning for Education in Pakistan by Adam Curle, Harvard University Press, 1966.

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Washington State University. All teaching is done by the university faculty, and the examinations are prepared and administered by the individual faculty members. There is some resistance to the system by both Pakistani faculty and students, but there is no immediate prospect of returning to the external examination system. However, this does not indicate that internal examinations have much chance of being adopted by the other universities in Pakistan.

With the exception of Lyallpur, the universities in West Pakistan are engaged in supervising the affiliated colleges and teaching selected graduate programs. There are four of these universities, Peshawar, Panjab, Sind and Karachi, and together they account for just 5,000 students; over one hundred colleges enroll 84,000 students (Curle 1966:104). Virtually all of the colleges are affiliated with one of the universities, but many are only intermediate colleges, and do not offer the last two years leading to the Bachelor's degree. Only a few offer graduate programs, leading to an M.A. degree.

In a population of forty-six million, the 89,000 students enrolled in colleges and universities represent a small elite element in the society. Of this number only about one-third (34.3%) actually pass the examinations and receive degrees (Ministry of Education, 1961:36). Thus even among the few students in higher educational institutions there are many who are not prepared for the discipline or relative sophistication of the education provided. Since the important examinations are held infrequently the students have a great deal of free time. Homework is rarely assigned and students commonly wait until near the date of the examinations, then set about memorizing as much information as possible.

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In 1963 almost half of the students chose one of the humanities as a major, one-sixth were in social science and one-sixth in natural science.[3] The remaining one-sixth were studying law, medicine, engineering, agriculture and education (UNESCO 1966:284-285). Many of the humanities students enter business or take civil service examinations for government employment.

Only thirteen percent of the students are women, and these are largely confined to all-female colleges. However, there are increasing numbers enrolled in graduate programs in coeducational institutions, and it is a common sight to see girls on campuses today. This does not mean that the patterns of interaction are routine; the role of women in modern sectors of Pakistani society is still being defined, and many awkward if not unpleasant social situations arise for the women students in the course of attending coeducational classes and walking about on campus.

There are very few foreign professors serving as faculty members in the universities. Those that are present are better termed visiting professors for they are not usually part of the regular staff, hired by the universities. In almost all cases their salaries are paid by some foreign agency, and most of these professors are American. Other than the AID, Ford and Fulbright professors included in our sample there were a few British and Canadian professors sponsored by their governments.

Of the several hundred faculty members at Panjab University,

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[3]Scientific education and the role of scientists in Pakistan are discussed in the Report of the Scientific Commission of Pakistan, printed in Shah 1967, pages 361-374.

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Lahore, a dozen or so had done their graduate work in Lebanon or England. Forty or fifty had participated in AID programs which sent them to the United States for graduate education. Almost all of the other professors received their education in India or Pakistan, and have now settled down to permanent positions. Promotions are based on seniority and though some move from one university to another, most have remained in the same institution.

The campus of the University of Panjab is new and only a few faculty homes have been built. Most faculty are required to come out from their homes in town, a half-hour bus ride, and this physical distance emphasizes the separation of their work from their lives at home. Students are discouraged from visiting faculty members at home, and even colleagues frequently live some distance apart.

Extended family relations provide most social activities for the professors and their families. Even those who have lived abroad find themselves immersed in a large active social system when they return. Relatives frequently come to spend a week or so at a time, and entertaining relatives is costly and time-consuming. Wives are most commonly uneducated and thus unable to participate in sophisticated cultural activities; their traditional roles emphasize religious piety and family obligations. When professors leave the university to return home they enter another world.

Perhaps the family activities and the network of responsibilities toward relatives absorbs some of the energy they might otherwise invest in their role of professor. There is the impression that most Pakistani professors are preoccupied with other concerns.

Shils described professors in India, and our research tends to support the description as a fair representation of Pakistan:

> ...the vast majority, thoroughly decent and honest men, carry on in a listless way, as if by rote. They are far too satisfied to reproduce what has been done in England and, more recently, America. They are too willing, not to carry on from where their professors left off, but to reproduce what they learned from their professors. Even when they do go on working with much energy, it seems as if they do so from a sense of obligation to do a job rather than enjoying the pleasure of discovery which is the result of doing the job. They do not exert themselves, and when they do they aspire to attain standards which call forth very little that is really personal. This is by no means a function of intelligence; it is a matter of attachment to the tasks, the subject matter, the traditions of intellectual achievement (Shils 1961:25).

Norms and Values Among Pakistani Professors

The cultural patterns of Pakistani faculty today still reflect many of the traditional South Asian values present before the arrival of the British. But now of course they must be seen beneath, or at least mixed in with, the bureaucratic system and curriculum of British colonial education. One cultural feature of Pakistani professors is the use of personal influence as the basis for making exceptions to rules. Within Pakistani higher educational institutions there are rules and regulations to cover most circumstances. However, these regulations merely provide a context or background for individual decisions since it is selectively possible and appropriate to make "exceptions" to the rules. Modernization and the growth of bureaucracy have not reduced the primary importance of the personal factor in decision making.

A Pakistani professor trained in the United States compared the attitude toward rules and exceptions between the two countries:

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"Pakistanis want very detailed rules but then apply them or not depending upon the individual. In Pakistan we have very rigid laws applied with exceptions. In America they have flexible laws applied impersonally" (101-6).[4] Even though there may be a rule in existence which indicates what should be done, responsible officials are free to choose another alternative on the basis of "exceptions." They do not perceive this action as a violation of the rules; they still obtain except when in their judgment personal factors are more significant.

Sponsorship by letters of reference or "chits" and personal introductions are an accepted and important part of the world of work, and without them one is at a disadvantage. American professors in Lahore are asked by Pakistani colleagues to write chits for the Pakistanis to take with them when they see an American missionary doctor for treatment. The Pakistanis believe they will receive better care if they are sponsored by an American. When a Pakistani wishes to see an educator, he will want some sort of personal introduction, something that will provide a personal relationship, regardless of how tenuous or irrelevant it may be to the nature of his business.

The detailed regulations over all aspects of formally organized life in Pakistan may be an attempt to reduce the importance of the personal factor in decision making, but the existence of these rules generates a system of personalized transactions and places more people into subjection to the personal decisions of officials. For example, admission to college is based on such strict academic standards that a large number of students are accepted only by special

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[4]The first number in parenthesis refers to the interviewee as described in Appendix C; the second number indicates the page of the typed interview on which this remark appears.

(personal) permission. Pakistanis responsible for the assigning of grades and granting of degrees are under great pressure from friends and relatives to make "exceptions" in this area as well. The external examination may be a response to this problem, since it allocates these decisions to a remote individual who thus presents less opportunity for attempted personal influence.

Because of the importance of personal relationships in the decision making process it is usually necessary to see someone in order to transact business. The desks of educational officials and college principals are surrounded by people waiting to exert their influence and accomplish their goals. This custom is only partly the expression of the value we are discussing; it also expresses the public nature of business dealings and disdain for standing in line, two other norms in Pakistani culture.

A second aspect of the culture of Pakistani professors is their constant struggle for "personal dignity." Professors in Pakistan do not have the status they say professors once enjoyed. They talk about the high prestige of their own teachers:

> We used to be scared of teachers. We felt there were halos around the teachers. Now things have changed; there is less discipline in the classes...Now people are judged by the things they own and their possessions. The economics have changed. In the past the intrinsic inner qualities were valued and so teachers were important and envied... The teacher was economically well-to-do in the old days too. Now the parents of students make much more than the teachers. In those days the intellectuals and the bright people became lecturers; now they no longer do...In those days it was not respectable to do business...Today M.A.'s drive taxis because now how much money we make is the important thing (138-2,3).

It is not easy for them to accept their lower status in relationship to students. They complain that their students make

higher salaries driving taxi-cabs than the professors in the universities. The ritualized respect still awarded the position of professor barely satisfies them and they struggle to maintain their status in a society which is increasingly disenchanted with the authoritative and detached role of the intellectual. The students are expected to stand when the professor enters the room and when they recite in class. But they express their disrespect in class vocally as well as through various practical jokes, much to the consternation of the insecure professors.

> One of my staff said that in his classroom someone made a catcall, so he locked the door and did not allow anyone to leave until he found out who did it (40-6).
>
> The Pakistani professors get mad when they are asked a question by the students. Some of the professors told us that they do not have time to be prepared to answer any questions (41-6).

The lack of discussion and interchange between professors and students is a characteristic of Pakistani education and a number of factors are probably responsible for it: neither the students nor the faculty are fluent in English, the language normally used in class, thus it is difficult to carry on discussions. Also, the memorization of syllabi necessary for passing examinations makes discussion less relevant and unimportant. But possibly of greater significance is the fact that neither students nor faculty know how to handle a situation in which a professor admits error or lack of knowledge; it is an unfamiliar role and an embarrassment to both. The Guru role may be inappropriate today, but aspects of this role are still conscious in the minds of both faculty and students. This is true in India as well as Pakistan. Robert Gaudino describes

the attitude of Indian professors, as he found it in 1962.

> The teacher's rudeness is of a different sort: the refusal to respond sympathetically to questions, the posture of superiority, the pompous assumption that he is in control of both the subject matter and the mind of the student, the compulsion to maintain authority in everything, the reluctance to admit errors or misjudgments, the lack of serious effort...There is not a place, nor an occasion, nor a real desire for the teacher and student to meet together for the sympathetic exchange of ideas (Gaudino 1965:210).

A discussion of this gradual loss of status felt by professors in modern India is offered by Edward Shils in his study, The Intellectual between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation. As we have noted earlier, the great bulk of the educated people in India came from the Brahman caste; this is particularly true of the teachers and professors. The general status of Brahmans in the society added even further prestige to the role of teacher, a role which had high prestige in pre-modern societies regardless of caste association. The Brahman professors lived leisurely and intellectual lives. But today's value system in both Pakistan and India calls into question both the arbitrary rank of professors and also the worth of traditional or classic education in which the majority of the present professors were trained.

The new intellectual tradition in South Asia is coming from the West. Though it has not yet taken root it has had the negative effect of undermining the position of professors whose claim to status rests upon the old position of intellectuals.

> The Indian intellectuals have been endowed with this many-sided and still living tradition of the Brahmins. No other country can quite match this picture of a continuing intellectual tradition carried so long by a single section of the population...Yet the modern intellectual tradition is different from the tradition of intellectual life which India has received from its own past (Shils 1961:21-22).

> The great tradition of Brahmin intellectuality has not yet been able to transform itself into the standards of modern intellectual activity; it has not been successful in infusing itself into the attitudes which operate in earthly work and creation. It has not yet been able to overcome its relegation of the concrete and the immediate to an inferior plane which is not so much to be ordered by intelligence as it is to be overcome and transcended (Shils 1961:26).

Shils states that "modern Indian intellectual life has not yet become a self-generating power" (Shils 1961:22). It is most apt to be found in institutions where there has been a large number of American or British advisors or faculty, and where the curriculum is dominated by applied science. Here again the Agricultural University at Lyallpur provides us with an exception to the prevailing patterns in Pakistani colleges and universities.

The faculty of the Agricultural University are generally content with their position in society, and are treated with greater respect by their students. This prestige is not based upon sahib behavior or the maintenance of social distance. Both professors and students appear comfortable in discussions and relaxed conversation. Neither group hesitates to get their hands dirty in agricultural experimentation. The characteristics of this university support Shils' thesis, for it is a new university established by and modeled after an American land-grant university. It has had and still has many American faculty or advisors, and dozens of the 200 Pakistani faculty possess American graduate degrees. Furthermore, the subject of the curriculum is applied science; within the university there is no opportunity to choose one of the more traditional or classical majors.

But the preoccupation of most Pakistani professors with their position or status is expressed far beyond the classroom. Because

maintaining status is so important it is also necessary to avoid an open threat to another's status. This means that in a committee meeting no one is apt to express sharp disagreement with a colleague. There is a tendency within the society for opposing factions to be formed regarding almost any issue. Hence it is a constant struggle to maintain good relations with one's colleagues and to avoid being placed within opposing groups.[5] A Pakistani social psychologist was asked how he would handle a difference of opinion with another Pakistani:

> With those Pakistanis with whom I am close I would handle it the same way I would with an American. That is, I would talk very openly about it and argue if necessary. But with most of the Pakistanis I could not express my viewpoint. I would have to be more circuitous. I would be reluctant to express my disagreement. In a Pakistani organization, disagreement indicates disloyalty (102-6).

The norms of the "loyal opposition" or a "friendly argument" do not exist. The expression of one's true feelings is frequently less important than a statement which will have the proper effect of support. It may be better to indicate agreement and then simply fail to act upon it than to argue the point and produce hard feelings or threaten another's status.

This norm is expressed when professors ask colleagues to evaluate a paper they have written, or when they ask their principal about the arrival of new equipment or supplies. The response will be based upon what the respondent believes the inquirer wishes to hear. Usually the best thing to say is that which will produce the happiest

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[5] Factionalism as a characteristic of Pakistani educators will be discussed below.

effect, at that time. In the long run it may produce greater unhappiness, but this consequence is not relevant at the time of the question.

Gaudino describes the attitude of contemporary Indian professors which closely resembles that of Pakistani faculty members; this is a further expression of an old Indian culture pattern in one segment of the society.

> Literal honesty is not considered a virtue...Things are never said openly and sharply which can be suggested or implied. Unpleasant scenes are avoided...Each person tries to avoid the head-on encounter, the straight-forward engagement, the full confrontation...In the end, the compromise is made, and all parties say it is what they wanted (Gaudino 1965:24-25).

Thus group decisions ideally are made on the basis of "consensus," not by voting. One does not wish to be put on record as simply favoring or opposing any measure for this involves committing oneself, and thus risking the loss of status. Likewise, one does not wish to publically oppose colleagues, unless absolutely necessary. Long complicated discussions take place with support for a given position slowly gathering momentum until the chairman chooses to announce what he states is the consensus of the group.

But this is a very time consuming process and not all decisions can wait for the consensus of groups. Another pervasive pattern in Pakistani culture is the concentration of power and authority in the hands of a very few. Thus it is possible for the chairman of a committee to announce a decision that is contrary to the actual consensus expressed by the group. Even then he will normally state the decision as if it were the consensus: "I believe we have reached a consensus that..." though this may not be the case at all. Such an

action avoids open or direct disagreement which might threaten status; it allows everyone to express themselves, maintains the symbols of uniformity, and preserves the ultimate authority of the chairman.

Virtually all decisions in higher educational institutions are made by the top administrator within an organization. Even if recommendations are made by other officials the final decision carries the signature of the chief. Thus the principal of a college (the senior administrator) signs all grade certificates for all students each session, a chore which adds up to 6,000 signatures each year for even a small college of 400 students (143-2). A leaky faucet in a faculty home on campus requires an order from the principal to the chief custodian.

When the students objected to the principal about an examination he announced to them that the teacher would give another examination, even before he had talked with the professor. The principal can decide who is admitted to the college, the conduct of the classes and the assignment of term grades. If he so desires he can overrule and make any decision of any official in the college.[6]

Within this authority system there is little reward for initiative by the subordinates. Their expected role is to follow the leader and express support for whatever plan they believe is favored by him. A Pakistani professor described the changes taking place as a Pakistani replaced an American as the top administrator in his institution:

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[6]For a discussion of the comparable role of principals of colleges in India see Gaudino, The Indian University, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1965.

> We are moving more toward centralized and authoritarian administration, or less democratic. What I mean by this is that [the administrator] makes many more decisions himself without consulting anyone else. For example, we used to have an administrative council that directly advised [the administrator]. Now this council has been abolished. This is true not only of [the administrator's] position, but also of the departmental heads. They have less freedom in the way they manage their own operations. And yet I think they are reacting to this and thus running their own departments in a more authoritarian manner. There are less departmental meetings and they are not as democratic as they have been. So the end result is that the individual faculty member has less say in the way things are done. The departmental head has less say in the things that are done regarding the institution. And so the whole organization has become more centralized and authoritatian. In most cases we continue to have the same meetings, but the way the meetings are conducted has changed. Everyone seems to follow the lead of the administration if they can find out what the administration wants. Then they either suggest those things or at least agree with them when they are presented (102-4,5).

Besides the effect of this upon the subordinates, there is an effect upon the administrator as well. He must devote the majority of his time to relatively small daily decisions and therefore he has little time left to consider educational goals and develop new programs. Neither the subordinates nor the leader are in a position to innovate.

The final Pakistani pattern to be discussed is related to the point just made. There is no outward opposition to the leader and this gives the impression of unity; but commonly there is a great deal of in-fighting among the subordinates. It is expressed with more subtlety than in the United States but it is present in most Pakistani educational institutions, because of the cultural definition of "friend" and the resulting formation of opposing factions. As a Pakistani explained it:

> We Pakistanis are oriented by the Indo-Pakistani philisophical attitude in which everyone takes sides, makes

> groups, and puts people into one group or another. But they don't think it is wrong; we don't even realize that we [do it] (117-2).

Another added: "Muslims think a person is either a friend or an enemy. A friend will do anything for you. And if a person is not of that type, then he is an enemy" (136-3). This definition of friendship is very foreign to the American culture, and it clearly affects social and working relationships.

> I think one big difference in the Pakistani is that he cannot understand that we can be friends of several people. In other words, I can be a friend of his, but I'm also a friend of someone else who may not be a friend of the first Pakistani. This is a real part of their culture (36-6).

In one sense friends are those with common enemies.

Once friendship has been pledged, then there are heavy responsibilities for each party. "They will do anything for a friend, even something that is wrong" (18-3). Friends have mutual obligations. A common theme of Pakistani motion pictures is the triangle involving two friends who inadvertently fall in love with the same girl. The "good and proper" ending is for them both to give up the girl.

> This is a cultural pattern here. It is not something they do just with foreigners. They have a term for it--safarish--which means that if I do something for you I am storing up your favor and therefore expect you to return the favor in some way (15-6).

There is an enormous difference between the educated and non-educated Pakistani. Relative to the majority of the society professors are leaders in change and very non-conformist in their view of Islam and society. For example, the professors consistently believe in greater education for the masses, further break down of socio-economic barriers, more freedom for women to participate in

society, less power for the Mullahs or Islamic priests, and greater use of the democratic process. However, the professors who have received all of their education in the Indian sub-continent express a strong belief in the fundamental importance of Islam, and are concerned about the weakening of Pakistani society because of the effect of the West. "We should go slow in accepting influences of the West... our people are not ready for this" (108-1,2).

> The sensate culture is having an effect on today's youth... Today's youth cannot apply religious principles to their lives. The whole teaching of Islam is very rational. It is good and required in a welfare society. Islam is a whole comprehensive force covering the whole community, at least this is what I believe...But we need to bring it into our curriculum and into our lectures...We need to see the relation between the Koran and social relations and our attitude toward our country, etc. (127-1).

These professors see themselves as progressive and in favor of change, even in their religion. But they believe American advisors and most foreign educated Pakistanis are promoting changes that will destroy or break down the fundamental values of their society. Movies are commonly mentioned as an example of foreign (American) influence which is producing disintegration of morality and religion for the young people, and juvenile delinquency.

The world-view of Pakistanis who have studied abroad is generally more favorable to influences from the West, and rapid social change.

> I'm in favor of most all of the changes now...The traits of industrialization which are supposedly shattering our value system and beliefs I do not think are bad changes. I do not agree with the people who try to avoid these changes (102-2).

> Personally I am in favor of almost any change, at least as far as Pakistani society goes. I don't see the problems with change. Changes are not good or bad in themselves;

> it depends on how we respond or react to them and the attitudes we have toward the particular thing. All the influences of the West are good as far as I'm concerned (101-2).

The returnee professors express a very liberal approach to religion. Though the younger generation in higher educational institutions are generally liberal in their beliefs, the professors who have returned from overseas far exceed the norm.

> I think my generation has lost most of its contact with religion. Certainly in my case religion has grown much weaker as a result of living abroad for four or five years. I do believe in universal values, but these are not unique to any particular religion. I am not opposed to being a Muslim or believing in Islam as long as these represent traditions that are useful for our sake and are nothing supernatural (102-1).

A number of these professors in Lahore are active in the Unitarian Fellowship, a religious organization which emphasizes a non-supernatural approach and the universality of basic beliefs found in all religions. "Now my position is that religions are merely different ways of achieving the same ends" (118-1).

Yet the Pakistani nation is founded upon Islam and is said to be necessary because of the incompatability of Hinduism and Islam. The pronouncements from the government offices of education emphasize the Islamic approach to all learning, including science. Education is to be built upon Islam, but the professors wonder about the uniqueness of Islam as a basis for education:

> In our faculty meetings recently we have been working on trying to decide what is unique in Islam that other religions do not have, and we could not come up with anything. We even invited the Chairman of the Islamic Studies Department to speak to us and...we asked him point-blank and he said that it wasn't so much that Islam had anything unique in it that other religions did not, but that it was more comprehensive and included more things than the other religions did (101-2).

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A few of the foreign educated professors attempt an elaborate reinterpretation of Islam which holds that the priests and religious bureaucracy in Pakistan today are not a true expression of Islam, but a badly corrupted form. They seek a reformation of the "permanent values" of the Koran which they claim can provide the basis for a modern, essentially secular state. But most professors are content to be "nominally" religious; for them this means honesty, integrity, etc., much in the manner of the "nominal Christian" in this country. Thus it is possible for them to say, "I feel that some Europeans are truly more Islamic and Muslim than we are here. They have more honesty; they are more straightforward" (115-2). "It is that kind of Islam. Not prayers and beads and a few acts of charity; they have no truck with piety" (114-1).

Pakistanis increasingly emphasize their Muslim heritage and de-emphasize the strictly religious doctrines of Islam as found in the Koran. This difference between "Islamic" and "Muslim" is not well understood in the West, yet the distinction is very important in describing the world-view of the educated elite in Pakistan today, particularly those who have studied overseas. "Islam" is embodied in the Koran and refers more to the traditional religious doctrines regarding man's relationship to God; "Muslim" (literally "a follower of Islam") includes Islam but is much broader, and signifies the whole cultural tradition of the Islamic people, emphasizing social relations and moral principles. Thus the majority of educated people in Pakistan are truly Muslim but are no longer orthodox believers in Islam. Islam is a system of religious beliefs; Muslim is a way of life.

History and political science can be taught from this Muslim point of view, but notice this is not the Islamic point of view. Islamic means the strictly religious part and I don't think history and political science can be taught from a religious point of view. But our whole cultural background, the Muslim way of life, enters in very much in our teaching of both history and political science (121-1).

CHAPTER III

THE PAKISTANI CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND MISSIONARY COLLEGES

The Christian Community

> The Christian community here began because of the Westerners who were over here. Now that the Westerners have gone the Christian community here feels uprooted. The country is now free, and so the Christian community is in the state of psychological crisis. This is their country but they feel persecuted. They have that minority complex which is inevitable. They unleash it within our institution (123-1).

The professor who made these comments was a Muslim graduate of a Christian college who has now returned to serve on the faculty of his alma mater. His remarks suggest the problems facing both the Christian community and their colleges today in Pakistan: Christians form one segment of the communal system of South Asia; they are a foreign based, low status community. Their colleges have an insecure position today and a questionable role in the future of Pakistan.

The history of Christian missions in India has been recorded in numerous works, chief among them the set of volumes by Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1945). But certain features of this history should be noted here in order to understand the mentality or character of this community. Throughout the one hundred and fifty years' existence of Christians in South Asia, they have retained their low caste world-view.

> It must never be forgotten that the hundreds of thousands of the depressed classes that have entered the Christian Church and form now the bulk of the Christian population can only very slowly appropriate the new visions and think

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> the new thoughts. The wheels of the Christian Church drag heavily in the sand of their age-long inferiorities and disabilities (Commission on Higher Education in India, 1931:55-56).

Social ranking is fundamental in South Asian society. It is not limited to adherents of Hinduism, but certainly the Hindu religion is the primary source of its expression throughout the continent today. Within the traditional Hindu culture there is no place for a group of people to live outside the caste system. Everyone must have a caste identity, just as everyone must have a name in our own society. As one example, when Muslims moved into South Asia they were automatically assigned to a caste position. They had no choice--it was impossible to exist in the society without assuming a caste, or ranked position.

Most Christians today in South Asia are descended from low caste Hindus who converted to Christianity. The assumption exists that a good deal of the motivation for this conversion was based on the belief that this conversion would produce a higher economic or social rank in the society. Yet there is little evidence that the society treated them differently or accorded them a higher rank than before their conversion. Another motivation of equal importance was the new (and higher) spiritual position they believed they would attain through conversion to Christianity.

If one person or an individual family converted they lost their former caste identity but took on the identity of the Christian community which became a very low caste itself:

> The churches themselves tended to become castes. The acceptance of baptism cut the Indian off from his former caste--unless others of his caste came with him. The church which he joined therefore seemed to him and to his

> fellows, both Christian and non-Christian, to be another caste (Latourette 1944, Vol VI:205).

However, the great majority of Christians did not convert as individuals, but as part of a large group within a particular caste. A comprehensive study of the Christian community conducted in 1933 found that at least 80% of the Christians in South Asia converted through what are known as "mass movements" (Pickett 1933:314). These were sometimes spectacular group actions in which missionaries or Indian pastors would baptize large numbers of people from a single caste. The best known example is Rev. John Clough who with his assistants baptized 3,536 members of the Madiga caste in three days. The Madiga caste represented the lowest social level in the Telegu speaking area of South India (Latourette 1944, Vol VI:66-67).

Mass conversions to Christianity and to other religions have taken place in various parts of the world, but in no other area have they played such an important role in the formation of the Christian Church. Considering the nature of Indian society this is not difficult to understand for the caste of an individual is his most significant group identification. The concept of identity in India is related to a group more than to an individual, and the most significant actions are generally group actions, not individual actions. An individual rarely makes an important decision apart from his family or caste. To the extent that social mobility existed in India it was the entire caste that moved, not an individual that moved from one caste to another.

But though conversion no doubt brought about a new spiritual role and position in the minds of the new Christians, it did very

little for their social and economic position in society. Most often these mass movements brought the social aspects of the caste along with them.

> Thus among the Telegus the Wesleyans, quite against the original plan of the missionaries, came to be the church of the Malas, and the American Baptists the church of the Madigas (Latourette, 1944, Vol VI:205).

There are instances of churches with segregated congregations, on the basis of caste. Most converts continued to perform the same vocational function and adhere to the social roles they held before their conversion.

The acceptance of one's relative position in society--as a member of a caste--is such a fundamental principle in the world-view of South Asian culture that it would be surprising indeed if the Christians had lost their basic dependent, inferior outlook and self-image. In regard to financial support of the church, and the emergence of leadership, Pickett makes this conclusion:

> It should be recognized that these classes have been trained by centuries of exploitation and servility to avoid the acceptance of responsibilities that may prove burdensome, and to get all they can out of every situation, while obligating themselves as little as possible (Pickett 1933:217-218).

The authority and financial position of missionaries did little to change the dependent role of the Indian Christians. The converts saw the missionaries as their new <u>sahibs</u>, and the missionaries found it very difficult--even when they tried--to break out of the stereotype.

> That's the trouble with the Christian community here. They have never been allowed to struggle for themselves. They have been helped by the foreign missionaries. Whoever went and begged received help. This played up the <u>sahib</u> role for the missionary (137-1).

It is interesting to note that most of the missionaries did nothing to encourage mass movements, particularly in the early stages of their history:

> Before these movements began, the missionaries in practically every area were working primarily for the higher castes, hoping that they might first be won and might then take over the winning of the lower castes. They sought individual converts and tried to destroy their connection with castes. They saw castes only as obstructions to the spread of the gospel, never as channels along which it would spread (Pickett 1933:56).

At this time missionaries did not understand that their converts could not escape the caste system, no matter what their spiritual beliefs; if they lost their old caste position they would be assigned a new and probably lower caste position, that of "Christian." Most missionaries eventually decided that rather than giving up the positive social support of their caste it was better for the whole caste to convert, even if this meant retaining their social and economic status. Caste conversions were more compatable with Indian culture than individual conversions.

One result of this is that the Christian Church in Pakistan today is known as the "sweeper community," and Gordon College, the largest Christian college in Pakistan, is known as the "sweeper college." A highly placed Christian Pakistani faculty member exclaimed, "I have said to some missionaries, 'Why could you not, in 100 years, take the community out of the role of the sweeper?'" (137-2). But a Christian caste cannot raise its relative rank in the South Asian culture based upon Hinduism.

The only possibility for both the Christians and Muslims was to set up separate social systems, in which they could escape the

particular ranking criteria of the Hindu philosophy. The South Asian communal system represents such an attempt. In the last half century the communal system has competed with the caste system in South Asia as the major determinant of identity. Today, particularly in Pakistan, it is more significant and descriptive to speak of the society in communal rather than caste terminology.

Castes are interdependent: members of a caste have roles to perform in connection with other castes; castes have privileges and responsibilities in relation to other castes. There is something of a division of labor present, whether it involves actual vocational differentiation, or more commonly social and spiritual prerogatives. They are all part of a single society. However communities in the communal system of South Asia are defined without reference to the other communities. They have no commonly accepted responsibilities or prerogatives toward the other communities; they are not part of a single social system which dictates separate styles of life and forms of interaction.

The existence of Pakistan today is evidence of the fact that Muslims consider themselves not a caste within a single system, but a separate system, even society, that is incompatable with the Hindu culture. And in general the Christians have the same communal view of their role in society.

> The communal principle, adopted in the emerging political framework of India, made of the Christians a distinct political entity and brought with it the danger of the Church becoming a political party, segregated from the rest of Indian society and used by ambitious men to promote their own ends. The communal trend, too, made conversion more difficult, for the latter would be interpreted as a political tool to strengthen the Christians at the expense of their rivals for the control of the state (Latourette 1944, Vol VII:311).

Christians in Pakistan suffer from their low caste origin and world-view. But they are best understood not as a caste; they are a community, alongside, and lower than, the Muslims. It is a separate and unequal world. This position is closer to the Negro in America one hundred years ago than it is to a low caste in old India. The great majority of Pakistani Christians live in segregated areas and perform the lowest form of occupations, such as sweeping. Approximately forty-five percent of the total Christian community in West Pakistan are sweepers living in cities (Gittings 1964:16). Those who live in the villages have a comparable social position even though their occupation may be farming.

> Ask in the village where the Christians live, and, like as not, you will be told that the Christian tutti, a term that sometimes means "dung heap" is over here or over there...Approaching...you will see low houses, often at some distance from the rest of the village. These will be the homes of Christians, usually gathered around the separate well that custom imposes upon them (Gittings 1964:13).

Gittings estimates that thirty-five percent of the Christian community in the Punjab live in this manner. Together with the forty-five percent that are urban sweepers this totals eighty percent of the total Christian community. We have already noted that eighty percent of the conversions to Christianity came from low castes through mass movements. Apparently there has been little social mobility of the Christians in the past 100 years.

Because of this communal outlook Christians come to American employers, whom they assume are Christian, and ask for employment because of their common religion. They are bewildered to find that American Christians do not particularly favor Christians in their

employment. They think of America as a wonderland where the Christian community runs things, as they feel Muslims do in Pakistan.

Finally, in addition to having a low caste origin, and now constituting a community in the communal system, the modern Pakistani Christian church has not escaped the burden of being foreign, the leftovers of colonial domination. In one sense Christians in South Asia are a foreign-based community.

> The war has been difficult for us as Christians. The Muslim public has the idea that we national Christians are behind the foreigners. Because the foreigners started our religion here, they think that we are spies. We are very disheartened about this, but we are loyal to our nation. That is why we want the foreigners to go, to show our country that we will die for our country. We want to show the Muslims (113-2).

During the war of 1965, Christians in Pakistan were treated in a manner reminiscent of the American treatment of Japanese in California during World War II. They were not commonly accused, but they were not trusted either. There were some incidents in Pakistani villages along the border in which Christians were said to have been arrested and persecuted.

Whether this is true for India or not, for Pakistan the Partition of 1947 established two nations on the basis of religious community. This national sentiment supported Islam, and many thousands were killed ostensibly for their religion. Since nationalism in Pakistan is expressed in religious terms, what effect does this have upon the Christian community?

There are thousands of Christians in the army of Pakistan, but there are just as many in the army of India. Both nations are more conscious of the Christians in their opponent's army than they

are of them in their own. Many of the Pakistani Christians in the sample studied have close relatives in India. In spite of some notable exceptions and heroic incidents, the Christian community in Pakistan today finds it almost impossible to be accepted as a patriotic element in the society.

The History of Missionary Colleges

Christian colleges in Pakistan today are not simply the expression of the Christian community. Up to the present time the Christian community has had little to say about the affairs of the Christian colleges. As we shall see this is now in the process of change, but throughout most of their century of existence these colleges were essentially missionary colleges. The history of higher education in India has been summarized in Chapter II and so it is our purpose here merely to comment upon the effect of government policy toward the missionary colleges as they developed. With reference to these colleges the government passed through four stages of disposition or official policy: opposition, recognition, subsidy and control.

Until 1813 Christian missionaries were not allowed in India. This policy should be seen in the context of the general British policy toward India which held that the life of the natives should be disturbed as little as possible by the activities of the East India Company and western institutions. At that time the British did not recognize the comprehensive effect of their presence in India, and that their role in India required some attention to the social welfare of the population. It should be remembered that Britain did not become involved in the financial support of education until 1833, twenty years later.

Thus the real issue of the debate surrounding Christian missions was whether the British government was in fact deeply involved in the Indian social structure, and whether the inattention of the government to the welfare of the natives would eventually threaten the economic and colonial purposes of the British in India.

> The main fear was not, as it afterwards was, that the preaching of the missionaries might offend the religious feelings of the people, but rather of the political effect education and the Christian religion might have on a subject race...Another speaker commented that while he did not regret the recent events in America, they should at least serve as a warning of the results that could be expected from the spread of education (quoted in Neill, 1966:91).

The Charter of 1813 recorded the decision of the British, that it was inevitable and expedient for them to be involved in an increasingly large sphere of Indian society.

> It is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement (Neill, 1966:92).

This Charter signaled the beginning of the second period, that of recognition by the government of the legitmacy of missionary work, including education. In contrast to the prevailing opinion of English educators in India at that time, the missionaries frankly attempted to teach aspects of western culture, via the medium of vernacular languages. This position did not conform to either of the polar philosophies which were then emerging in the debate over western education, discussed in Chapter II. The Orientalists believed England should encourage education in India that was non-western or Hindu in character, based on the use of Sanscrit and Arabic languages. The

Occidentalists believed in teaching western culture by means of the English language. The latter position finally won the debate in 1835, and by that time missionaries had established higher educational institutions in which English was the medium of instruction. But missionary schools remained the chief European institutions involved in western education at the primary level, using vernacular languages.

As the government increasingly favored western education the missionary colleges gained additional stature, since in 1850 most of the higher educational institutions promoting western education were missionary colleges. There was still no direct financial support to the colleges from the government, but full recognition of their function and accomplishments was accorded them.

The next stage in the relations of the government and the colleges began in 1854 with the introduction of the grant-in-aid system. Every educational institution, whether religious or not, received financial aid for the secular education it provided. During this period there was a minimum of interference in the affairs of the missionary colleges, and the relations were very cordial between the colleges and the government universities to which they were affiliated. Missionary educators were influential in the administration of the universities and in the formation of governmental policies. For a time the principal of Forman Christian College in Lahore, Dr. James Ewing, served as Vice-Chancellor of Panjab University.

> This period, from 1859 to 1904 and later still, was the great period of the Christian colleges. Great opportunities were seized by great men, and Christian influence in higher education was at its height. But already influences were at work which could only in the long run create difficulty for the Christian colleges (Commission 1931:65).

For the time being the new policy strengthened the individual colleges, but the long range effect was the reverse. The new policy encouraged not only missionary colleges, but a large number of other private colleges as well. The standards that were required in order to receive financial support were so minimal that educational achievement deteriorated as colleges without adequate staff and facilities became affiliated. From 1880 on it became increasingly clear that greater control over both high schools and colleges would be necessary if the universities were to certify quality education.

The fourth and final stage can be marked by the Acts of 1904 which increased the power of the universities over the colleges so that they were now required to meet much stricter conditions of staff and equipment in order to qualify for affiliation with the university. The Acts also introduced the innovation of the universities themselves performing some of the teaching function, though this was limited to graduate courses. All undergraduate teaching was still performed by the colleges.

Fifty years of dependence upon financial support from the government had committed the colleges to this kind of relationship, and there was now no choice but to meet the new requirements. The Acts of 1904 were followed by more detailed provisions in 1913 and finally the Sadler Commission in 1915 which recommended fundamental changes in the university structure. These had the overall effect of increasing the strength of the universities at the expense of the colleges.

Opportunities for the missionary colleges to provide innovative education were now severely limited. "If the license of

the bad colleges was curbed, the liberty of the good colleges was curbed too" (Commission 1931:67). It was no longer possible to be unique or different in any significant manner, including the presentation of Christianity. As has been discussed in Chapter II, this general period, which extends to the present time, is characterized by tremendous pressure from both students and government for the colleges to limit their functions and concentrate on preparing students for the university examinations. University education was the necessary step toward civil service or comparable vocations, as a means of gaining wealth and high social status. Government employment required: facility in the English language, and university degrees. These were the facts of life for the continued existence of colleges, and they were forced to compete on the basis of accomplishing these two goals.

> [The colleges] were compelled to concentrate their main energies upon fulfilling the conditions which would satisfy the requirements of the University and provide what the majority of the students, whose fees became an increasingly important consideration, demanded (Commission 1931:67).

> The students find it difficult in these circumstances to give their minds seriously to anything that lies outside of the examination programme, to which they are bound, like Prometheus to his rock, by the bonds of economic necessity. This enslavement of the student on the one hand and of the teacher on the other is what more than anything else, prevents the Christian college from being effectively Christian (Commission 1931:108).

Students and parents begrudged any activity of the college, including religious education, which would not directly prepare the student for the examinations. Several decades later, in the 1930's, Christian colleges were required by some of the provincial governments to permit students the option of not attending religious

instruction. Parents signed "conscience clauses" which then required the colleges to excuse the students from attending these classes. At the time many of the missionaries welcomed this step, believing that it was proper to eliminate any coercion for non-Christians to attend religious instruction. Eventually the formality of the conscience clause was dropped, and attendance was left up to the individual students. On that basis the "religious period" which had been a central part of the Christian character of missionary colleges since their founding came to an end. Today its form is the daily chapel period which attracts only a small percentage of even the Christian students. It is not at all clear that the earlier objection to the religious period was based entirely upon religious opposition. Equally significant may have been the concern to exclude any activity or teaching that would not directly contribute to the students' success in passing the university examinations. During the period of our study in Pakistan in 1965 a student objected to a chemistry lecture on the periodic table since he maintained that this information was not part of the University syllabus. A check was made and it was found that the student was correct, and so the professor went on to something else.

Today there is an Islamic mosque and a Christian chapel on the campus of Forman Christian College in Lahore. Neither building plays a significant role for students or faculty. The daily chapel service is attended by less than twenty of the eighty Christian students. The daily prayers at the mosque are attended by a few servants but virtually no students. There is no formal discussion on campus of either Islam or Christianity or even religion in general, at any other time or place. None of the Christian faculty recall a Muslim

student converting to Christianity, and some maintain that no student conversions have occurred in the century of the college's existence. This does not mean that no difference exists between the Christian college and the other colleges in the area; these will be discussed below. Nor does it imply that these colleges have not exerted a "Christian influence" upon South Asian society, however this may be defined. But it does indicate that the colleges provide little opportunity on campus for the discussion of traditional Christian faith. The government and the university examination system have increasingly limited the opportunity of Christian colleges to provide education that is distinctively religious in character.

Characteristics of Christian Colleges

Forman Christian College celebrated its one hundredth year in 1964. Historically it has been one of a dozen or so elite colleges in South Asia. Lahore is a very large city but seemingly everyone knows of "F.C. College" even though it is now located five miles from the center of the city in the wealthy suburb of Gulberg. The campus spreads over 130 acres and includes two large classroom and office buildings, two science buildings with laboratory facilities, an auditorium, a library, a large chapel and a student center. In addition there are five residential halls for students, forty residences for faculty members, a large swimming pool, and sports fields that alone cover more than a city block.

The buildings are constructed in the British colonial style of thick mud-brick walls covered with a plaster that is whitewashed. The rooms are large with big fans extending down from the high

ceilings. Classrooms are furnished with a blackboard, and simple benches and desks. The accoustics are bad. In the central office one old typewriter is used by the clerk who types all official correspondence. Four of the offices are connected by a simple wire intercom system. One telephone with two extensions serves the entire college. The dirt walkways and parking areas around the central buildings are sprinkled daily to hold down the dust but it is a losing battle.

Most higher education in Pakistan is taught in English, but parents who send their children to missionary schools assume that they learn better English while studying under British or American teachers. Since the missionary colleges have been the only colleges with substantial numbers of foreign faculty members this has contributed to their prestige. Though the basic curriculum is established by the universities and is therefore the same in all affiliated colleges, only certain colleges are certified to teach particular subjects. Because of the Americans present on their staffs, Christian colleges have consistently lead in the teaching of natural science and social science. Forman Christian College is known throughout South Asia for its contribution in physics and chemistry; sociology was first introduced within the system of the Panjab University in Forman College. Today they are one of the few colleges offering Masters degree programs in economics and political science.

The image of the missionary colleges includes an intangible sense of mission and community of effort as well. Mission is not defined in religious terms but is traced to the long terms of key professors who were committed to their tasks. Many of the earlier missionary professors made deep impressions on the students because

of their "sincerity" and warm personal relations with students. The belief is still present that professors in Christian colleges are more dedicated and concerned about the moral and intellectual development of students than the professors in other colleges.

Several informants stated that Forman Christian College has never regained the stature it held prior to the partition of 1947. At that time the largest group of faculty were Hindu and all of the Hindu professors (about twenty) fled to India. Except for one professor, all of the fifteen or so Indian Christian faculty migrated to India as well. Therefore when the college reopened, all that was left was the large, well furnished campus, the missionary staff, the Muslim faculty of about ten, and one Pakistani Christian professor. The student body changed from more than 1,000 students, mostly Hindu, to several hundred Muslims and a handful of Christians. Today the student enrollment has grown to about the same number: 1100 total including approximately 100 Christians. Because of nearby Kinnaird College for women there are only a dozen or so women enrolled in Forman College.

Students at Forman Christian College participate in a very active social life. Almost half of them live in one of the four hostels, and these residence halls form the basis for the sports program, student government, and the many informal groupings and activities. Much of the day is spent wandering about the campus, often hand in hand with other men students, or sitting in the student center having tea. Conversation is in Urdu or Punjabi and is dominated by national politics and women. Dating is infrequent and so particular girls are not commonly discussed.

Books are not a conspicuous part of their education, and are not usually carried to class. The 58,000 volume library is rarely visited; it serves a function similar to a museum. Even the storage of books within the library is something like a museum because so many are kept under lock and key.

The great majority of students come from wealthy, educated Muslim homes in the northern half of West Pakistan. Educated Pakistanis are most often relatively modern in orientation and they believe the Christian colleges present an essentially modern, western, secular education. The students may lose some fervancy in their devotion to Islam, but there is little chance of them accepting Christianity: conversions of students on campus are unheard of. And most parents (at least fathers) who send their sons to Christian colleges are quite willing for them to become essentially modern and secular in their values and world-view. Also involved in the parents' decision is the fact that here their sons will associate socially with other wealthy students, learn English, and be subject to the discipline and moral influence for which the college is known.

The sophistication of these students sets them apart from the Christians who almost always come from much lower social classes. Christian students are usually granted a scholarship ("concession"); without this they could not afford a college education. Their family background does not prepare them for the social life of this college, and they are generally regarded as simple and unsophisticated. Discrimination against them exists in the hostels, but it is said to be based on the difference in social background more than on their religious affiliation. A few upper-class Christians with sports or

other skills have social ties and friendships with Muslim students. In terms of academic grades, the bottom ten percent of the class are predominantly Christian.

Faculty in Christian colleges teach about twenty hours a week. However, there is little variation in the courses offered, and the professors do not revise their courses extensively from year to year. They have enough free time to spend several hours a day in the faculty room over cups of tea. Here the talk is animated and light--like party conversation. The topics move back and forth with more emphasis given to wit and delivery than to the content. A serious discussion of educational philosophy and techniques, intellectual issues or civic affairs would be inappropriate.

The missionaries do not find the faculty room as attractive as the Pakistanis, and prefer to spend relatively more time with the students and with their families. Since most of the faculty have homes on campus it is possible for the students to stop by to see a professor at his home. The usual Pakistani does not encourage students to visit him, but the missionaries frequently receive students who stop by ostensibly to ask advice about vocations or a question about their courses, and remain to talk about a variety of subjects including life in America.

Gordon College in Rawalpindi was founded in 1893 and shares many of the characteristics of Forman Christian College in Lahore. It is a larger college, with 1845 students in 1965. Intermediate students total 929, Degree students 650, and M.A. students 269. This includes 219 girls. Their old campus is small and crowded, and is located in the midst of the city. A new campus for the Degree college

is being constructed a mile away, and it has modern facilities and considerable space for sports activities.

There are more Christian faculty and students in Gordon College, and there appears to be a heightened awareness of communal affiliation, and factionalism expressed between Christians and Muslims. The Christians in this part of Pakistan come from a segment of the Christian community that converted in mass movements, and the college is sometimes referred to as the "sweeper college." Only ten percent of the students live in the hostels; the majority of students pay just the tuition fees and live at home. Many students from poor families attend, and the general economic level of the student body is lower than at Forman.

Kinnaird College for women in Lahore was opened in 1913, and has a number of unique characteristics. The enrollment is much smaller, about 400, but almost one-fourth of these are Christian. Middle class Christian parents are more apt to encourage their daughters to get an education than Muslim parents. Most of the 300 Muslim students represent very wealthy or highly educated families with liberal attitudes regarding the role of women in society. Several informants stated that Kinnaird is recognized as the finest college for women in Pakistan.

The campus is well furnished but much smaller than Forman Christian College, which is located only about two miles away. Kinnaird appears to be the most westernized Christian college in West Pakistan. The girls commonly use English in their conversation whereas in the other colleges it is used only in class. There is an abundance of extracurricular activities such as debate, dramatics,

social service and literary clubs. Even a swimming pool has now been constructed on campus, which for a women's college in a Muslim country is rare indeed.

The resident staff is composed of sixteen British, four American and three Pakistani women faculty. These are all Christian. The "day staff," who do not live on campus, number about fifteen and only five of them are Christian. In general the foreign staff runs the college, and the Pakistani staff (both Muslim and Christian) are thought of more as "employees." An important exception to this pattern is the principal who is a Pakistani Christian.

Kinnaird students do extremely well in the university examinations; the classes appear to be more sophisticated, and the students more competent than in the men's colleges. A required course in "religion and life" provides an opportunity, missing in the other colleges, for serious discussion of the student's own religion, and other values in life. Sections of the course are taught by Christian faculty to Christian students, and Muslim faculty teach sections on Islam for the Muslim students. In addition there are other sections offered each semester on various topics related to religion, such as ethics and morality. The students appear to be particularly well informed and anxious to be involved in their society. A voluntary organization composed of students is engaged in social service work in the community.

The Struggle for Power

In Chapter II we referred to the importance of factionalism as a trait of South Asian culture. Throughout the history of

missionary colleges there have been several groups of faculty that have competed for power: the American (or British) missionaries, the Indian Christians, the Indian Hindus and the Indian Muslims.

Up until very recent times, perhaps the time of the partition, there has been no question about the location of power: the missionaries have assumed a dominant role in the policy and administration of the colleges. The basis for this position rests upon their control of financial resources, their superior foreign education, and the context of a colonial culture which has ascribed to all Europeans the highest social status.

Most of the Christian colleges in Pakistan were founded by American organizations, and the boards of directors were until very recently dominated by American missionaries. Therefore the selection of department heads as well as administrative personnel was made by the missionaries. Secondly, the salaries of missionaries have not been paid by the colleges but by the mission boards directly; in one sense the missionaries are not employees of the colleges but of the foreign missionary boards. Hence they are in part outside the system, and not answerable to the colleges. Pakistanis refer to the "inside track" missionaries have to the boards because of this arrangement.

As far as educational rank and experience are concerned, even when missionaries did not have higher academic degrees than the Indians they still had greater educational prestige because their education had been received in England or America. Even today "foreign qualified" (or foreign educated) is a most significant qualification when applying for an educational position. Prestige has always been given to European education in comparison with Indian or Pakistani.

More important is the fact that missionaries were members of the highest social category (if not caste) in the colonial Indian social system: they were European, and for this reason they controlled the colleges. A veteran missionary who arrived in India in 1923 with only a B.A. degree describes the status of missionaries:

> When I first came here it was taken for granted an American would always be the head of the department. As soon as I arrived I was made head of the department. There was no bitterness at that time, as far as I know...It was the fact that we were white Americans that gave us the power and position that we held and we didn't deserve this (19:2,3).

In 1930 there were 833 teachers in the missionary colleges of South Asia: 245 were Indian Christian, 411 were Indian non-Christian (both Hindu and Muslim), and 177 were missionary (Commission 1931:15). From other information regarding the ratio of Hindus and Muslims we estimate that in the area that is now West Pakistan the faculty of missionary colleges throughout most of their history was roughly three missionaries to: five Indian Christians, three Muslims and six Hindus.

Some Indian Christians held high positions for temporary periods: Dr. S.K. Dutta served as principal of Forman Christian College from 1932 to 1942. But these were exceptions to the general rule, and usually neither the Indians nor the missionaries felt comfortable with the arrangement. Referring to Dutta, another Pakistani commented: "For awhile we had an Indian principal, but he was so authoritarian the missionaries felt, that they turned him out" (136-1). At Gordon College in about 1940 the American principal created the Principal's Council. Missionaries were automatically members, and Indian Christians became members after five years of

service on the faculty. Non-Christians were excluded (19-2).

Until recently none of the Christian colleges have taken seriously the need for Indian Christian leadership. There have been special scholarships and foreign grants for Christian faculty to obtain additional education, but Indians were not usually encouraged to participate in the administration. The missionaries assumed they would be able to control the colleges indefinitely, in which case a large number of Indian Christians were unnecessary.

> The American administration of our college here never felt the need for encouraging our Christian staff. For one reason they didn't look into the future and realize that eventually Pakistani or Indian Christians would be running the college. Secondly, they had a good Hindu and Muslim staff and they felt as long as they were running the college the non-Christian staff would not interfere with it being Christian (136-2).

Part of the problem resulted from the need to meet the requirements of the universities in order to be affiliated. If a vacancy in the faculty occurred the colleges could not wait for a Christian to appear; it was necessary to fill the position with a qualified person immediately and so the faculty gradually became more and more non-Christian. But this in itself illustrates an emerging definition of a Christian college: a college was Christian if missionaries remained in administration; it was not imperative to have a Christian faculty.

Apparently Gordon College in Rawalpindi placed somewhat greater emphasis upon retaining a large number of Christian faculty, though they showed less inclination to use them in administration than Forman College in Lahore. This was partly due to the lower level of academic competition faced by Gordon. It accepted students

with lower marks ("third division"), and did not feel the pressure of training the elite. Gordon could afford to appoint Christian faculty of somewhat less competence or experience, and encourage them over a period of time. Forman, on the other hand, was surrounded by other colleges in Lahore, and felt that it must hire the very best faculty available, almost without regard to religion.

> Here in Lahore we were in the middle of competition; there were five top colleges here. We couldn't afford to have third class people on our staff. Therefore we became very selective and choosey. Whereas Gordon would take third division people, we wouldn't (136-1).

In any case, throughout this period missionaries were in complete control. Indian Christians were encouraged to some extent, but as faculty members, not as administrators or even potential administrators. Whenever a missionary was present he was automatically appointed department head. The non-Christian faculty were generally considered hired help; they were essential in order to meet the standards for affiliation, but it was understood that they should have the smallest possible role in administration. A veteran missionary stated the policy: "I avoid talking about administrative problems with non-Christians" (19-2).

But since the partition in 1947 a new situation has developed within the colleges. There are now three factions competing for power: the missionaries, the Pakistani Christians and the Pakistani Muslims. The strong nationalistic sentiment makes it very difficult for an American missionary to occupy the position of principal, or to even control the college from behind the scenes. For all intents and purposes the colleges are no longer "missionary" colleges. The property is now owned by Pakistani boards, less financial aid comes

to the colleges from United States or British organizations, there are fewer missionaries on the staff, and these are more commonly short-term missionaries, such as visiting professors rather than administrators.

The missionaries (perhaps belatedly) recognize that they can no longer hold key positions, and ideally would like Pakistani Christians to relieve them. But for reasons that we have already discussed, the Christian community has not provided many likely candidates, and the colleges have not encouraged those that are qualified. Most of the Christians who have done graduate study overseas have never returned; the communal system in Pakistan is not very attractive to educated Christians.

There is another problem more fundamental than just the shortage of senior Christian faculty. Even the few that do exist, and who in some cases have actually taken the office of principal, are unacceptable because their goals and purposes for the colleges are so divergent from what is desired by both missionaries and Pakistani Muslims. This problem is related to the communal system and the minority role it has given the Christians in Pakistan.

In the opinion of Pakistani Christians the primary purpose of Christian institutions is to serve the Christian community. But throughout their history the missionary colleges have been far more involved with Hindus and Muslims than with Christians. Hindus and Muslims have shown more interest in higher education than the Christians, and the missionaries have viewed their Christian responsibilities in terms of the whole society, not just the Christian community.

For most of their century of existence the missionary

educators have presented a tolerant, non-sectarian, modern, western world-view, and they have not had much in common with the Indian or Pakistani Christian community. "This is the reason the Pakistani Christians resent the Americans so much. We do not have this community feeling toward them" (19-3). This comment was made by one of the oldest missionaries on the field, and it represents the majority attitude of missionary educators during at least the last half century.

It is the liberal Hindu and now liberal Muslim with whom the missionary educator can most easily identify. And in the present internal struggle for power both the missionaries and Muslims fear that the Pakistani Christians would turn the colleges into a sanctuary from the Muslim society, where Christians would receive the privileges and make the decisions.

> The Pakistani Christians like the prestige the college gives them, but many of them would like to run it themselves. If they did, it would be run strictly for the Christian community (40-7).

Some very capable and creative Muslim professors are serving in Christian colleges today, not because they are attracted by the traditional Christian faith; traditional Christianity has never been an obvious characteristic of the Christian colleges, as we have shown. The liberal Muslims see the Christian colleges as the most progressive educational institutions in the country.

> I would like to see my society rid of the medieval practices, but because of these Christians from low elements of society we cannot do it here when they are in charge... [I wish] the Americans could educate the Christians here in real modernity and convince them that their future lies in working with the Muslims. We don't want to capture these institutions; what we want is to encourage private institutions where forward and modern ideas can be presented in Pakistan (123-2).

> Secularism is the crying need of Pakistan. If these institutions can be beacons of secularism then I wish to [remain] a part of it (118-3).

Other Muslim faculty believe very strongly in Islam, but regard the organizational expression of Islam today as a heresy. They feel the professional clergy have warped true Islam into something evil, and that a reformation is needed to return to the permanent values stated in the Koran. In this approach "Christian" secularism can be a helpful corrective, to assist in breaking down the influence of the priests so that the Muslims can return to "pure" Islam (114-1).

The three factions competing for control each have a different view of the goals or purposes of the Christian college. For the missionary the purpose is to serve Pakistanis, of all religions, and in Christian love provide the education needed by a developing people. The motto of Forman Christian College is "by love serve one another." The Christian Pakistani sees the colleges as prestige institutions of the Christian community, whose primary function should be to provide a place for Christians to receive advantages not available to them in a Muslim society. For the liberal Muslim the college provides secular education free from the prejudices of the conservative Islamic traditions which they feel are a burden to the non-Christian educational institutions of Pakistan.

With all three factions actively teaching in the Christian colleges, what is the message or world-view that is communicated to the students and to the society at large? Most of the students are Muslim, and it is difficult to know what value system they receive from Pakistani Christian faculty members. And the examination system, with its pressures to limit discussion to the details of the

syllabi, muffle the transmission of any world-view, regardless of the faculty member. But from both the missionaries and the Muslim faculty the world-view has been relatively consistent and clear, when classroom opportunities arise for its discussion. Few conservative Muslims join Christian colleges, and so the majority of Muslim professors support the major values of their missionary colleagues which include the secular, scientific approach to knowledge, democracy, brotherhood of man, personal integrity and social responsibility, and the primary importance of the English language. Missionaries are impatient with traditional Christianity but are equally disdainful of traditional Islam. Modern liberalism is no longer an appreciation for all religions, but a uniformly critical view of anything "sacred" regardless of its particular heritage.[1]

This world-view is acceptable to the majority of Muslim students, and to their parents. While the uneducated people in Pakistan apparently believe the Christian colleges proselyte and convert Muslims into members of the Christian community, the educated elite in Pakistan appreciate the role of Christian colleges as a source of modern secular culture. The Muslim faculty enthusiastically compare the free and democratic atmosphere of the Christian colleges with other colleges in which they have worked. Students and faculty are said to have closer relations, and there is less bickering and intrique among the faculty (140-2, 144-2, 16-5, 15-5).

But of course all of this refers to the world-view and the image of the colleges when they were controlled by missionaries. We

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[1]For a more complete discussion of this point see Chapter V.

have indicated that the Pakistani Christian faculty do not share the world-view of the Muslims or that of the missionaries, and their purposes for the colleges will bring them closer to the communal system and thus remove the atmosphere that has been so attractive to the liberal Muslims.

The future of the colleges is uncertain. Today the missionaries are either leaving, or accepting lower level positions. The Pakistani Muslims do not expect to hold the top administrative posts; they recognize that these positions should be held by Christians because the colleges are Christian. Pakistani Christians are gaining control of the colleges, but it is doubtful whether the Muslim faculty will cooperate with them. Some of the senior Muslims believe the government will have to assume control:

> The Christian institutions have not been able to enlist the help of liberal Muslims who would fight their battles for them...If the policy goes on the way it is now the government will take over and do away with private colleges (118-3).

The other possibility is for the appointment of Pakistani Christians who have a broader perspective than the communal system. Even if such men exist there is the question of whether the governing boards of the colleges, which are virtually controlled by the Christian community, would be willing to appoint them.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN PROFESSORS IN PAKISTAN WITH PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

In this chapter we shall examine a number of variables and their effect upon the behavior of the American professors. These include the American organization sponsoring the professor, the size and character of the particular American team, the nature of the local Pakistani society, and the personal value orientations of the professors.

The Americans who come to Pakistan as their first overseas experience expect to live within the Pakistani society. They anticipate adjusting to Pakistani culture as individuals and as family units, with perhaps some advice from other Americans who have preceded them. The real "culture shock" for most of them is not the Pakistani culture they encounter, but the large active American community in Pakistan. They are first socialized not into Pakistani society, but into an American subculture. If they later participate in the Pakistani society they enter into segments of this social structure through the American groups to which they belong.

The American Organization

In Pakistan it is the welcoming party at the airport that first indicates to the arriving family that they are to be a part of an American group. This ritual of welcoming new members is a serious obligation for those present in Pakistan, and there are few absentees. From this time onward the new arrivals know that they can cope with

Pakistan through the American organization of which they are a part. This relieves a great deal of anxiety, and the wives grasp this symbol of belongingness with enthusiasm.

> When she first arrived in Pakistan she didn't like it at all. She had a real culture shock in Karachi...But after being in Lahore a few weeks she got over that and has enjoyed it ever since. The whole [BLANK (an American University)] group met us at the airport and I think that was the beginning of the change. We have really liked it here in Lahore (5-3).

It is only later, if at all, that they realize the extent to which this American reference group limits and controls their social interaction--with other American groups as well as with Pakistanis. They are not just Americans, they are under "AID," "Ford" or "on a Fulbright." Each American organization has its own role within the larger American community and with the Pakistani groups which associate with Americans. And each American group has its own set of activities, interests and values.

1. AID Professors

Most of the professors studied were in Pakistan under United States universities having contracts with the Agency for International Development of the United States Government. We will speak of these men as "AID professors," even though they are employed by the universities, not by AID. This is an important distinction, since there are many Americans (not professors) in Pakistan who are employed directly by AID. The latter are referred to as "direct-hire," as opposed to the "contract" people, employed by universities with AID contracts.

AID professors are ambivalent about their U.S. Government

status. They have A.P.O. mail privileges, buy from the local "P.X." and Commissary, and use other facilities reserved for United States Government employees. These are tremendous advantages, particularly in Pakistan where goods on the local market are so expensive, and non-official postal service to and from the United States is so slow, costly and unreliable. Yet this status carries with it certain disadvantages. Within the American academic community there are those who resent the involvement of professors in essentially "political" programs overseas.

An official with AID in West Pakistan stated:

> As far as we are concerned the professors are out here for one purpose--to promote the interests of the United States. But we can't get them to see this. They feel no allegiance to the U.S. Government, and yet we are paying their whole salary.

The professors react negatively to this attitude. One professor felt some pressure to defend U.S. foreign policy because of his official status, but refused to accept it:

> I talk to [Pakistanis] as an educator, not as a representative of the U.S. Government. I tell them not to take out their foreign policy attitude on us (24-4).

Another stated, "AID is just interested in us as political pawns" (9-8). A Chief of Party commented that: "Our overall strategy is to divorce ourselves from AID" (24-4).

The Agency for International Development has little direct contact with the professors until they arrive in Pakistan. The hiring is done by the universities concerned. In Pakistan many of the official U.S. Government services are performed not by the AID office but by the local U.S. Consulate. Therefore, the major contact that most professors have with AID is the burden of regulations it brings to

bear upon their team in the conduct of its work. Sometimes this is viewed as distrust of their professional competence. They appreciate the reason for large AID administrative staffs overseas for the supervision of "direct-hire" AID employees, but as members of "contract" groups, employed by U.S. universities, they feel no need for the large AID staffs. Thus as individuals they become dependent upon U.S. Government privileges, yet they resent the "meddling" of AID in their work.

In addition to the ambivalence created within the AID professors as a result of their semi-official status, there are some other less obvious effects as well. The United States Government wishes to provide for its overseas employees living conditions comparable to those in the United States. It also seeks to minimize the type of interaction between Americans and Pakistanis which might hurt the image of the United States. To accomplish these two goals a very large administrative system is maintained in foreign countries. The AID professor in Pakistan does not have to rent a home, buy furniture, pay utilities, or buy food, clothing, appliances on the local market. The U.S. Government makes it possible for "official" Americans to avoid contacts with Pakistanis in the market place and in the local governmental bureaucracies, unless required in the conduct of their job.

The official U.S. Government community in Lahore is greatly dependent upon American material culture and upon the large administrative staff and is therefore separated from most segments of Pakistani society. This isolation is similar in nature to that of U.S. Air Force personnel living on a base outside of Peshawar. It is

true that the American professors in Lahore live in homes scattered throughout one of the suburbs and are therefore not physically isolated as the Air Force. But this limited involvement in Pakistani society is not fundamentally different from the Air Force officers who advise Pakistani officers at the Pakistani Air Force Station in Peshawar. In both cases the Americans are immersed in an American subculture and work with a very narrow segment of Pakistani society. Partly because of this the Americans feel insecure about many aspects of Pakistani culture. They do not live off of the local economy, and they are frequently curious to know how other Americans are able to exist without the support of the U.S. Government.

In addition to membership in the official United States Government community, the AID professors are subject to the patterns of behavior of their particular university team. Their style of life is typical of other "official" Americans yet their cross-cultural behavior within their educational institution is partly the role defined by the university administering the contract group.

Most of the AID contract teams in Pakistan are relatively large groups, from large American universities. These universities see the AID contracts as opportunities for their professors to apply their specialties overseas. This is similar to the work of extension agents in helping farmers in the rural areas of their own state. It may be significant that most of the AID teams in Pakistan are from land-grant universities which have a long history of extension programs. Thus the project in Pakistan is viewed as an application of professional knowledge to a new location, with the implication that the university already has the knowledge required for such an application.

Two of the three AID teams studied came to Pakistan to establish new educational institutions. This involves designing and administering these organizations, training Pakistanis for positions within the institutions, and eventually withdrawing after the Pakistanis have learned the system. The projects are essentially modifications of institutions in the United States, and the job of the contract team is to bring over the "American know-how" and to train the Pakistanis to follow their example. Often the AID professors do not see themselves as part of the Pakistani educational system. "Actually, our institute was designed in the United States. Therefore it is not really a Pakistani institution and so American methods should work here" (7-6).

This attitude is frequently found among those professors having permanent positions in the American university administering the contract. Even though they are physically separated, their reference group remains the American university, and the Pakistani institution is thought of as an extension station of the university, to which they are temporarily assigned. In a sense these professors have not left the university; they are merely working on a separate campus. One motivation for accepting the assignment may be to gain experience for promotion or mobility within the university, since foreign experience is a valued attribute in today's academic world. Speaking of his colleagues, one of the professors expressed this attitude:

> Most of them feel that this experience is helpful, almost necessary, for their professional career and that they must do this sometime in their career, but they don't look forward to it very much. They want to get it over, have it as part of their record, and then get back home (4-2).

Not many of the professors from the university administering the contract seriously attempt to understand the Pakistani educational philosophy or the role of the educational institution within the local culture. The Pakistani cultural patterns are deemed significant only as they interfere with the operation of the institution. Of the total sample of American professors studied this category had the most pessimistic view of the local situation and what could be accomplished: "I don't have any faith in the Pakistanis...they don't really give a damn about what happens. They are only concerned with self advancement" (9-8). "Here there is a feeling of futility. All we can do is express ourselves. No one listens to us with the view of actually changing" (7-6). To them "success" would require the Pakistanis to take on the values and behavior patterns of the Americans.

The professors on the AID teams hired from other American universities tend to have a different attitude toward their work. Because they are not originally part of the university administering the contract they have been referred to as "mercenaries" by their American colleagues. Universities attempt to fill their contract teams with people from their own university, and only when necessary do they hire from other universities. However, this is often necessary, and in West Pakistan approximately half of the AID professors are mercenaries. A Chief of Party of one of the AID teams stated, "Mercenaries are no damn good. They come over either for the travel or some other personal reason. They are not really loyal to the organization" (24-3). The careers of these professors are not tied to the particular university; thus they are not as responsive to the American university authorities (including the Chief of Party) and

may appear less conformist than those who expect to return to a permanent position with the university.

However, our study revealed no evidence of greater interest in financial gain among the mercenaries, and their individuality may produce behavior that is more sensitive to the context of Pakistani culture. In one institution the American professors singled out by the Pakistani professors for their contribution were without exception those from universities other than the one administering the contract. A Pakistani professor spoke of the relative merit of the two categories: "Of the [BLANK] group, the worst ones are from the [BLANK] University. The ones that are hired from other universities... have been generally better" (145-2).

Many of the "mercenaries" think of their jobs in broader terms than their Chiefs of Party. One stated:

> I am head of the [BLANK] department, but secondly my job is to promote [BLANK] in Pakistan. I felt that this is what I should do. No one here would have encouraged me in this. In fact, our Chief of Party discouraged me from doing anything other than administering the department here in [this institution]. He has told all of us that we should just put in our eight hours a day and not make outside contacts (8-4,5).

Another spoke in similar terms:

> My expected role has been more like an undergraduate teacher involving...a heavy teaching schedule...with little...encouragement to do more than this. I have additional interests...they are not even written up in the group report here. The Chief of Party would actually just as soon that I did not engage in it (1-8).

AID professors are thus part of an American social structure involving both the official role of a United States Government employee, and the role of a team member. Some resist the pressures of these organizations more than others, but for all they have a significant

effect upon the nature of their relations with Pakistani colleagues and with the Pakistani society in general.

2. Ford Foundation Professors

There are many similarities between the social structure surrounding professors with the Ford Foundation and those under AID. The standard of living for both is about the same--large homes, three or four air conditioners, and a shipping allowance to bring over appliances. Even American canned food is available through import privileges which substitute for the local U.S. Government Commissary. In most respects the facilities of Ford Foundation staff are comparable to those of the AID professors.

Ford Foundation also provides a large administrative staff to perform business or legal negotiations with Pakistanis such as landlords, and both the local and national government bureaucracies. In comparison with the AID administrative organization, the Ford staff makes up for any lack in quantity by its somewhat greater efficiency in dealing with Pakistanis. This may result from Pakistanis holding relatively high-level positions in the local organization in contrast to AID in Pakistan where Pakistanis occupy only lower level jobs.

However, the Ford Foundation cannot provide all of the services available to AID professors through the United States Government. This fact requires at least somewhat greater contact between the Ford Foundation families and segments of the Pakistani society. Fresh meat and vegetables are purchased locally, mail is sent and received through the Pakistani postal system, and some clothing, bedding and cosmetics are purchased from the neighborhood shops. This interaction

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is limited to be sure, but it is more than that of AID professors. It gives the Ford Foundation families greater confidence in interaction with Pakistanis without the feeling of dependence upon an economic lifeline extending back to the United States. They basically know their way in the market place, and this sharing of daily activities makes it easier to interact socially with Pakistanis.

The social structure of the Ford contract teams are similar to that of the AID teams. The Ford Foundation contracts with American universities to supply professors for Pakistan projects. The university then selects professors for these jobs, in a like manner to the selection of AID teams. Contracts with individual professors are for two years, as is true under AID.

The Ford Foundation teams are smaller than AID teams; often there is just one professor in Pakistan from a particular U.S. university. As a result the Ford professor does not have a large enough group from his own university for this to form an important grouping for him, in terms of his working role or his social life. On the job he is often the only American in the institution, which prevents him from joining an American "bloc" in dealing with the Pakistani staff. The smaller team also encourages him to find more identification with Ford Foundation than with his particular U.S. university, and he refers to himself as "with the Ford Foundation" more frequently than the AID professor will identify himself with AID.

AID projects in Pakistan are typically large, involving perhaps a dozen American educators at one time. Often the educational institution in Pakistan was founded or is being administered by Americans, and in many cases the Pakistanis speak of these institutions as

"American." In contrast, Ford projects are smaller, and less visable; usually they support basically Pakistani schools rather than create new and American dominated institutions. This difference is also reflected in the fact that Pakistanis occupy high level positions in the planning and development of programs within the Ford Foundation in Pakistan, whereas this is not true of the AID organization in Pakistan.

One result of this for the Ford professors is that the context of their working role is more apt to be the Pakistani culture: the existing educational situation, and the particular Pakistani bureaucracy. They accept the role of agents of change working within Pakistani institutions. Though they are conscious of their U.S. background and that their salary is paid by the Ford Foundation, they are essentially members of the Pakistani institution's staff.

It is not clear whether this working role is the result of the particular approach of the Ford Foundation, or whether professors who choose the Ford Foundation tend to be different from those hired by AID. In both cases the selection is actually done by U.S. universities and not by the larger agencies referred to. However, the Ford teams are small and the primary identity is with Ford rather than the U.S. university. Therefore the individual attracted to an AID contract because it allows him to retain his same job yet live overseas may not be as attracted to a position with Ford. The Ford Foundation professor may in fact hold tenure and even gain status because of his contract overseas, but he is more likely to go overseas by himself or with one or two others, and take a virtual leave-of-absence from his home institution. Thus, in this respect at least, the Ford

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Foundation professor shows more similarity to the "mercenary" hired from another university for an AID contract.

3. Fulbright Professors

There are just three Fulbright professors in northern West Pakistan, thus it is difficult to generalize. But these three Fulbright professors have a different kind of role. They are awarded a fellowship by a non-governmental organization yet the organization itself was established by the United States Government in the Fulbright-Hayes Act. In Lahore, Pakistan their position is similarly mixed. They are allowed to use the APO mail system and up to $20 a month in the food Commissary, yet the huge U.S. Government administrative staff is not generally available to them and the small Fulbright administrative staff is located in Karachi, some 800 miles away. Thus they are forced to interact with Pakistanis in the daily routine of life, yet they enjoy certain limited advantages of the United States Government.

The Fulbrighter is acutely conscious of the traditional role he occupies in representing America, even more so than the AID professor with his more official status. For some this traditional role is an attraction: "Partly I was interested in the prestige of being a Fulbrighter. I have a certain nationalistic motivation to represent the United States abroad" (21-1). But this does not mean the Fulbrighter wants to be thought of as an employee of the U.S. Government. He represents the United States, not the United States Government. One professor objected when the United States Information Service in Lahore asked him to encourage his students to attend USIS functions.

However, the distinctiveness of the Fulbrighter is not just his role as semi-official representative of America; his work role is fundamentally different from the AID or Ford Foundation professor. The three Fulbrighters in northern West Pakistan are under contracts of approximately ten months to teach within a Pakistani institution. The Fulbright program includes other roles besides teaching, but here in Pakistan these three are essentially visiting professors. Thus they see themselves as neither administrators of American programs (AID) nor agents of change performing specialized service for the Pakistanis (Ford Foundation). They are simply teaching classes and interacting on a personal level with Pakistani students and staff. This work role will be discussed further in Chapter VI, but it is important to note that a visiting professor does not work <u>with</u> the Pakistani staff of an institution to the extent of an administrator, or a specialist. Thus the Fulbrighter's cross-cultural work role in Pakistan is largely limited to the interaction with students within the classroom.

Job satisfaction, for these Fulbrighters, results from their teaching experience. For the three in West Pakistan this was almost uniformly negative.[1] One reported that:

> The actual teaching assignment that I had under Fulbright was very frustrating partly because I was assigned to teach subjects that were not my particular field within [BLANK] and so I could not make the contribution that I had hoped (20-1).

Another stated:

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[1]Goodwin's study of Fulbrighters in India, Pakistan and Korea supports the statements of the three interviewed in this study (1964:54-58).

> The teaching experience has been bad. They are forever having holidays and reasons for not attending class. The academic schedule virtually does not exist. The motivation of the students is very bad (21-2).

In one of the above cases the Fulbrighter's total teaching load was four hours a week, on a subject that was not within his area of competence. In the other case both the students and staff reacted so strongly to his teaching that he was relieved of his class for a period of several weeks. In both cases the work assigned required so little time the Fulbrighters took up other activities to fill their days. One of them traveled a great deal with his family and spoke extensively over a large area for the United States Information Service. The other professor voluntarily taught a course at the Lahore American School and another at Forman Christian College, for no pay. In neither case was their excess time used with the students or staff of the institution to which they were affiliated. Both of them said they did not really "work with" anyone on these staffs but merely taught the courses assigned.

One reason for their lack of contact with students and staff of the Pakistani institutions may lie in the fact that their homes were a considerable distance from the institutions. Probably this is uncommon for Fulbrighters in most locations. In any case, comparing their work experience with that of the other American professors studied in Pakistan, the three Fulbrighters reported the least satisfying roles of any that were interviewed, in terms of their relationship with students and staff, and their teaching duties.

But this failure did not bother the Fulbrighters as we might expect, for they did not think of their jobs as that of "change-agents,"

and so they were not disappointed. The emphasis in the motivation of Fulbrighters is upon themselves and their families--the experience they have more than the job they do or what they accomplish. The motivations for all Americans abroad are of course mixed, but in the case of the Fulbrighters the experience for themselves and their families is primary:

> I felt I could make a contribution. Also I thought it would be a good experience...to see first hand the problems in an underdeveloped country. I wanted my family to have the experience of living in a culture different from our own and to be able to see the world by traveling here and back...Our motivation is partly service, but it's mostly the experience that we gain from being over here (20-1,4).

For the Fulbrighter this is a brief but once-in-a-lifetime experience. For those assigned to Pakistan it allows them to make a tour around the world and to live just long enough in a foreign culture to get a feeling for what it is like. One of the Fulbrighters arrived in Lahore in October and was observed in the American Express office in November making reservations for the continuation of their trip around the world, when they completed their tour in June. He stated: "I think since our time out here has been so short, our mental set has been toward the United States, and we have only briefly, if ever, felt that we were really residents in Pakistan" (20-3).

However, Fulbrighters throw themselves into the cross-cultural experience with more vigor than the Ford or AID professors. They put forth considerable effort to meet their neighbors, become acquainted with their servants' families, greet the shop-keepers with warmth and friendliness, travel to see the historical and scenic landmarks, and in general are always ready for additional interaction

with Pakistanis. It is true that this interaction did not include the work institution, but there is no reason to believe that this would have been the case if the Fulbrighters' homes were located closer to the Pakistani institutions, and if the atmosphere there had encouraged greater social relationships.

Since Fulbrighters are almost always "first-timers" it is logical that they should reflect the characteristics of those on their first tour overseas. Useem finds that these individuals are "usually rather zealously dedicated to the programmatic aims under which they arrive, are 'plungers' into the traditional culture of the host country...and are the most willing to subordinate other personal concerns to programmatic goals" (Useem 1963:172). In addition to this, the Fulbrighters in Lahore must negotiate and interact with the local business and bureaucratic segments of the Pakistani society more than the Ford or AID professors since in general there is no administrative staff available to them for this purpose. Thus they know how to get along by themselves with Pakistanis from a variety of occupations and backgrounds and feel comfortable in these relationships. Possibly another reason for their greater cross-cultural interaction lies with the dominant motivation of those who come out under Fulbright. As mentioned above, in West Pakistan they are not change-agents, administrators, or professional specialists; they are American teachers, interested in a cross-cultural experience. Their salary is lower than that of Ford or AID, the housing and facilities are less comfortable, and the work experience in Pakistan is unsatisfactory. But they have the opportunity for a rich and varied association with Pakistanis,

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and this is sufficient to produce a basic satisfaction about their total experience.

The Pakistani/American Ecology

In Pakistan the American walks into an established position of foreigner and Westerner, but this role is not the same in Lahore as it is in Lyallpur or Peshawar.[2] The historical and cultural factors which have produced this status/role and the present American community combine to define possible patterns of cross-cultural relations for the American professor.

1. Lahore

Lahore is the center of education for all of Pakistan, and prior to Partition it dominated the entire Punjab area as well. There are a number of private and government colleges in the city and these are affiliated with the University of Panjab, also located in Lahore. This still reflects the British colonial system of education and Lahore is one of the dozen or so cities in South Asia today where the British imprint is the most visable. The Punjab Club, the golf courses, the many restaurants and tailor shops all reflect British colonial culture of a recent past. The colleges in Lahore are among the best in Pakistan and in part this reflects the long history of foreign (mostly

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[2]There was a fourth city in which American professors were studied: Rawalpindi. But the American professors in Rawalpindi are all missionaries, and so their relations with the community are discussed in Chapter V. In contrast to Lahore the missionaries in Rawalpindi are almost entirely isolated from the American community. In this respect the situation most closely resembles that of the American professor in Peshawar described below, except that there are four members of the American missionary group in Rawalpindi, and only one American professor in Peshawar.

British) administration.

Thus people in Lahore are accustomed to foreigners, particularly foreign educators, missionaries and minor diplomatic representatives. These foreigners in Lahore do not come for short trips; they live here for an average of well over two years. However there is no institutionalized network of parties and receptions for foreign representatives and distinguished visitors. Cross-cultural entertaining in Lahore more commonly involves small groups for dinner or tea rather than receptions or cocktail parties.

There are approximately 900 Americans in Lahore. In recent years an elaborate social structure of service clubs, interest groups, schools, churches and recreational activities has developed which provides the Americans with a wide range of American organizations and activities. It is true that some of these social organizations have built into them certain requirements for hosting Pakistanis, but such cross-cultural activities are seldom followed up later on a more personal level.[3]

The one American professor with more social interaction with Pakistanis than any other in the total sample (including missionaries) stated that, "The American community...provides many various cross-cultural institutions and organizations and activities in which some of our Pakistani staff participate, or at least are aware of" (1-5). But when asked, specifically, "What are some of the local groups or activities where Americans can meet and get to know

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[3]This pattern does not conform to the findings of the Useems (1967:135). Possible reasons for this pattern in Pakistan are discussed in Chapter VI.

Pakistanis?" he responded: (1) "Christian Women's Society for Service," a wholly American organization which merely visits and hears lectures about missionary projects, (2) "International Women's Club," which did not include more than six or seven American women, (3) "United States Information Service," whose activities were in general limited to formal lectures and teas, (4) "The Punjab Club," which was a Pakistani organization and he was the only American in the sample who had ever been invited to any of its functions, and (5) "The Railway Golf Club," which a number of Americans mentioned but usually went on to say that they personally had never become acquainted with any Pakistanis at the Club (1-11).

Most of the Americans responded to this question, "What are some of the local groups or activities where Americans can meet and get to know Pakistanis?" by saying they didn't know of any social activities where Americans could meet Pakistanis. However, there are two regular activities which bring Pakistanis and Americans together in a setting which encourages considerable communication and friendship. One is a discussion group which meets twice a month on Sunday afternoons. It was started many years ago by a Presbyterian missionary professor, and has continued more or less regularly through the years. Most of those attending are Pakistani educators or upper class Pakistanis, with a minority of American missionary educators. A topic is announced in advance and one participant usually prepares a paper which is read and discussed. Topics are varied, but seldom religious in character.

The second activity of this type was started recently by Americans, and Americans still are the largest nationality in

attendance. This is the weekly Unitarian Fellowship--a liberal religious service held on Sunday mornings. Some British attend and a number of Pakistanis come regularly. Almost all of the Pakistanis have studied in the United States. They have lost interest in Islam, have no desire to become Christians, and yet enjoy discussing religion and its values with Westerners of liberal persuasion.

The Useems have described two categories of American groupings in India, the "locality-linked group," and the "functionally-linked group" (1967:133). The locality-linked group is based upon a common place of residence, and the functionally-linked group stems from a common interest or work organization. In Lahore both types were active and important. In addition to the activities of missionaries, Ford Foundation staff, and the AID contract teams, there were other groupings which drew membership from all of these organizations. The meetings of the American Women's Club were open to all American women, and so were many of the Consulate social events, the American church and the American school. The professors stated that they entertained other Americans far more frequently than they did in the United States, and many of these events were based upon common residence in Lahore. The bond was their sharing of the living experience in Pakistan, not a vocational or functional "consciousness of kind."

But during the period of our study the Pakistanis working with Americans in Lahore did not participate in the locality-linked bi-national groupings. There were frequent social activities which brought together the Pakistani and American faculty members of the various institutions, but most Pakistani professors do not even know by name any Americans in Lahore except those who work in the same

institution. This is true for even the most westernized Pakistanis, such as those with advanced degrees from American universities. The American professor associates with Americans from a variety of organizations through locality-linked groups, but his Pakistani colleagues do not become acquainted with his American friends.

2. Lyallpur

Some eighty miles west of Lahore is a smaller city named Lyallpur. Another large AID contract group is located here, yet its role is significantly different from that of the AID team in Lahore.

This is more of a rural area, and Lyallpur is something of a "farm town" with the social characteristics commonly associated with such a town. It is a base for conservative political and religious activities in Pakistan and is near the home of the aggressive Islamic missionary sect, the Ahmadiahs. Lyallpur is not accustomed to foreigners as is Lahore, and its conservatism is expressed in some hostility toward foreign customs, such as the behavior of American wives. There have been incidents of Pakistani men insulting the American women--spitting, pushing lighted cigarettes against them, etc.--and many of the wives do not venture downtown more than once a month.

However, the Pakistani faculty members are quite westernized and friendly to the Americans, more so than the Pakistani counterparts of the AID professors in Lahore. In both cases a large percentage of the Pakistani faculty have been educated in the United States but in Lahore the institution has had a stressful American administration

until very recently and the Pakistani staff chafed under the system. Also, the Panjab University in Lahore is more thoroughly British colonial in orientation than the university in Lyallpur, and American methods thus far have not been used with much success. In Lyallpur, the university was founded with an American model, and the faculty has generally supported a basically American approach. The Americans have handed over the administration gracefully, in the early stages, and are not generally suspected of wishing to dominate its affairs today. Most of the Americans no longer speak of themselves as advisors, but are now simply professors, or colleagues. This has not happened in Lahore.

Only occasionally do the movie theaters in Lyallpur show English speaking films, in contrast to Lahore which has at least six theaters showing exclusively English language films. There are no restaurants in town where the Americans feel they can eat without hazard to their health, in contrast to Lahore where there are eight or more. In Lyallpur there are no large stores at all and most shopping is done in the bazaar by the Pakistani cooks, whereas Lahore boasts its grand Mall Road with a mile or so of clean, large, relatively modern stores.

Aside from the AID team there are virtually no other Americans and few other Westerners in Lyallpur. Several Presbyterian missionary families, three Catholic nuns, an engineer advising the Pakistani Government, a manager of a small plant and an American Negro woman married to a Pakistani Ahmadiah missionary comprise the total American population. A dozen or so British families and an equal number of single British men live in the area, employed mostly

by the Sui Northern Gas Company.

All twelve AID professors live in a small area on the campus of the Agricultural University which is on the outskirts of town. Walking along the short little street it is hard to believe one is outside the United States. It resembles housing for U.S. military dependents overseas. The houses are American designed--California ranch style--and are considerably different from the Pakistani faculty homes in the area. Fully air conditioned, they have modern kitchens with American appliances, two baths, and are completely furnished by AID.

American visitors are impressed with the modern homes and conveniences, but the members of the AID team observe that though they may appear attractive to the visitor, the "compound" situation is not wholly desirable. With so few Americans in Lyallpur the members of the AID team would see a great deal of each other in any case, but bunching their homes together serves to emphasize their interdependence and togetherness to the point of discomfort. Normal likes and dislikes, disputes and factions become magnified out of proportion. The wives have few occasions or opportunities to leave the compound. The children have no adequate schools and thus either suffer in the local system, attend a residential school such as Woodstock in India, or attempt to keep up by correspondence courses. One professor in Lyallpur summed up the feelings of the AID team by saying: "Our group feels very sorry for themselves" (34-3). It was clear that the professors and their families in Lyallpur have greater problems of adjustment than those in Lahore.

There appears to be more of a problem with servants in

Lyallpur than in Lahore, and this may be due to the American style homes in which they live. Pakistani houses have a large and separate kitchen area involving several rooms in which the house servants do most of their work. In the smaller AID homes the kitchen is a centrally located room with open access to most of the house, which means that the household servants are visable all day long, and the adjustment problem that much more difficult. In fact, the American homes are so unsuitable for the Pakistani style of life that the Pakistani university administrators have classified them as "category III," dwellings fit for only junior or low ranking faculty members.

In Lyallpur there are few cross-cultural social activities, less than for the comparable AID team in Lahore. This is true in spite of several characteristics of the Lyallpur situation which appear to encourage more cross-cultural interaction than in Lahore. The AID group in Lahore lives some distance from the Pakistani institution and the Pakistani faculty homes, and the Pakistani professors are dissatisfied with the American administration of the institution. The Americans in Lahore are surrounded by a very large and active American community which provides many opportunities for social activities. In Lyallpur the AID team lives on campus, in many cases very close to the Pakistani faculty who are generally favorable toward the presence of Americans on their staff. The Americans in Lyallpur have few opportunities to mix with other Westerners, and appear bored with social activities within the AID compound. Yet, in Lyallpur there are less home visits and entertainment with Pakistani faculty--in either direction--than in Lahore.

Some of the other ecological features may explain to some

extent the limited cross-cultural social activities in Lyallpur. The Pakistani culture here is more alien and forbidding than in Lahore. It is rural, conservative, and less accustomed to foreigners. There are fewer stores and virtually no European restaurants or English speaking cinemas. At the present time this area of Pakistan is particularly vocal in its anti-American sentiment.

There is considerable disagreement as to the extent and meaning of this sentiment, but no one doubts its existence. Those who have been members of the contract group for a number of years speak of how the social atmosphere has changed:

> Before this anti-American feeling came up, the younger group both of the university and in the town invited us to most of their parties. They spoke in English most of the time. These young business people all had some experience overseas. They didn't take religion very seriously. When there were only one or two American families here we were invited to everything. The District Commissioner always asked us to everything here, and through him we got acquainted with many...Every week there was something going on--lunches, dinners and coffees. Almost all the people present were Pakistani; very few Americans...Now with the anti-American feeling even our Pakistani friends have started avoiding us (34-5,1).

There is a stronger feeling here against the Americans than in Lahore. With its greater sophistication and cross-cultural experience, Lahore produces few public expressions of hostility toward foreigners. But Lyallpur lacks the tradition of cross-cultural relations and the broader international perspective held by the more educated Pakistanis in Lahore.

Of equal importance in limiting the amount of cross-cultural relations in Lyallpur is the compound in which the Americans live. It is referred to on campus as "Little America" and it is so out of place that the Americans may be embarrassed by it, and hesitate to

invite Pakistanis into their homes for this reason.

By American standards the homes are not at all luxurious, whereas the more traditional Pakistani "mansions" occupied by Americans in Lahore are lavish. But Pakistanis feel more comfortable in the huge Lahore homes than they do in the smaller but joltingly western homes of the Americans in Lyallpur. The Americans must sense this. They frequently remark that Pakistanis hesitate to invite Americans into their poor, simple dwellings; this is the reason, they explain, for the lack of social interaction with Pakistanis. Americans in Lahore seldom offer this as the explanation.

The compound is stuck off by itself, on a dead-end street. Thus the Pakistanis cannot stop to see an American on the pretense of dropping by on the way to someplace--a Pakistani custom--for it is not on the way to anything. They cannot visit one American without walking through the whole compound, being visable to all the Americans. The Pakistanis feel they are intruding because of this.

Another variable is the size of the American contract group. This is a large team--twelve professors and their families--even though the total American population in Lyallpur is small. Some of the older American professors said that when there were only two or three Americans present they were invited to far more Pakistani social activities.

> When we first came out there was a limited number of us and so we were something special. We were also very willing to take part in the community activities and invite them to our home as well. I think they felt we had sacrificed to come over here and they appreciated it. My wife entertained more than most of the Americans do these days and when we entertained they always reciprocated. I think in those days it was a novelty for us to be present at their gatherings (34-6).

When there are only one or two Americans present in a community they are novel to the Pakistanis, and may even give status when present at their functions. And when there are only a few Americans it is difficult for them to base their social existence on just one or two others; they are encouraged to form friendships and participate in social activities with the Pakistanis.

It is also true that the early members of the AID group had no compound in which to live. They were given regular Pakistani faculty homes. The prevailing political climate was strongly pro-American in those early days as well. Furthermore, it is possible that the first members of a contract team tend to expend greater effort in friendliness than the Americans who follow them.

Among the AID team at Lyallpur there are two professors who showed considerable interest and success in establishing friendships with Pakistanis. These two exceptions to the overall pattern in Lyallpur reveal that even the social ecological context as described above does not prevent cross-cultural relations; it merely discourages them.

One of these men has been in West Pakistan for most of the past ten years. He admits that bi-national social relations have slowed down from what they were when he first came over, but he is still very active socially and the majority of his time is spent with Pakistanis. But most of his Pakistani friends are businessmen in the community, not professors in the University.

> We invite a lot more Pakistanis into our home than the other Americans...I have been very active in community affairs; I like it. I'm always invited to the District Commissioner's parties and to the Sui Northern Gas Company parties. I know the local mill owners and they

> have lots of parties and I enjoy the contact with them. I know a lot of the businessmen in the area. I probably know more of them than I do professors. I know every man in Lyallpur who has horses. Some of the village people invite me out, too (31-4).

These friendships were formed in earlier days when Pakistan had better political relations with the United States. This professor is the advisor to one of the top officials of the University where he meets many highly placed Pakistanis. His specialized knowledge of dairy husbandry and horses gives him access to many wealthy Pakistanis as well. But he rarely invites other Americans to go with him when he meets with Pakistanis.

The other professor with considerable Pakistani interaction is a recent member of the team on a two year contract. He is active in a city group of Pakistanis, about fifty or sixty people whom he met through the local Rotary Club. He became a member of the Rotary for the specific purpose of meeting Pakistanis off campus, and his efforts have been very successful. He was elected to the time-consuming position of Secretary which requires frequent interaction with the largely Pakistani membership. Now he is often invited for tea to the homes of young but successful Pakistani businessmen.

In this case the professor is a social scientist and part of his motivation is a professional one, the investigation of the local society and culture. But overriding his professional interest is the fact that he finds these activities more attractive than remaining in the compound. For this professor as well the Pakistani interaction is largely off campus, with businessmen rather than professors.

But in contrast to the other professor described above

this second professor has interested some of the other Americans in these opportunities to meet Pakistanis, and a new norm may be emerging. This points to another variable that affects the cross-cultural relations of the entire team: the tradition and the example of the senior American professors. If newcomers are invited along and introduced to Pakistanis then the patterns of interaction that have been established can be continued and even broadened. In Lyallpur the younger team members had to develop relationships of their own.

The AID professors and their families at Lyallpur complain about their compound and the small social world in which they live. In actual fact they are free to enjoy a much wider social circle, as demonstrated by two out of the twelve families. But bi-national social relations are most apt to occur when there are traditional patterns and norms within the group for this interaction, and when some of the initiated invite the newcomers to share in their social relationships.

3. Peshawar

There is just one American educator living in Peshawar, a Ford Foundation professor with his family. There are a thousand or more Americans located in Peshawar, but they are United States Air Force personnel. They live on a base and are isolated from the local society, and so for most purposes of our study they are irrelevant. In addition there are a few Consulate and USIS officers, perhaps a half dozen missionaries, and presumably some AID technicians and Peace Corps Volunteers, although they are known by the professor only through hearsay.

This is an interesting point in itself. All of the Americans in Peshawar are connected with the United States Government except for the few missionaries and the Ford Foundation professor. The "official" Americans tend to make the Air Force base the center of their social activities. With the large store and market, movie theater, swimming pool, clubs, organizations and recreational facilities it is difficult for these Americans to become deeply involved in Pakistani society. As a result, the non-official Americans are effectively isolated from those enjoying base privileges and live in a separate social world--so much so that the Ford professor does not know who or how many AID people live in the area even though the AID staff house is two blocks from his home.

Peshawar is located close to the Afghan border in the northwest corner of Pakistan, some 300 miles from Lahore. The people are very different in language and culture from the Pakistanis of Lahore and Lyallpur. They are even more conservative in dress, religion and social customs, but not as politically organized. They resist the customs of foreigners but are not as anti-American in sentiment as in Lyallpur. The city is larger than Lyallpur but much smaller than Lahore. As the Indian and now Pakistani border town it has long held strategic military importance and was the center of British military and civilian activities in the old North-West Frontier Province. The role of foreigner is well established though there are few present today, with the exception of the United States Air Force base.

The Ford Foundation professor in Peshawar is not particularly unique in his background and values when compared to the

Americans in Lahore or Lyallpur. His family has more than average concern for health and sanitary conditions, and they have experienced difficulty in adjusting to their servants. Yet the amount of their social relations with Pakistanis exceeds the average in either Lahore or Lyallpur.

> This has been an excellent experience for my family. They have been accepted completely by the Pakistanis here. We have never felt we were foreigners (27-1).

> There have been a lot of social functions with the Pakistani Government and University officials, usually at their places. We have also had a policeman and a poet into our home and have been in their homes. Usually their invitations to us are not for any particular reason other than just friendship and social. They invite us usually for meals. It often involves group singing and poetry recitations. These were frequent while we were here except for the war and except for the summertime. Most of these Pakistanis had been to the States (27-8).

Several variables are no doubt involved in producing this amount of social interaction with the Pakistanis. Where there is a large group of Americans the American professors frequently identify more with the American group than with the Pakistani institution. In this case, as the only American in the institution, it may have been easier for him to accept the Pakistani faculty as a reference group for his behavior and role. In addition to this it appeared that the absence of an American community to which his family could retreat may have provided some incentive to interact more with Pakistanis, both on and off the job.

But of equal importance were the ready-made patterns for his cross-cultural work role, which had been established by a series of earlier advisors, and into which he could move upon arrival in Peshawar. The position of advisor in this institution had existed

since the beginning. The Pakistani faculty had developed a manner of working with the American advisor which effectively limited his authority in decision-making, and yet acknowledged his presence and encouraged cordial and friendly social relationships.

A Typology of Personal Values

As a result of the interviews and participant observation there was an increasing awareness of the effect personal values have upon the behavior of the professors. Regardless of all other variables certain value orientations greatly influenced the roles they adopted. It is certainly not possible to distinguish these absolutely, or to place professors into simple categories; but it is possible to isolate some basic motivations which are present in mixed proportions in the individual professors, and to suggest their relationship to some other variables and behavior patterns.

First, there is the category of Americans whose purposes for coming overseas are dominated by financial and material gain. For several reasons it is unlikely that many professors (if any) in our sample can be placed within this category. However, because it is one of the motivations of the professors it is appropriate to list it as a category, and it does appear to be primary for a few. Americans overseas moralize regarding motives for foreign service, and it is difficult to separate the myth from the fact. Typically the Americans ascribe high salaries as the primary motive for other American groups, but something else for themselves. Salary is accepted as an important reason for taking a job in the United States yet it has a small place in the motives of the professors in Pakistan if we

are to accept the statements received in the interviews.

This problem further underscores the need for caution in discussing motives. The motivations of the professors in coming to Pakistan are certainly complex, and the professors consistently say that their reasons are mixed and profound. But they are prone to assume that the Americans under other organizations are motivated more simply, usually for goals that limit their effectiveness and harm the American image. In the interviews only a few stated that salary was very important in their decision to come to Pakistan, and these were AID or Ford Foundation professors.

Secondly, some of the professors have a major interest in the total experience for themselves and their families. This involves the travel, which in most cases allows them to come over one way and go home the other, thus traveling around the world. But it also provides the experience of living in an exotic culture, and gives their family the opportunity of sharing this unique experience as a family unit. Often associated with this is the prestige resulting from the world tour and exotic life. This type of overall purpose was found most commonly among the Fulbrighters, but is an interest of virtually all of the professors studied.

A third category of values is defined in terms of career advancement. These professors see their overseas experience as a necessary requirement for promotion back home. They think of themselves as extension agents representing their home institution and applying their specialized knowledge in a remote outpost in order to be "foreign qualified." Upon return to their home campus they expect to speak with more authority, command greater respect, and

attain higher rank. This category of motivation usually is found in combination with one of the above, and is typical of AID professors from the university administering the AID contract. However, it is present in the values of many of the professors from all categories, including Fulbright.

There is a fourth type of value and interest similar to career advancement, but which is better termed professional. In this case the educator wants to practice his specialty, usually by conducting research, and believes he can do this better overseas than he can in the United States. These professors often renew their contracts and spend more time overseas than career advancement would justify; in fact they say they are losing their places in their home universities. However, they are motivated by the increased knowledge they are gaining from their research and activities in Pakistan. These individuals do not express much interest in progress or culture change, and they do not evidence any particular interest in friendships with individual Pakistanis. Theirs is a professional interest, primarily. This type was found within the AID teams, particularly the "mercenaries."

Some professors see themselves as agents of culture change, concerned with progress and modernization; this comprises a fifth category. The purpose of those in this category does not require personal friendships and social relationships with Pakistanis, though this is usually involved. The individual's orientation here is Pakistan's relative position in the world and what actions can produce positive change with the least expenditure of time and cost. This can be a very cold and professional interest, but it is an applied

interest, the end being action rather than simply knowledge. Professors of this type are found in teams of the Ford Foundation and AID.

The final category of values and interest is found to some extent within all groups of professors; it dominates missionaries and is occasionally primary among non-missionaries as well. The emphasis in this category is upon acts of befriending the Pakistanis, the expression of kindness and understanding, an openness to the Pakistanis as persons. This is clearly not the same relationship as the meaning of "friend" in the Pakistani culture, as discussed in Chapter II. Nor is it the same thing as "friend" in our own culture, which often describes a limited, even ritualized relationship.

The professors who express this category receive their greatest satisfaction from getting to know individual Pakistanis, not for the sake of knowing about them--their culture--or using them to produce culture change, but just befriending them and becoming important to them. These professors are in favor of culture change, but do not see themselves primarily as agents of change. They are qualified in particular specialties but do not consider their primary role as either pure or applied scholars. The interest in experience (category number two) is not incompatible with this category, but the experience desired is not so much travel and novelty as depth involvement with a select few who can be influenced by the experience of their friendship and concern.

Those with short term interests such as financial or career gain, or cultural experience, typically do not become involved sufficiently in Pakistani culture to develop many friendships, observe

any important culture change or have the opportunity for much research in their specialty. They find "busy work," accept a narrow definition of their responsibilities and tend to blame the Pakistani "system" (culture) for preventing them from accomplishing more. Their interaction with Pakistani colleagues is very limited and with some they "frankly do not get along." Their attention and interest is focused more on their family, the travel opportunities and the American community. Failure of their project or contract to achieve culture change does not necessarily disappoint them. In fact, they may grasp at indications that the situation is hopeless; this supports their preconceptions and allows them to devote more of their time to personal concerns with less qualms of conscience. They return home after two years with the comment that they tried hard but it was impossible to change these people; however, they had a "great experience" in Pakistan.

> My experience reinforced the beliefs that I already held regarding their organizational techniques and abilities here (21-2).
>
> I am convinced that we can't change their attitudes and values, so I personally feel my job is to train them...I am just a teacher here with a department head that won't listen to my ideas and with a Chief of Party who discourages me from getting acquainted with the important people (6-7).
>
> I like everything about the place over here except my job (42-2).
>
> Here there is a feeling of futility. All we can do is express ourselves. No one listens to us with the view of actually changing (7-6).

Those with service motivation, interest in personal relations or professional research are the ones who renew their overseas contracts. They are not necessarily intrigued by Pakistani culture

per se, for they are open to working in other areas of the world. But the emphasis is upon understanding another culture, and participating in it.

Two professors under AID may be used to illustrate this. Neither was motivated primarily by salary, and the cultural experience was not mentioned by either as having any importance in the decision to come over or to extend. For one the chief interest was the opportunity to do research in his professional specialty as applied to an underdeveloped nation and culture. The other found his greatest satisfaction from human relationships by working with Pakistani students, educators and governmental officials. The wives and families of each were active in the American community but were selective in their participation. The professors and their wives tended to participate in service-type activities, and in these as leaders.

This pattern of life was present in the United States before they came to Pakistan. One had worked full time for four years in an association for Mexican laborers. The other had spent a great deal of time with a juvenile court and in community development work. They both had always been independent, and self-reliant in their decisions and use of time.

> We have never looked for security or stability in work, and we intend now to shift our career goals away from the United States and universities there to overseas programs (10-1).

> I think there are a lot of professional advantages in working in a situation like this. You are really put to the task of application. Programs are well established in the United States. Here you have to figure them out. This is a professional challenge. Of course many see this as a disadvantage (10-1).

> We don't like having servants. When we first came everyone told us it was a necessity and so we tried for a month having the usual number of servants doing the usual number of things but we just couldn't take it. We like to live our own lives and it got so that we were conforming to their schedule and so we got rid of all of them except one inside...and one outside (10-2).

The other professor reveals his independence in life pattern and his primary motivation in coming overseas by having a full complement of servants (the opposite pattern from the professor just discussed).

> Our view has changed on this. At first we were very much against having servants; we felt this was one area we would not conform to the typical American pattern, and did not expect to have servants. But now we realize that this is a very natural part of this culture and that we can make a very positive contribution to Pakistan through the way in which we interact with our servants. We provide for their education, we take a personal interest in all that they do and in their aspirations, and now believe that this is one of the greatest areas of potential service that Americans can perform while in their overseas assignment (1-2).

This professor never entertained exclusively American groups; invitations were always given to mixed Pakistani-American groups, or to Pakistanis only. Some seventy-five Pakistanis were present in his home for dinner parties in an average month. This is considerably more than that of any other American in any category. He enjoyed it, but it was more than entertainment for its own sake: "This is an extremely important part of my work" (1-12).

His attitude toward his job is significant in that regard:

> My expected role has been more like an undergraduate teacher involving...a heavy teaching schedule...with little...encouragement to do more than this...I have added additional interests...it is not even written up in the report of the work of the American members of the group here. The Chief of Party...would actually just as soon that I did not engage in it. These...interests involve cultivating the friendships of highly placed individuals in the Education Department and seeking to influence them. I have also

> tried to get to know as many educators in the rural school districts as possible. And I have worked very closely with 75-100 students on their projects (1-8).

This professor was the only non-missionary who studied the language seriously for more than six months. He studied the language with a tutor for an hour and a half daily for the four years he was in Pakistan. This professor's goals are more than strictly professional; his broad service motivation is very close to that of the modern missionary who attempts to live a life of personal influence: "My objectives are social or cultural--communication with people, more than job related" (1-12).

CHAPTER V

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY PROFESSORS IN PAKISTAN

Missionary Vrs. Non-Missionary Professors

Our sample comprised fifteen missionary educators in Pakistani higher educational institutions. Their role in Pakistan is fundamentally different from that of the AID, Ford and Fulbright professors, and yet it is not easy to describe that difference. None of the missionary professors refer to themselves as educators hired by a church group, or professors out under missionary auspices; they are quick to call themselves (simply) "missionaries." They identify more with the missionary role than with the professor role, even though in the United States they were professors, not clergy; and in Pakistan their role is similar to the other (non-missionary) American professors.

One point of difference is the living standard. Missionaries receive salaries, allowances and benefits which average about one third of the AID or Ford professors. APO, Commissary and PX privileges are not available to the missionaries, and this has an obvious effect on the diet as well as home furnishings and appliances. It may discourage lavish entertainment of Americans and make it somewhat more comfortable for Pakistanis to visit in their homes.

But the missionary's role does not result primarily from the difference in salary and facilities. In Lahore some of the American missionary professors and their families are very active

and fully accepted in the larger American community life. Their children attend the American school, the wives are active on the school board, the American Women's Club, even some of the informal Bridge clubs. This pattern is not typical of missionaries in Pakistan, but it suggests that even with unequal salaries and facilities it is possible to participate in the same general groupings and activities as the other American professors.

More basic in producing the culture of missionary professors is their organizational affiliation: they are members of Pakistani institutions. In the last few years the Christian colleges in Pakistan have become registered in Pakistan as fully Pakistani institutions. The governing boards meet in Pakistan, not New York, and the influence of the United States mission boards is now informal and indirect.

The American missionary professors and their families have considerably more ties and relationships with the Pakistani faculty than AID professors have with their Pakistani counterparts. The Ford Foundation professors identify themselves to some extent with the Pakistani institution (for reasons discussed in Chapter IV), but AID professors are more apt to think of themselves as "attached to" or "working in" the Pakistani institution because of their advisory role.

In comparison to this the missionaries are essentially regular faculty members. As one expression of this fact, the missionaries live on campus with the Pakistani faculty whereas the AID (and Ford) professors usually live away from campus, in housing more expensive than Pakistani faculty can afford. Even though American missionaries generally resist the practice, their homes are grouped together in

one area of campus and not mixed in with those of the Pakistani faculty. And it is true that they are unique among the faculty because their salaries are about twice that of equally experienced Pakistani professors, their salaries come from United States church mission boards, and they are not usually recruited by the Pakistani institution. But they do live on campus, and have the same general facilities as Pakistani faculty.

Their identification with Pakistan and its institutions is one important bond they have with the other American missionaries. As one missionary said, "As far as the Americans who are here now (AID, etc.), they are not of the country; they are foreigners" (39-2). The missionary is a foreigner too, but he feels he is sufficiently native to call the non-missionaries "foreigners."

Another bond results from the common selection process and orientation program they receive while still in the United States, the language training which at least all long-term or career missionaries undergo, and the frequent meetings, committees and social gatherings which bring them together in Pakistan. They are part of the missionary "team," and the composition of that team in today's world is such that their role is no longer suspect or questioned by the more traditional missionaries.

Actually, in Pakistan there are very few evangelists or preachers left within the denominations that support missionary professors. The old distinction between "village" (pastor--evangelist) and "institutional" (teacher--doctor) missionary is no longer meaningful since virtually all pastors and evangelists are Pakistani, not American. Hence the other Americans serving as missionaries

have roles comparable to the professors: they serve in Pakistani institutions.

In regard to personal goals and satisfactions there are differences between the missionary and the AID, Ford or Fulbright professor. In the last chapter we mentioned that seldom do the other Americans have the interest that dominates the missionaries: friendships as ends in themselves. As we discussed in Chapter II, the "friendship" desired by Americans is not the deep and solid bond of personal commitment and mutual assistance that is involved in Pakistani friendship. But the missionaries appear to gain their greatest satisfaction from getting to know select Pakistanis, not for the sake of knowing about them--their culture--or using them to produce culture change, but just befriending them and becoming important to them. In most cases these Pakistanis are either Christian, or modern and western in orientation. The professors are in favor of culture change, but do not see themselves primarily as agents of change. They are qualified in particular specialties but do not consider their primary role as either pure or applied scholars.

The presence of this general interest in people and friendships may be related to the fact that the missionaries are usually from colleges rather than universities. In the United States colleges emphasize smaller classes and a more personal relationship between professor and student. The missionaries are not necessarily from Christian colleges in the United States, but they are from colleges. The AID and Ford professors are in most cases from large universities where their positions are apt to involve research and the administration of programs of education. It is possible that

when the professors come to Pakistan they bring along their preferences for developing programs in one case, and influencing students in the other.

This interest in people may be spoken of as a religious mission, such as "the expression of Christian love." Most of the missionary professors have little interest in more traditional religious activities, such as preaching or teaching Bible study groups. They speak of the essence of Christianity as loving concern--a kind of human relationship--rather than a belief in a spiritual entity. They do not admire Islam, or claim to see good in it and all religions, as did the liberals of past generations. The majority of them are essentially "secular" in their philosophy, and are as impatient with traditional Christianity as they are with traditional Islam.

This is the reason liberal Muslim professors are attracted to the Christian colleges of Pakistan. They are more secular than the remaining colleges in Pakistan, which are operated by the government and therefore formally bound to traditional Islam and the Koran. They equate Christianity with secularism because it opposes the conservative expression of Islam, and because most Christian professors express an essentially secular approach to the world.

But of course not all American missionary professors share this value orientation. This, then, raises the first of several distinctions or differences within the missionary group: some are "liberal" and some are "conservative."

Theological Orientation

This is not so much a difference in denomination. Most of the missionaries in the sample are Presbyterian or Methodist, and the liberal/conservative categories do not correspond to the denominations. It is more the particular congregations or local churches from which they come, and their personal religious beliefs. By "conservative" we mean those who emphasize orthodox theology or doctrine and who seek to have others share the same beliefs. The "liberals" emphasize service and the expression of Christian love to all, with minimal attention to the traditional system of belief. There is of course far more involved than these simple definitions imply, but in Pakistan even these elementary characteristics have profound effects upon the total orientation of missionary professors.

For the conservatives the most significant categories of people are the Christian and the non-Christian. Their goal is to produce Christians: those who accept Christian theology. Yet in Pakistan it is not legal to proselyte or preach to non-Christians (Muslims). Therefore their actual role in the college appears very similar to that of the liberal missionary. In both cases they are almost exclusively involved in rather normal faculty chores, with great interest in forming friendships with students and staff. But for the liberals this is an end in itself--the expression of "Christian love." For the conservatives this is worthwhile, but secondary (if not a means) to the more primary goal of reaching non-Christians with the Christian message. With so little opportunity for anything more in Pakistan, the conservatives are bound to feel some dissatisfaction with this aspect of their role.

The conservative feels so separate and distinct from all non-Christians that his non-work, or social relations with Muslims are not very satisfactory. He turns to the Pakistani Christians in hopes of encouraging them to do the job of "witnessing" and in order to receive Christian "fellowship," social and spiritual response and support. But again the relations do not turn out to be satisfactory. For reasons discussed in Chapter III, the Pakistani Christian community does not share the conservative missionary's concern for evangelism. Regardless of personal religious beliefs, Pakistanis are Christian if they are born Christian. They look with suspicion upon "converts," and are not interested in their recruitment. In fact the attitude and atmosphere of the Pakistani protestant Christian Church is so foreign to the background of the conservative (or liberal) American missionary that the kindred spirit and fellowship sought by the missionary is seldom achieved. A conservative missionary stated the attitude of most:

> It is very frustrating to work with Christians in this land. They do not have the same idea of the goal or responsibility of Christians...they have inferiority feelings. They don't want to see anyone get ahead. They seem to want to feel that they are martyrs. And so they gossip and talk about other staff members and try to keep everyone down. Thus I have found it difficult to talk freely with them (18-1).

Conservative missionaries do not enjoy the Pakistani Muslims because they are non-Christian and they have little opportunity to speak to them about Christianity. They do not enjoy the Pakistani Christians because their definitions of "Christian" behavior as well as theology are fundamentally different. And they do not enjoy the American community because it too is non-Christian. The same

missionary that spoke of the frustrations in working with the Pakistani Christians said this about the American community: "The fashions of modern dress are quite a scandal here and the American standard of living is way too high" (18-3). When asked what is the difference between the missionaries and non-missionary Americans he replied,

> Well, mainly that this group is Christian and the rest of the Americans are non-Christian. The group here is a group of committed people and this shows up in our activities and in our living standard...We live in entirely different realms (18-3).

Or, as another said, "There is no contact. We live in a different world" (12-4).

With no social or spiritual support from any element in Pakistan except the other conservative missionaries, and with so few opportunities to perform what he feels is the primary mission, it is understandable that this same missionary observed, "If it were not for the feeling that we have been called by God to do this work here, the frustrations would be unbearable" (18-2).

But the liberals are equally frustrated, though in a different way. The Pakistani Christian community is even less attractive to the liberals than it is to the conservative missionaries. The Pakistani Christians are a minority people, with a dependent, inferior and defensive mentality. Even though their theology and goals may differ sharply from the conservative missionary's, their subservient position and separation from the (Muslim) secular world is more in keeping with the conservatives than it is with the liberals. This effectively blocks social relations between liberal missionaries and Pakistani Christians. They have virtually nothing

in common; in fact, the Pakistani Christians are an embarassment and burden to the liberal missionary and to what he is trying to accomplish. In most cases they would prefer not to have a Christian "community," as such.

The liberal is far more interested in educating and "befriending" (in the American sense as discussed earlier) the Pakistani leaders. Of course these leaders are Muslim and his lack of interest in the Pakistani Christians is noted and resented by them. But he chooses to devote his time to what he feels is the more important and more attractive element in Pakistani society: liberal, educated, English speaking, modern-oriented, Muslims. At times he is even openly critical of the conservative missionary who devotes so much of his time to the (lower class) Christian community.

> The group here...have tried to get too far down and live like the average Pakistani. They become very careless about their dress and about their homes. It's all very sloppy. Our [conservative] missionaries have the attitude of working with the sweepers, yet here at BLANK we are working with educated, cultural people. I think we have to decide which group we are going to try to influence (17-4).

However, in the present anti-American mood of Pakistan the liberal is thwarted in his effort to become closely associated with any Pakistani--even the educated Muslim. It is a serious disadvantage to be an American in Pakistan today. To make matters worse (from the perspective of the Pakistani), the liberal is an American <u>missionary</u>, which means he is that kind of American which the uneducated majority of Pakistanis resent most. To be sure, the educated liberal Muslim knows that most missionary educators are a force for secularism, but it is an unpopular act today to show friendship to Americans, especially the missionaries.

Most of the liberals--particularly the career missionaries--are as separate from the American community as are the conservatives, though for different reasons. To the conservatives the American community contaminates the Christian witness and example of the missionaries. Their patterns of behavior are a "scandal." But the liberal objects to the recent American community because it is foreign to Pakistan, and emphasizes the separation and gap between the two cultures. The air conditioners, number of servants, and PX privileges of the other Americans are an embarrassment to the missionary. To Pakistanis these material comforts symbolize the desire of Americans to live above Pakistanis and imply feelings of national or racial superiority by the Americans. While the missionaries try to bridge the gap and emphasize their pleasure in living virtually as the Pakistani professors, they believe that the style of life of the non-missionary Americans calls attention to the great distinction between the two ways of life. This was the burden of a veteran liberal missionary:

> Most Americans came in here after 1958 which is after we had retired. Therefore, we have not had much contact with them. Now the church here on campus is not for the Pakistanis; it is for the Americans. I think it is a curse. It emphasizes the distinction between the Americans and the Pakistanis. Of course the mosque on campus is not very helpful either in that regard. I have a big question mark in my mind about the swimming pool here. The people who use it are mainly Americans. I think the Pakistanis feel that we have taken it over. The softball on the campus would be good if the Pakistanis played with the Americans, but they don't. Anything that divides the group and emphasizes these two different worlds is essentially evil. With a large American community it is possible to get so wound up with only American activities that we have no time for the Pakistanis (39-4).

The colonial pattern was for non-Asians to move to the cooler hill stations during the hot summer months. The liberal

missionaries consistently express their dislike and disapproval of this practice, and move there only when their language instruction requires them to be in attendance at the Murree Hills language school. But some of the conservative missionaries look forward to their annual move to the hills as the high point of the year. There they have the "fellowship"--social and spiritual support from like-minded people--that they lack during the rest of the year.

Another expression of this fact is the nine-month school operated in Murree Hills for missionary children, dominated by children of conservative missionaries. The more liberal missionaries prefer to have their children in mixed Pakistani-American schools, or at least in schools open to a wider range of people.

Liberals enjoy other liberal missionaries, but feel guilty if they do many things exclusively with other Americans, even missionaries. They attempt to identify with Pakistan and live at the same level as the educated Pakistanis they seek to know. Regarding most aspects of culture, including much of religion, they are quite "relativistic" and prefer not to think of the American way as the superior way. Conservatives, on the other hand, believe that orthodox Christianity is the only correct religion, and are apt to feel that particular patterns of behavior (American) are the true expression of Christianity. Hence they do not identify with Pakistani culture or see any particular value in constant association with Pakistanis, simply because they are Pakistani. They are more interested in opportunities to be with other Christians "of their own kind." In their minds this does not indicate any discrimination against Pakistani Christians, but as it turns our "their own kind" is defined

in terms of religious customs and style of life. Therefore few Pakistanis are included in the category, and conservatives tend to enjoy most the fellowship of other American missionaries, plus a very few and select Pakistanis.

Length of Service

In addition to the differences resulting from theological positions--conservative or liberal--there are a number of other distinctions between missionary professors, some of which result from the length of time the professors expect to serve in Pakistan. There are the temporary, short-term missionaries, the "old-hands," or veteran career missionaries, and the recently arrived career missionaries.

The temporary or short-term missionary is a relatively new concept. In one sense it was born of necessity: there were not enough career missionaries to fill the positions. But of more importance was the desire of the major denominations to minimize the difference between the layman and the clergy by encouraging laymen into "vocational" church work, even for relatively short periods of time. Many organizations now recruit carpenters, accountants, agricultural specialists, etc., to serve overseas for even a few months, in order to give both individuals and local congregations a sense of participation in the work of missions.

This appeals to those who have no desire to change vocational roles but who would like to more actively support missions as well as have an experience of living in a foreign culture. As such the motivations as well as background overlap those of the other

non-missionary American professors overseas for a limited tour of duty, even though they are not attracted to comparable positions with non-religious organizations.

> I wanted to get out of the country to see how other people lived. This was a chance to teach in a different setting. I thought maybe I could do something in an underdeveloped country to help. I wanted the whole effect of living in a different culture. I never considered working for the government. We have always been active in church work; I heard of this opportunity there (42-1).

> The Board of Missions told me that they needed someone. I was glad to be of help. Then there were the selfish reasons that it would be beneficial to us. It would be helpful to me professionally and it would be an advantage to the family to give them the experience. The family was enthusiastic (41-1).

Corresponding to this similarity in motivation is a similarity in their interaction with Pakistanis. Useem describes "first-time-outers" as "plungers" into the traditional culture of the host country (1963:172). In this the missionaries have an advantage over other American professors since the missionaries live on the campuses where they teach. The short-term missionary professors entertain Pakistanis a great deal. "We have Pakistanis into our home as much as we possibly can. It would be a physical impossibility to have any more in our home than we do" (17-8).

As with first-timers generally, Pakistani culture is still novel and exotic. New places and experiences are an adventure. Even poverty has an element of charm.

> The city of Lahore is marvelous; I'm still fascinated by it; the little things, the shops and the way people do things. The few visits I've had to villages have been outstanding. We don't have a car and going by public transportation is really exciting. You always find people who are willing to talk to you. I think life in villages is really wonderful. They make you feel so

> welcome. It doesn't seem a sacrifice to me for people who have to live in the villages (42-1).

Missionary professors come to Pakistan expecting to teach. This is true of Fulbrighters as well but not true of AID or Ford Foundation professors who are typically hired as advisors, directors, etc. In contrast to AID and Ford professors, the missionaries look forward to teaching assignments. They come expecting to find the same kind of personal satisfactions they receive in the United States, perhaps in even greater measure. Instead they discover a level of instruction comparable to an inferior high school in the United States, lack of motivation by the students for independent study, and problems in communication because of the students' limited knowledge of English. It is an educational system that removes the reward system that is believed to motivate United States students to study regularly and independently: the "internal" exam and grading system.

Both Pakistani and American faculty agree that the first year an American teaches in Pakistan is usually very difficult, and of questionable value to the students. The short-term missionary expects to return to a college in the United States and thus resists any major modification of his teaching methods. By the second or third year of teaching compromises have been made, communication is easier and the professors find more satisfaction from their work. But the short-termer returns to the United States before this adjustment is complete, after two or three years of generally unsatisfactory teaching experience.

> The total teaching situation is terrible. We are supposed to get the students to regurgitate facts, not to learn to

> think. We don't deal with any real situations or applied science. The students themselves are some of the friendliest I have known but also the most disinterested I have ever known. We are forced to teach material that we know is obsolete. The real problem is that you can't do anything about it; you're caught in the system all the time. What do they want us here for? Certainly not our ideas or our help. They just want us to become like Pakistanis and go along with the system (42-2).
>
> It takes an American quite a while to learn how to teach at the right level here. It also takes a while to focus your teaching on getting students to pass exams and in accepting the memory system they use and work with it (38-2).

The short-term missionaries are of course less deeply involved in Pakistan than the career missionaries. They are "plungers" and spend considerable time with Pakistanis, but they have not had time to understand or appreciate the more subtle characteristics of Pakistani culture. There is no requirement to learn the language for short-term missionaries and thus they do not have access to the Urdu speaking segments of the population. Also they have not had sufficient time to develop cross-cultural friendships with those who can speak English because in Pakistan friendships require a long period of development. Therefore their frequent efforts to get to know people do not produce the deeper relationships veteran career missionaries have with Pakistanis. This characteristic the short-termers have in common with most of the non-missionary professors.

In addition, their short-term perspective further separates them from career missionaries. Their cultural world and reference group is the United States to a degree that contrasts with the missionary who settles rather permanently in Pakistan. Thus it is hard for the short-term missionary to identify with Pakistan or even the missionary community as distinct from the American community.

As a result, the short-term missionary family interacts frequently with those segments of the American community which share much of their orientation and style of life, such as educators and government technicians.[1] Some of these missionary professors even take the position that their efforts should be integrated with the work of the foundations and the United States government.

> We have more contact with Europeans and Americans too [than the career missionaries]. We don't want to drop out of our culture. We feel the American effort here should be integrated with what the other Americans are doing. The group here on the campus [conservative career missionaries] feels that the other Americans drink and everything and so they don't want to be with them. We don't feel that way (17-9).

The bacon, coffee and air conditioners available to AID professors are more a topic of conversation with the short-term missionaries than with the career missionaries, who have adjusted to the lack of these provisions. When only short-term missionaries are present the PX and Commissary are frequently discussed, and the wish is expressed that these goods were available to all Americans, regardless of their affiliation.

Some of the "old hands" or veteran career missionaries came over initially as short-termers, but their decision to remain represents a fundamental choice in which Pakistan (actually India, in earlier years) becomes their cultural world; their positions in the local educational system, church, and society are their most important roles.

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[1] Engineers and construction workers out under private firms form a rather distinct segment of the American community, and are less likely to interact socially with missionaries or non-missionary educators.

If American culture is relevant to them it is the culture of the twenties--or whenever they first left the United States. Air conditioners are important to them only to the degree they are important to educated Pakistanis, since the America they know does not have air conditioners and they identify more with Pakistanis. They have long ago made their adjustment to Pakistan and are unconcerned about, if not scornful toward, the "necessities" of the recent American community. In addition they have made peace with the colonial educational system, and find little conflict in their role as Pakistani educators.

Over the years it is increasingly the United States that presents culture shock, not Pakistan. "In recent years I have felt more at home here than I have in the U.S." (38-3). And this discomfort with recent American culture produces a feeling of estrangement from the modern generation of American missionaries.

> I think the Americans had more Pakistanis into their homes in the 1920's than we have now. One reason...is that the American families that come over now insist on eating with their children about 5:30 in the evening and this doesn't work out well with the schedules of the Pakistanis. In the old days the American missionaries had the ayahs feed their children and put them to bed and then the Americans were free to enjoy their evenings with both Pakistanis and American friends (38-5).

Part of this is simply difference in age--the older missionaries are no longer involved in the raising of children, and there is some indication that the older missionaries had fewer children than the present generation. In part this is simply the expression of the birth rates of the two generations; but it also reflects the role of missionary wives in the earlier generation when they were more active in the missionary enterprise at the expense of raising large families.

Of equal importance is the difference in background missionaries bring with them to Pakistan. Modern American culture has emphasized relations between racial groups and the extension of opportunity and equal status to all. American missionaries today arrive with strong convictions about minority racial groups. The typical American missionaries of the 1920's may have had idealistic feelings about racial groups, but they were not sophisticated or experienced enough to fight the colonial system in India, with its caste differences. In most cases they tacitly accepted the existing system, though with some misgivings. The orientation by the mission boards in the United States encouraged them to accept the colonial system and to adapt to it. They now look back and express strong disapproval, but not many of them fought the tradition twenty years ago.

> We have always shown and assumed a superiority. The old American principal used to say that if you tried to be democratic nothing is ever done. I always said, "Yes, it may not be efficient, but it is the only way they will learn." Our attitude was always, "We know what should be done; they [the Indians] have to learn what needs to be done. Therefore we tell them." Actually I'm not wholly free of this yet. When I see one of my staff not doing his job I'm annoyed. I assume that I know best (39-6).

> When we first came to [India] there were...five to ten thousand British here. Those were the days when a sahib was a sahib. Very healthy changes have taken place since that time. The principal then just ran the place. He was the real boss. He rarely consulted anyone...He would call us missionaries in, but he would not call in the Indian Christians to talk about the school. I accepted the pattern. I just thought it was part of life over here (19-1,2).

> In the early days people would say things just to please us...It was the fact that we were white Americans that gave us the power and position that we held and we didn't deserve this. I don't think we abused this power. I

> went out of my way to be fair, but they probably did not think so of me (19-3).

The rapid changes in Pakistani society and the increasingly difficult role of American professors in the mission-related educational system has made life very difficult for the old hands. They may not have approved the ascribed status and authority of their old roles, but the old roles are the only ones they know. And with their age and experience--which are still significant indicators of status in Pakistan--it has been doubly hard for them to find comfortable roles in the new social system. They tend to spend their time with old Pakistani friends, and worry about the future of Pakistan.

The recent career missionaries have a different problem. They arrive with role expectations arising from modern American society and yet because of their career missionary status are expected to assume roles defined back in the colonial era. The short-term missionaries are acceptable in the Christian colleges as visiting professors and are no permanent competition or threat. The old hands are on their way out and because of their age and experience are treated with deference, but kept at a distance where they can no longer interfere with the real operations of the institution. But the recent career missionaries are neither temporary nor on their way out. Their education and experience equip them for leadership, but their race, nationality and religious affiliation block this potential. In a reverse discrimination all foreigners are suspected of colonial ambitions, particularly those who plan to stay. They see great need in the colleges, yet their help and advice is unwelcome or received with suspicion by their colleagues.

> I'm not wholly comfortable in the organization because it is another world. One problem is that they feel I am striking for Principal. They joke about it. They say in a couple more years I will be Vice-Principal and then Principal. I felt very free as just a teacher, but I don't like the present job...I think my job would be far better accepted if a Pakistani had it rather than an American. They like to use Americans as people to blame (37-4).

During the period of this study in Pakistan one professor arrived to begin a career as a missionary professor. The educational system and the anti-missionary, anti-American, anti-white attitude disturbed him so much that he returned to the United States in six months. The recent career missionary lacks the language and the experience to understand or appreciate the Pakistani culture. His work role is ambiguous. And under the present circumstances he finds it undesirable to have friendships with Americans and difficult to cultivate them with Pakistanis.

The dilemma of the recent career missionary leads to the more basic question, which troubles all missionaries regardless of their length of stay in Pakistan. What is a <u>missionary</u> professor, as distinct from an AID professor, in Pakistan today? In many ways their function is very similar to that of the other American professors yet they believe there is a fundamental difference. Whether the missionaries speak of their goal in religious terms or not they feel that they have some kind of mission or purpose which distinguishes them from the AID professors.

A problem arises in defining and expressing that purpose. During the academic year of 1964-65 one Christian college devoted bi-monthly meetings to a discussion of the characteristics of a Christian college, and the responsibilities of Christian faculty

members. There was no agreement beyond the statement that Christian faculty should love their students, and be more conscientious in the performance of their duties. But if this is their only distinguishing quality, they ask themselves why it is necessary to make such a financial sacrifice and come to Pakistan as "missionaries?" One can love students and do a conscientious job as an AID professor. Indeed, the role of professor includes serious attention to teaching students; this is not a special "mission."

One recent career missionary stated: "The missionary role is very ambiguous and I feel a little uncomfortable in it" (13-1). Missionaries commonly expect to live in Pakistani society and by the example of their lives exert profound witness to the non-Christian world. "I thought my job would mainly be giving a Christian example to a Muslim world. Actually, it has not been that. It has been <u>just</u> a teaching experience" (16-5; italics are mine).

A conclusion of this study is that missionaries believe their primary purpose in coming to Pakistan should be to represent Christianity or Christ, and this produces an additional stress. In the United States most of them were simply educators; now they feel the requirement to be something more than good educators. They have little opportunity to speak about their own religious faith because the laws of Pakistan prohibit proselyting; this puts even more pressure upon the "silent witness" of their personal patterns of behavior. The missionaries are thus burdened with the responsibility for a very high standard of morality and service. They feel that they must be "better"--more devoted, sacrificial, skillful, spiritual, conscientious, loving, or something--than a non-missionary.

The result of this extra burden can be seen in several patterns of behavior. First, the missionaries feel guilt over many aspects of their lives.

> I expected our living accomodations to be more simple and crude than this. Our homes are far grander than what we had visualized before coming (18-5).
>
> I think I have been a little disappointed that life here is so comfortable and easy. There is not much challenge in this area of life and it makes it harder to feel that I am a missionary (12-2).

Many feel their homes are too large, when in comparison with those of the other Americans in Lahore they are very simple, even plain. In any case they are virtually the same as those of their Pakistani colleagues. They claim their salaries are too high, even though they took a considerable cut in salary to come overseas, and their American colleagues in Pakistan are making three or four times as much. And the Pakistanis with whom they work if similarly qualified would make salaries in the same general range as those of the missionaries.

Even the most active and hardest working of the missionaries feel they are not spending enough time with Pakistanis. "I have felt we entertained less than other missionaries, although maybe that's not true. I have felt guilty about it. In the States I expected to have more contact with them over here" (41-10). Before they leave the United States they have a stereotype of a missionary which involves sacrifice and includes a very high standard of behavior. Pakistani Christians reinforce this image by claiming that "the old missionaries were more sacrificial and dedicated," and they are quick to criticize the more recent missionaries (137-5, 120-3).

The second effect of bearing the "burden" of being missionaries is an aura of seriousness in their cross-cultural relations. It appears that they are attempting to convince the Pakistanis of their dedication and serious purpose. They are not there to make money or have a good time; they are in Pakistan as a (religious) service. Missionaries cannot shake the conviction that the cause of Christianity in Pakistan rests upon them. They must at all times display exemplary lives, as a witness and testimony to the superiority of Christianity.

Pakistanis who know both American missionaries and American AID professors speak of the sobriety and seriousness of the missionaries. "The missionaries are much more formal. They are not ready to be so informal or to discuss irrelevant things for fun. They have a specific purpose here" (104-4). Most of the AID professors do not mind serving beer to the Pakistanis--something forbidden in the Islamic culture--or telling shady jokes in their presence. They are not trying to be perfectionists or moral examples. Thus the relationships are easy and casual.

This burden of representing Christianity discourages the missionaries from informal, easy-going interaction with Pakistanis, and in some cases the result is a distrust of missionaries by the Pakistanis, a suspicion of insincerity and false pretense. The missionaries rarely let down and expose themselves to Pakistanis, presumably for fear of harming the image of Christianity. The effect appears to be the opposite of their intention, for some Pakistanis respect missionaries but claim to enjoy and even trust non-missionaries more.

> The other Americans are more vocal, more frank and more dependable. Whereas the missionaries are clever, not as free as the others. Of course I am not antagonistic against the missionaries at all (137-5).

The current anti-missionary, anti-American atmosphere is a matter of concern to all categories of missionaries in Pakistan. They are not sure of their goals and are generally dissatisfied with their role. Commissions and committees from the United States are making trips to Pakistan, investigating the situation. Many new ideas are being discussed.

> I feel the time has come in many places in the world that missionaries will no longer be able to work in the way we used to work. I think missionaries have handicapped their efforts by requiring the tag "Christian" on everything (38-5).

> I feel we should get more Christian teachers from Southeast Asia. As it is now, we just have Americans and Pakistanis. Southeast Asian Christians would not be under the same burden of being American and yet they would not be part of the Pakistani culture (36-5).

The role of missionary professors in Pakistan today is a difficult one. Classroom teaching does not involve the lively discussions common in the United States. The direct and open proclamation of an evangelical religious faith is against the law. The "silent witness" of a superior life is a great burden, and appears to produce the unintended image of hypocrisy and insincerity in the minds of these they seek to influence. The colonial legacy and history of missions in India/Pakistan defines roles of leadership for the missionaries yet the current nationalism prevents them from being fully accepted by their Pakistani colleagues.

But the missionary professors still have unique opportunities to establish friendships with students. As we saw earlier

in the chapter, this interest in people and in influencing people is particularly associated with missionary professors. For them it is an end in itself, in contrast to the other professors who are more concerned with some sort of culture change, the administration of educational programs, or research. They are committed to college teaching and its basic activity, involvement in the lives of students. The typical AID professor from a United States university would be dissatisfied in the role of missionary professor in Pakistan. But the missionaries--from United States colleges--find their deepest gratifications from knowing students, and this they can do in Pakistan.

In fact, no other American professors in Pakistan have as much opportunity to become well acquainted with Pakistani students and faculty as the missionaries. They take on long established roles as faculty members in Pakistani educational institutions and live in faculty homes set in the midst of student dormitories. This sort of role has its own satisfactions, and the frustrations that have been discussed are not sufficient to persuade the present missionaries to return home, or to prevent a steady stream of new missionary professors from coming to Pakistan.

CHAPTER VI

CROSS-CULTURAL WORKING RELATIONS AND THE THIRD CULTURE

The Dual Social System

This chapter examines the nature of the working relationships between American and Pakistani professors, and the roles Americans hold simultaneously in American organizations and Pakistani institutions. The cultural patterns which characterize this bi-national interaction are termed the American-Pakistani third culture. There is evidence that in Pakistan this is in the process of change, from the colonial third culture to a more modern third culture typical of cross-cultural relations in many parts of the world today.

The American Organization

We have noted earlier (in Chapter IV) the important differences in behavior which result from membership in the various American organizations: AID, The Ford Foundation, Fulbright and the mission boards. The American finds that he is not simply working in a Pakistani institution, for at the same time he is part of an American organization. He is operating within a dual social structure which therefore involves two reference groups. In terms of the other Americans he develops his role in the context of a number of variables including the parent organization, the number of Americans, the policies of the Chief-of-Party and the behavior of the individuals that have served within the group or team. The patterns of the particular

group influence the American in his view of the choices open to him, as well as the response of the Pakistanis to his behavior.

The existence of a precedent allows the American to gain access into the Pakistani institution more quickly, but at the same time it limits the potential for new and modified definitions of his role. The Chief-of-Party of the American team is crucial in defining the acceptable roles of team members. In one institution the Chief-of-Party discouraged the Americans from interacting with officials of the Pakistan Department of Education. The effect of this decision was significant in the attitudes of the Americans toward their total mission in Pakistan, as well as in reducing social and professional contacts with Pakistani educators. Another Chief-of-Party participated himself in a large number of social activities of the Pakistani community, yet he made little effort to bring other members of the American team into these social gatherings. In their interviews these Americans stated that they lacked access to the Pakistani community, and as a team they had fewer bi-national social activities than any other group.

The Americans in large American teams remain very conscious of their roles in the American social system. The Americans meet together frequently both formally and informally, and this is functional since the Americans feel their membership in the American social system as keenly as they are aware of their positions in the Pakistani institution. Most of the Americans find these sessions valuable opportunities for the expression of frustrations and the sharing of ideas about their living adjustment and work situation.

When there is only one American attached to a Pakistani

institution it is common for him to regret the lack of opportunity for discussion of his working role with other Americans. But if there is precedent for the American to have close working relationships with the Pakistani faculty, or if his status gives him a positive function in the institution, then the Pakistani social system becomes more significant to him than the American organization of which he is a part, and he looks to the Pakistanis for some of the social support he might otherwise receive from American colleagues.

The Pakistani Institution

In addition to the American social system, the Americans' work role also depends upon the Pakistani social system, and the existence of a third culture as a pattern for the bi-national interaction. The present study of Pakistani higher educational institutions has identified three types of Pakistani social systems, described in Chapters II and III. First there are the Christian colleges, which through most of their history are better termed missionary colleges because of the extent to which missionaries dominated their administration. Up until the 1940's these institutions fit the British colonial pattern, in which foreigners (in this case mainly Americans) operated the colleges in a rather authoritarian manner. Today the missionaries are conspicuously absent from the administrative positions and are trying very hard to win acceptance as colleagues, and yet the colonial pattern lingers on in the minds of the Pakistanis, particularly among the Pakistani Christians, and any exercise of administration by the Americans is interpreted as a resurgence of the colonial cultural pattern.

Within these institutions the Pakistani Christians have leadership roles, and they think of the institutions as properly serving the needs of the Christian community, as their primary function. They expect American missionaries to share this view and are offended by the missionaries' lack of identification with the Christion community, and their attention to the Muslim students and faculty.

The Muslim faculty within Christian colleges are generally liberal in their religious beliefs and are attracted to the colleges because of their relatively secular and western world-view, in contrast to the other institutions which are more conservative in their value system. These Muslim professors are often more modern and less communal in their world-view than the Pakistani Christians, and in this respect prefer having Americans in administrative positions rather than Pakistani Christians, and are generally pessimistic about the future of Christian colleges in Pakistan.

The second type of Pakistani institution in which Americans participate is the more traditional public university. Islam and nationalism are emphasized in these institutions and the Americans find it difficult to appreciate the basic value system. Relatively few of the Pakistani professors have been educated abroad and there is not much common experience present as a basis for close interaction with the Americans. Several AID advisors and Fulbrighters with teaching positions are attached to these institutions. The roles of Americans are carefully delineated and they have little opportunity for deeper involvement in the social system.

If the Pakistanis in these institutions are reacting against the colonial third culture it is a very generalized reaction since

there are no foreign administrators present today to threaten them, and in fact foreigners have not held administrative posts in these institutions since long before the Partition of 1947. But the strong feeling of nationalism has created a negative attitude toward the presence of foreigners, and in particular toward Americans, and the American professors do not feel they can exert an influence or establish intimate personal relationships.

The third type of social system expresses the modern third culture, and is found within those institutions having a large percentage of western-educated staff. In most instances Americans played key roles in the development and early administration of the institutions themselves. These include an agricultural university, two academies, an institute affiliated with a university, and a single department within a university. Not all of these institutions equally express the characteristics of this type of social system, and within them there is a wide divergence of cultural orientations among the Pakistani faculty.

A growing number of young Pakistani faculty are western-educated and highly critical of many aspects of Pakistani society. They are not the liberal Muslims referred to above who teach in Christian colleges; the Pakistanis who return from study abroad question the need for any form of religion and are not just liberal in their adherance to Islam. They are also less nationalistic in their world-view: it is not that they have transferred their loyalties to another nation, but that they cannot identify with any strongly nationalistic sentiment. These Pakistanis share much of their value system with the American professors, and they work well

together. Successful cooperative projects have been achieved in team teaching, co-authoring books, and conducting research. But because the Pakistanis have received degrees comparable to those of the Americans they resent it when the Americans assume superior or patronizing attitudes in roles such as administrators or advisors. Yet these are the institutions in which the Americans serve as advisors.

The older Pakistani faculty in these institutions, most of whom have not been overseas, correspond in their value orientations to the faculty in traditional Pakistani institutions discussed above. However, the social system in which they belong is very different. In these institutions they feel threatened by the young Pakistanis with advanced degrees from the United States, as well as from the group of Americans within the institution. Generally the older faculty retain their status by virtue of their seniority, but it is clear that the younger faculty are dissatisfied with the existing system, and they do not express the degree of patience and respect that the senior professors feel is proper. All of this is seen by the older professors as the effect of the Americans. Thus in these institutions the Americans receive at the same time their greatest satisfactions from working with the western-educated professors, and their greatest frustrations from their attempts to work with the more traditional professors.

American Work Roles

Within the social systems described above the American professors seek to delineate roles that are acceptable to the Pakistani

staff and satisfying to themselves. In our discussion of the American professors' work roles we shall use "colleague" to refer to the position of teacher, in which the American attempts to perform a function in the institution that is similar to that of Pakistani faculty members. "Administrator" will denote the status of those Americans who hold administrative responsibilities in universities or colleges and supervise Pakistani faculty. The more common position of "advisor" involves neither teaching nor administration as primary functions; typically the American spends a portion of his time developing academic programs or research, and may on occasion even teach courses, but he considers it most appropriate to guide and assist Pakistani educators in the performance of their duties.

The work roles held by Americans in Pakistani institutions are as follows:

Pakistani Institutions	Administrators	Advisors	Colleagues
Christian Colleges	5	0	10
Traditional Public Universities	0	2	3
Modern, Western Public Institutions[1]	9/1	13/21	0

The Colleague

As noted in Chapter II, before leaving the United States Americans expect a greater degree of immersion in Pakistani society

[1]Half way through the study eight administrators gave up their positions to Pakistani counterparts and became advisors to the Pakistanis who assumed their positions. Thus at the beginning of the study there were nine American administrators in modern, western public institutions but this number dropped to one, raising the number of advisors from thirteen to twenty-one.

than they find upon arrival. Likewise, American professors commonly expect their teaching positions in Pakistani institutions to be essentially the same as those held by Pakistani professors. But few if any Americans succeed in avoiding a special "guest" status, something like a "visiting" professor, for they are a special kind of faculty member simply because they are "foreigners," and more specifically American.

The three Fulbrighters and the fifteen missionaries in Pakistani institutions holding colleague positions receive higher salaries than the Pakistani faculty of the same rank, though the compensation of these Americans is less than that of American advisors discussed below. But equally important is the fact that the American professors do not receive their salaries from the institution in which they work, as do the Pakistanis, but from an American organization. In this respect at least the Americans are not employees of the same organization as the faculty with whom they claim to be colleagues.

The Americans return at night to a home and a style of life that is very different from that of the Pakistanis. In the case of the Fulbrighter this contrast is easier for the Pakistanis to accept since he is attached to the institution for such a short period of time; he is a visiting specialist on temporary loan. But even the short-term missionary has a three year term of service in the missionary institutions, and the visability of his contrasting style of life is more apparent because he lives on campus near the Pakistani staff. Furthermore, the expressed motive of the missionary in coming to Pakistan leads the Pakistani faculty to believe the American wants

to live as the Pakistanis. Pakistani Christian faculty express greater resentment toward the living standard of American missionaries than the Pakistani university staff do toward the AID advisors, even though the advisors have salaries that are more than double those of the missionaries.[2]

But some of the difficulties Americans find in being accepted by the Pakistani faculty are not simply the result of the amount and source of their salary, or the cost of their furniture and appliances. Numerous differences exist in the patterns of interaction and the definition of appropriate personal behavior, such as the norms of being a neighbor, child-rearing patterns, health and cleanliness, and the obligations of friendship. The close proximity of dwellings may produce some appreciation and commonality of cultural features, but it also emphasizes and makes more visible the dissimilarity that exists in the two styles of life.

For example, even after the long history of close association with missionaries there is little evidence that Pakistani Christians understand what seems to them the obsession Americans have about clean food and dishes. Pakistanis are offended by the reluctance of Americans to eat food that has not been prepared by cooks trained by Americans. This is still a major impediment to entertaining between the Americans and Pakistanis: Americans hesitate to invite Pakistanis for a meal when they are unwilling to reciprocate by eating a meal in the Pakistani home. The custom of drinking only boiled water by Americans is difficult to accept even for educated Pakistanis. In

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[2]There are additional reasons for this resentment, and these are discussed in Chapter V.

one institution the Americans brought thermos bottles to work rather than drink water from the refrigerated drinking fountains at the institution. The rumor was widespread that the Americans were carrying liquor in their thermoses. In terms of Pakistani culture the avoidance of water that is not boiled is evidence that the Americans either practice a superstition or do not wish to have close contact with Pakistanis. The former is difficult to believe about Americans who in most ways appear so modern and scientific, and the latter is a serious insult. The Americans understand that their avoidance of eating and drinking water with Pakistanis is offensive to the Pakistanis, but they are unwilling to take what they believe is a risk to their health.

Americans refuse to participate in the Pakistani cultural patterns of mutual obligation involved in friendship. After receiving a gift or being entertained by a Pakistani, Americans are dismayed when the Pakistani asks a favor in return. This is a traditional norm of the society, and a Pakistani educator who engages in the practice is conforming to the approved ethic of Pakistani culture. Yet the Americans tend to evaluate this behavior in the context of American culture, and not only refuse to conform themselves but they judge harshly the Pakistanis who attempt to win favors from them by this means. The Pakistanis show the same lack of acceptance for the corresponding American norms: when as American will not return a favor the Pakistani evaluates him in terms of Pakistani culture. In both cases the educators generally understand the cultural patterns of the other group, but they retain their own cultural norms when evaluating the behavior of the other group, and refuse to participate

themselves in the patterns of the other culture.

An American missionary was publically reprimanded when he went to Karachi without personally requesting the principal's permission, and yet the American had done what would have been appropriate in the United States: he had gone through channels, receiving permission from both the Pakistani department head and the American Vice-Principal.

Americans often forget to offer tea or soft drinks to Pakistanis who drop by their homes, and when the visit occurs near the time of a meal Pakistanis are offended if they are not invited to eat. But the customary time for meals is not well known by Americans about the Pakistanis, or by Pakistanis about the Americans. Senior faculty members from both groups frequently remark that they hesitate to visit members of the other group because they are not sure when they eat their meals.

In addition to cultural differences and misunderstandings there exist certain discrepancies between the generalized image of Americans held by the Pakistanis, and the particular Americans they encounter. For example, "most Americans are not very deep, but the Americans I know are very developed and mature" (122-3). This was typical of many responses. Students at Kinnaird College told an American missionary, "I don't think you should be called an American" (41-4), because his behavior did not fit their image of Americans. Another common stereotype is that American missionaries have lighter teaching loads than Pakistanis, even though the present study compared the teaching loads and found them to be the same. It is always in "other departments" that a different load is assigned.

> The Americans on the staff here don't put in as much work as the Pakistani staff. I mean they have a lighter load and they teach fewer hours per week...But the Americans are no longer heads of departments and the heads of departments set the number of hours each teacher teaches, and in our department there is never a difference between the number of hours they teach. So there is not much specific today; it is just a general feeling of resentment (138-5).

This remark is a further expression of the general point under discussion. The American professor is not prevented from being a full and regular member of the faculty because of specific aspects of his status-role, but because of the innumerable cultural differences which exclude him from the normal relationships of Pakistani faculty.

> There is hardly any social contact. Oh yes, we invite each other over in each direction, but it is not like two Pakistanis meeting together. Very seldom do they join us for informal talking over tea or coffee. In the staff room and in the offices the Americans keep aloof. They probably feel we waste a lot of our time that way, but [this sort of thing would] help create a better feeling [between us]. Even the single, young Americans have kept just as aloof (119-3).

The American missionaries are disillusioned to find that the Pakistani Christians do not share the same basic values or world-view.

> I've found it very difficult to get to know Christians on the faculty. It's impossible to communicate with them as Christians...I thought it would give us a bond or a common sort of attitude toward life, but for them Christianity isn't the same as it is for us. I don't know exactly what the difference is (42-9).

These cultural blocks to communication and interaction are a handicap for all Americans in the academic world seeking to work with Pakistanis, but they are particularly important for those Americans who wish to be colleagues in the Pakistani institutions. Much

of their work satisfaction is based upon their experience and relationships with the Pakistani students and faculty. They are not in Pakistan to develop new programs or to advise on matters of administration; they have come to teach and serve as faculty members. Yet they feel they are not fully accepted by the Pakistanis, and teaching in Pakistan is less satisfying to them than what they expected.

> The total teaching situation is terrible...We are supposed to teach science like history; we're supposed to get the students to regurgitate facts, not to learn to think... The students are...the most disinterested I have ever known. But I think the syllabus is the worst frustration of all, it is so outdated. We are forced to teach material that we know is obsolete. In fact, we have to teach untruths about the field...What do they want us here for? Certainly not our ideas or our help. They just want us to become like Pakistanis and go along with the system and not make any trouble (42-2).

This remark was made by a short-term missionary, and is typical of the attitude of those on their first overseas assignment, both missionaries and Fulbrighters. But even by Pakistani standards the Americans are successful as teachers, and frequently they are considered by the students to be the most popular teachers on campus. The reasons for this include the informality of Americans in the classroom. The Pakistani professors require students to stand when they ask questions or recite, and when the professors enter the room. The students are called upon by their student number rather than by their name. The American professors ask the students to remain seated at all times and (with varying success) try to call on students by name instead of number. The students are annoyed when the Americans stray from the syllabus in their lectures, and when they introduce new types of examinations, but the Americans are more lively and entertaining as lecturers. This is particularly true when the subject matter

allows the professor to speak about the culture of America, or some other foreign land.

The Americans serving as colleagues in Pakistani institutions have no choice in the content of the courses they offer. The institutions in which they teach are either traditional Pakistani universities or missionary colleges, and in both cases the curriculum and syllabi are determined by the university, not the individual instructors. Americans in the more modern, western-oriented Pakistani institutions have a greater part in these decisions, and yet most of these Americans are advisors and for reasons discussed below are not active in teaching.

Discipline in class is a major problem for the Americans. The professors are not prepared to act in an authoritarian manner and maintain order among the undergraduate students. The acoustics are bad and the Pakistani-British English linguistic code is sufficiently different to produce considerable strain in an exchange between students and teacher. This problem lends itself to the breakdown of class decorum and once control is lost it becomes very difficult to restore the order, and meanwhile the class has disrupted the neighboring classes in the building.

American professors encourage students to stop by their offices or their homes, and the students respond to this invitation and talk with the American professors more frequently than they do with the Pakistani staff. However, the focus of the discussion is more often America and its culture or foreign policy than it is the subject of the course taught by the American. Once these topics have been exhausted the students find it difficult to discuss their

own problems or lives because of the cultural gap between them and the foreign professor.

Americans are reluctant to participate in the Pakistani patterns of personal influence in decision-making. They are unsympathetic toward a Pakistani professor who is pressured by a relative to grant his son admission to the college. Likewise, Americans believe the grades they assign are non-negotiable and unaffected by any personal consideration. But even this pattern of the Americans is useful to the Pakistanis at times: they can report to their relatives that because an American supervized the grading, or was responsible for admissions, there was no possibility of exerting personal influence. "The Pakistanis find it a face-saving mechanism to have the Americans to blame" (39-5).

> Often [a Pakistani Dean] will come to me and say that he had to sign a person's acceptance to the college, but that he doesn't want him admitted and so he wants me to turn him down. I say, "Well, that's up to you; you say so." He answers, "But I can't, he's my friend" (38-4).

This position of the Americans outside the Pakistani cultural system is useful in other ways besides being a scapegoat. The Pakistanis accept the judgment of Americans because they believe it is not influenced by personal or subjective considerations.

> When I am in conferences and committees with the university staff, they always settle on me to make decisions. The reason is that they know I am a fair outsider and not involved in their petty competition (40-4).

Pakistani educators are ambivalent about the presence of American colleagues on their staffs. American professors (particularly those with Ph.D.'s) bestow prestige upon the institution. But short-termers, those on appointments or contracts of three years or

less, barely become accustomed to the teaching patterns by the time they must return to the United States. Those who come for longer periods of time, such as career missionaries, take over department head positions and this is resented by the Pakistani staff.

Pakistanis report that committee meetings are more orderly when Americans are present, and decisions are more logical and efficient. The Americans work very hard, and the Pakistanis are impressed by their efforts. These qualities and the others which result from cultural differences between the two groups are useful at times in the third culture of colleagues in Pakistani educational institutions, but they do not produce close inter-personal relationships. The Americans are colleagues, but they are a special kind of colleague: visiting professors, or guests; their status-roles are not to be confused with those of the Pakistani staff.

The Administrator

The second type of position held by Americans within Pakistani institutions is that of administrator. By this we mean the status of those Americans who perform primarily administrative functions in Pakistani institutions. In our sample this included a dean, a burser, two vice-principals, a director, an assistant director, a librarian, and eight department heads. Again there is the distinction between career missionaries who consider such a position a permanent appointment, and the AID professors who assume the position is temporary, until a Pakistani "counterpart" learns the job. In either case the Americans exercise line authority over Pakistanis within Pakistani institutions, and because of the strong nationalistic

feelings and the availability of Pakistanis with administrative experience today this is a difficult role for the Americans to perform.

The Pakistanis know that positions held by AID administrators are closed to them until the Americans decide that Pakistani counterparts are ready for the jobs, or until the Americans feel it is politically expedient to give up the positions.[3] In missionary institutions there are no positions today that have not been held by Pakistanis in the past, and while missionaries may receive preferential treatment, the choice is made by the board of directors (mixed Pakistani and American) from the Pakistani and American faculty members. There are no positions that are closed to Pakistanis; the highest position held by Americans today in Christian colleges is vice-principal, and the two Americans in this position will not remain at this level. One is retiring and the other stated that he does not believe Americans should occupy high level administrative posts in Pakistani colleges, and will voluntarily return to teaching after his next furlough. This expresses the desire of both the Americans and Pakistanis to break away from the colonial third culture.

An American finds it difficult to exercise authority effectively over the Pakistanis because, first, he is outside their social system. He cannot bring to bear the informal sanctions and social pressures which are available to a Pakistani through his network of friendships and family. But in addition to this, the

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[3]This was true in Pakistan where American AID professors held administrative positions in Pakistani institutions. In other countries nationals apparently have a larger role in this decision. See the discussion of counterparts under The Advisors below.

American is not prepared to accept and conform to the Pakistani norms and cultural patterns inherent in the administrative role. Some of these have been discussed in Chapter II. They involve the use of circuitous approaches to avoid a confrontation, verbal support that does not indicate agreement, personal influence as a basis for decision-making, detailed rules but frequent exceptions to them, less delegation of authority, the mutual obligation of friendship, etc.

The American today finds that simply being a foreigner no longer legitimizes an administrative status in a Pakistani institution even though there is still prestige attached to the foreigner. He can no longer jump echelons of authority in Pakistani bureaucracy and seek assistance from higher level Pakistanis. One leverage still available for some is the control they may exercise over the American financial support to the institution, though this is uncommon today. American mission boards have reduced their support considerably, and the individual missionaries have little special influence in the amount or use of the funds. In the case of at least one of the AID groups the channeling of financial aid from the United States Government was taken away from the AID team and granted directly to the Pakistan Government, with funds simply earmarked for the particular institution. This bypassed the AID professors from the allocation of funds, and thereby reduced their effectiveness as administrators.

It is possible for an American to misinterpret his status and over-estimate both his knowledge of the culture and his skill in participating in it as an administrator. One AID professor felt that he was successful in his attempt:

> Usually [when faced with an important disagreement] I try to out-maneuver or out-fox the Pakistani official...We have to play their game the way they play the game. We can't continue operating over here the way that we might want to operate in the States. Their game involves maneuvering; their game involves patience. We have to learn their rules before we can be a success over here (4-6).

However, the consistent response of both the Pakistanis and Americans who commented on this same AID professor did not feel he was successful in his negotiations and interaction with Pakistanis.

> He thought he played the Pakistani's game as well as they did, which involved not being free and open in what he was trying to do. But I think every time he attempted to do this with Pakistanis he got rooked in it (7-7).

> He doesn't feel we can confront them. I think he has really been faked out. He thought he was in the game. He thought he could work the way they did. I don't think any American can (9-6).

The Pakistani professors generally feel that the Americans prefer administrative roles, rather than teaching.

> They have always enjoyed administration more than teaching. They make a big show of administration...In the U.S. at [BLANK] University they always said that there was highest prestige in teaching. But when they [the same people] got over here they practiced something else: they become agministrators (106-3).

But most Americans find it uncomfortable to have the status of administrator in a Pakistani institution today. A missionary commented on the change in his relationship when he became an administrator, and his insecurity in the role:

> Formerly I was just another teacher; now I have some authority. They have great respect for authority. Now our relations are more formal than before; they are more restrained; they are extremely polite. When I go to the student center for tea it is impossible for me to pay for it anymore. It is very embarrassing to them if I pay for my tea...I am ill at ease here because of not knowing the language very well. And I'm not wholly comfortable here in the organization because it is another world. One problem is that they feel I am striking for principal. They

> joke about it. They say in a couple more years I will be vice-principal and then principal. I felt very free as just a teacher, but I don't like the present job (37-3,4).

In the two institutions where the individual holding the top administrative position has recently changed from American to Pakistani the majority of the staff, both Pakistani and American, have been pleased with the change in working relationships.

> I think now there is better rapport among the Pakistani faculty and between the Pakistani and American faculty. We now realize that it is a Pakistani institution. Formerly, in staff meetings if a Westerner brought up an idea it was almost always adopted. Pakistanis graciously, out of deference, would agree to it. Now the Pakistanis are more willing to talk back to both [the Pakistani principal] and to the Americans in staff meetings... The Pakistani faculty feel more comfortable now. They know what they can do and what they cannot do. Before there was an uneasiness. They did not know how far they could go (37-5).

While the Pakistani faculty generally favor having Pakistani administrators they also agree that Americans tend to be more objective and fair in their decisions, and are easier to approach with a problem. This is related to the advantage we noted earlier, that by operating outside of the Pakistani social system the Americans can remain less affected by personal influence, and have greater potential for relating to the whole staff without factional affiliation.

> Everyone seems to follow the lead of the [Pakistani] administration, if they can find out what the administration wants; then they either suggest those things or at least agree with them when they are presented...I don't like this sort of working relationship. I got used to working with the American so very informally and now I hate to operate in the more customary Pakistani way (102-4,5).

The Advisor

The majority of American professors in Pakistan today are not colleagues or administrators; they are advisors. By the end of the study eight of the fourteen administrators had become advisors; the final distribution was: six administrators, twenty-one advisors, and thirteen colleagues. Advisors do not hold line positions within the organization, nor do they have staff positions, in the sense of a budget or personnel director. The status of advisor is excess, or in addition to, the positions that show up on an organization chart. Usually an advisor's job is associated with a particular line position held by a Pakistani "counterpart," and the role of the advisor depends to some extent upon the counterpart's personal relationship with the American.

There is an assumption that the advisor has special knowledge or experience beyond that of the Pakistani being advised, and the Pakistani consults with the American when matters come up about which the Pakistani feels unprepared. In contrast to the American administrator, the American advisor's judgment as to the ability and preparation of the Pakistani is irrelevant, since it is not the American who decides when advice is needed; the Pakistani makes that judgment, and if the Pakistani feels there are no matters that require consulting with the American then the role of advisor is very limited. A Ford Foundation advisor to the principal of a Pakistani institution was not invited to the weekly staff meetings for the first year of a two year contract. The advisor had a marginal role in the institution during that period.

Some have suggested that Americans overseas today suffer

more from "role shock"[4] than culture shock. The point is made that a crucial aspect of the culture shock today is the adjustment of the American to his work role. Often the American professors expect to find the Pakistanis eagerly awaiting their guidance and leadership. They assume that Pakistanis will take advantage of their presence to seek counsel and ask for assistance in directing new programs and research.

> I expected to be an educational consultant, something like a graduate professor in an American university. I would be a resource for both students and people out in the field. As it turned out my role has been more like an undergraduate teacher in America...with a heavy teaching schedule, a set timetable for interaction with students, [and]...little room or encouragement to do more than that (1-8).

> I expected to be a consultant or advisor in setting up schools and a teacher in educational administration. Instead I have become the handler of details for [the chief administrator] (2-6).

During their first months in Pakistan the American advisors on their first overseas assignments are "plungers" (see Useem 1963: 172), and energetically involve themselves in many aspects of the institution. They frequently make recommendations without a full understanding of their implications. They develop new programs to meet the needs they identify as most pressing. The Pakistanis characteristically listen to all of the suggestions, and encourage the Americans' participation in the institution's activities. At first the Americans are not aware that the apparent receptiveness of the Pakistanis does not necessarily indicate support for what they are trying to accomplish.

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[4]The term was first introduced in this context by Storm and Finkle (1965), and has been discussed in Byrnes (1966).

But the Americans slowly realize that their proposals are not being implemented, their new programs have not been carried out, and few professors are coming to them for advice. They receive no open opposition, but it is now obvious that their manifest role is largely irrelevant to the operation of the institution.

The shock of discovering the minor roles expected of them by the Pakistanis is a disillusionment, and it is common to find the Americans reacting by a period of withdrawal during which they look to the other Americans for support and direction, and spend some time re-evaluating their own functions. The Chief-of-Party typically offers very little guidance during this stage, and the other advisors, while sympathetic, can provide few practical suggestions. "Since my arrival no one has told me anything. I have asked the Chief-of-Party a lot of questions, but no one seems to worry about what I do" (28-9). There were a number of very similar remarks. This reaction period usually takes place during the first six months on the job, thus there are still eighteen months left in a normal two year contract. At this point a variety of re-definitions take place depending upon the aspirations of the American, and his analysis of the social context of his position.

Some never regain the intensity of involvement they expressed in their initial role. They find little tasks with which they keep busy, and essentially give up their previous hopes of making a significant contribution. This approach was characteristic of one of the American groups.

> Most of the [group] I have known here have come in with a superficial look first at the organization. Then they make recommendations as to how they think it ought to be

> changed. They are rebuffed on these recommendations. They are unhappy that their recommendations are not taken so they then withdraw from active participation in the organization. Right now this whole group of Americans has virtually withdrawn and are almost invisible in the active work that is taking place...today (10-6).

The attitudes of Americans such as these are discouraged, even cynical, about the possibility of making a contribution in Pakistan. A discussion of the professors most likely to accept this negative evaluation is found in Chapter IV.

Another approach is to become a teacher. In contrast to the missionaries and Fulbrighters, the Ford and AID professors do not include this as part of their expected or desired role. "I do a little teaching, but I try to hold classes to the minimum. I don't believe this is our function" (33-5). As noted in Chapter II, the role of teacher in Pakistan is not considered by the Americans as challenging as it is in the United States, thus teaching is felt to be an inappropriate use of a foreign advisor. The Americans expect their greatest influence to be registered upon the Pakistani faculty, not the students, and teaching a class provides few opportunities for working with Pakistani faculty. Eight of the advisors found some degree of satisfaction from working with graduate students in seminars or on an individual basis, but this represents less than half of the twenty-one American advisors interviewed.

Other Americans are encouraged to take on certain limited line responsibilities, such as developing a new course, administering an in-service training seminar, directing a radio program, editing the college prospectus, conducting a research project, etc. This kind of activity was pursued by eleven of the advisors, and is one

of the more satisfying roles open to the Americans. The tasks that are delegated are usually within the American's competence, and they make a contribution to the institution.

In the case of research, it is possible for the American to assume the senior role without the Pakistani feeling dominated by the American in his organizational status-role, since the research is a limited sphere of activity, separate from the line responsibilities of the institution. Also the research joins the Pakistani and American in an activity that expresses a basic value they hold in common, not shared with the more traditional Pakistani professor. An interest in research generally indicates a modern intellectual approach, and those few instances of Pakistanis and Americans conducting research together were among the most satisfying experiences reported in the interviews.

Even when Americans and Pakistanis are not working together on a project the Americans often play a supporting role to the Pakistanis who have undergone changes in their value system. The presence of Americans in their institution symbolizes the modern intellectual tradition, including science, research and objectivity. They provide a continuity and association with the atmosphere and value system of the United States university. In some cases the Americans even served as members of the Pakistanis' doctoral committees back in the United States. The American advisors commonly are not aware of the significance of this aspect of their role. But many of the Pakistanis were discouraged by the approaching departure of one of the AID teams, and it was the loss of the American presence, their link with the western intellectual tradition, that concerned them.

Thirteen of the American advisors expressed the belief that their most important contribution was to work with Pakistani educators outside the institution. This indicates an interest in promoting change in the educational system, in addition to the single institution in which the advisor is assigned. "I am head of the [BLANK] department, but secondly my job is to promote [BLANK] in Pakistan" (8-4). A number of Americans became acquainted with members of the Government of Pakistan's Education Department, as well as with educators in schools and colleges throughout the country. However, the increasingly strained political relations between Pakistan and the United States reduced this activity considerably, and even before that there was a great deal of pressure from one Chief-of-Party for the Americans to confine their work to the institution itself, and let him follow up on external contacts and relations.

The advisors are not part of the line organization, and yet they bring with them the cultural patterns of the "chain of command" and the requirement to go through channels. If they have a suggestion to make they first attempt to influence their Pakistani counterpart to act upon it or raise the issue himself within the organization. But if the American cannot persuade his counterpart, or if the American feels his counterpart will not have sufficient influence, then the American brings up the matter with his American colleagues, or directly to the American Chief-of-Party.

> When [my counterpart] kept me from doing something I felt we should be doing, I would go to our Chief-of-Party or other members of the American staff and talk about it. I would never mention him by name to another Pakistani staff member. I don't know what the Chief-of-Party did about it. He may have talked to some people as [the Pakistani administrator]; I doubt it, actually. But if there was anything he could do about it he would (28-8).

This sort of discussion has been noted earlier in the chapter, and is common when large American teams are present. These meetings perform important and necessary functions for the Americans, as outlets for the expression of frustration and anxiety, as well as the discussion of ideas and innovations. However, their effect upon the Pakistanis who know about them is to emphasize the distinction between the Americans and the Pakistanis, and to further differentiate the Americans from the Pakistani staff and institution. The Americans appear to be a separate block or clique, and the Pakistanis think and speak of them as a group with their own goals and purposes, distinct from those of the institution.

In most cases the present Pakistani counterparts to American advisors were chosen by Americans, even though the group making the decisions may have included Pakistanis. A group of bright, young teachers were selected who were thought to have potential as leaders, in positions such as department heads. The first step usually involved sending the Pakistanis to the United States for an advanced degree, and during this period the American advisor assumed the counterpart's future position in the Pakistani organization. When the counterpart returned he was expected to share the position for a time and then the American would become the advisor to the Pakistani.

In one of the institutions that was studied this stage had been accomplished some years before, and none of the Americans retained the positions of department head. In another institution the change from department head to advisor took place during the study, when all of the Americans turned over their positions to Pakistanis at one time. This was somewhat ahead of schedule, and it occured

because the Americans sensed that the Pakistanis believed they were holding these positions longer than necessary.

The counterparts have difficulty relating to the senior Pakistani staff, as well as to the American advisors. The institutions to which they return are imbedded in an educational system which rewards the senior professors with the leadership positions. An advanced degree from a foreign university or competence as a professor does not compete with seniority. The older professors are threatened by the growing number of young, aggressive, change-oriented professors who are returning from the United States. Those designated as counterparts become department heads, but there are far more who return than can be given positions of authority, without completely replacing the older professors. The younger men tend to form a clique with common experience and values, and are accused of being pro-American. If they merely comprised a separate faction the older professors would be able to cope with them, but their shared experience promotes a distinctive style of life and a resulting social separation and this the senior staff finds intolerable.

Yet the counterparts and other professors who have returned from the United States do not fare much better in their relationships with the American professors. Most enjoy working with the Americans on projects such as research or team teaching, as discussed above, but these comprise a small part of their jobs, and the other relationships they have with Americans are not as satisfactory. They resent the advisory nature of the positions Americans hold and the fact that Americans do not interact with them socially as they expected after their time in the United States. Those that decide to

remain in Pakistan recognize that the Americans will not be present indefinitely, and that they must come to terms with the senior Pakistani faculty. When they make suggestions for change they are accused of being pro-American, and thus the presence of the Americans becomes an embarrassment to them.

The Third Culture

The three working roles of American professors in Pakistan roughly correspond to three stages or expressions of the third culture in South Asia. The typical role of Westerners in the old British colonial third culture in India was the administrator. The British (and Americans) up until the 1930's and 1940's were automatically placed in administrative positions by virtue of the fact they were Westerners. The cultural patterns of the missionary colleges of this time serve as examples of this era, and these are described in Chapter V.

The new American-Pakistani third culture is much different from the colonial third culture, and yet it is still emerging and its patterns are not consistently shared by either Pakistanis or Americans. The appropriate role for Americans in this third culture is the colleague. As we have noted, this role is ambiguous in Pakistani institutions today, and at times both Pakistanis and Americans forget the new norms and perceive the role as another form of the old administrator status-role; but this is not desired by either group today, and any attempts to revise the old role are soon abandoned. An increasing number of career missionaries hold colleague positions in the Christian colleges.

However, more than half of the American professors in Pakistan today are members of what appears to be a transitional American-Pakistani third culture. The typical work role of Americans in this culture is the advisor, and much of the present study has described Americans and Pakistanis who are attempting to express and define this role. There is the assumption that advisors naturally phase out as Pakistanis no longer require counsel and assistance. Many of the American advisors find that the positions in Pakistan they expected to hold have been phased out already, before they arrive in the country. Yet these same American professors are not prepared to accept colleague-teaching roles.

The traditional Pakistani institutions today will accept Americans as colleague-teachers (in the Fulbright program) but the academic roles and methods are so foreign that the Americans feel they have little influence. The missionary or Christian colleges are still too close to the British colonial third culture to accept Americans easily as colleagues; however, the intellectual climate makes this role increasingly possible within these institutions. The modern-oriented Pakistani institutions appear to be better suited for the participation of Americans as colleagues because of the high percentage of Pakistani faculty with a modern third-cultural experience. However, today in Pakistan there are no Americans in the role of colleague in these institutions; all of the Americans in the modern-oriented Pakistani institutions are advisors.

Pakistani professors today do not want either foreign administrators or American advisors. They accept advisors as part of a transitional stage, yet they clearly prefer Americans to act as

colleagues. However, there is some question whether the social and cultural basis exists as yet for Americans to be fully accepted as colleagues. We have noted earlier in the chapter some of the cultural differences which produce stress among those seeking to occupy colleague positions. In addition to these there are social factors which discourage cross-cultural entertaining and the development of a bi-national community.

Kinship groupings and responsibilities are extremely important to the Pakistani educators, and when they go home at night they enter another world. Less than half of the wives of Muslim professors received any education past the primary level, so for the professors to involve themselves in kinship social activities requires a segmentation of roles from that of professor. This is particularly true in the case of women professors who must prepare their classwork during the day because when they reach home all of their remaining time is devoted to the duties of Pakistani wife and mother.

For the Americans social activities are conducted within homes, involving married couples. Two thirds of the wives of Muslim professors cannot speak English and about half of them are still in purdah. Thus Pakistanis invited into American homes for mixed social events are embarrassed to come alone, but even more embarrassed to bring their wives. Pakistanis are reluctant to invite Americans into their homes for the same reason. The Asian custom of entertaining lavishly is an additional factor discouraging the entertaining of Americans, because the cost is prohibitive.

Christian Pakistani professors have wives who are better

educated and more apt to be fluent in English. This is a reflection of the role women have in the Christian community, and the greater encouragement Christian girls receive to continue their education through high school and even college. But even with educated Pakistani Christian couples there is very little entertaining of American families--less than once every three months on an average for those interviewed. Thus the wife's education is not the only hindrance to bi-national social interaction.

A Muslim characteristic (shared by most Pakistani Christians) which serves to limit interaction with Americans is their attitude toward alcoholic beverages. Two thirds of the Pakistani faculty are offended by Americans who serve liquor. They regard this as an inexcusable expression of American insensitivity to their values and customs. Approximately six of the twenty-two professors who have returned from the United States are known to drink and enjoy being entertained in American homes for this specific reason. But the importance of cocktails in American social life, and their negative evaluation in Pakistani society generally have added another stress to cross-cultural relations.

In addition to these aspects of Muslim culture there were the particular political conditions of 1964-1965 that limited the interaction of Americans and Pakistanis. Except for a few weeks during the war between India and Pakistan in September 1965 there was no breakdown of social interaction; but for the months prior to this there was increasing estrangement, and for the remainder of 1965 after the war there was little or no entertaining in either direction. Even during the period of greatest bi-national social

interaction, the winter of 1964-1965, on the average Pakistanis were in the homes of Americans less than once a month; Americans were in Pakistani homes only once or twice a year.

But the "old hands" see all of this as just a temporary set-back. The new intellectual tradition has been planted in Pakistan and there is evidence that it has taken root. Throughout our experience in Pakistan we met both Americans and Pakistanis who expressed values of the modern third culture as it is emerging world-wide: equality, tolerance, science, technological change, and a broad historical perspective. We think of the able, mature Muslim professor in a Christian college who had given his life to serve in an institution that he felt was "a beacon of secularism," the young librarian in a university with whom we quickly felt a common bond in our values and world-view, the Chief-of-Party of one of the American teams with his dozens of intimate Pakistani friendships developed over a period of ten years, the old missionary professor who was a prophet of the new third culture forty years ago in the midst of British colonial India, and the hard-drinking AID advisor who entertained an average of seventy-five Pakistanis a month in his home, and was esteemed by conservative and liberal Pakistanis alike.

The third culture is changing in Pakistan. In the midst of a nationalistic reaction against the colonial third culture that passed away more than twenty years ago, the new patterns are emerging in the educational institutions of the nation. The half-way or transitional third culture represented by the advisor is not well received in Pakistan today. But Americans are increasingly

challenged and prepared to be colleagues with Pakistani professors who themselves are now commonly educated in the West. It will be some time yet before the social structures and cultural norms of Pakistani educators will support bi-national communities, but the modern third cultural roles held by a new generation of Pakistanis may be transferred into other areas of life and thus speed the cultural changes that are taking place in many aspects of Pakistani society, apart from the educational institutions and the American professors.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AMERICAN PROFESSORS

First a Few Questions About Yourself

1. What is the title of your position here? (rank, specialty, school)
2. What is your age?
3. Are you married?
4. Is your wife here with you?
5. (If so) Do you have any children?
6. What are their ages?
7. Are they here with you, or where?
8. What academic degrees do you hold? (degree, field, school)
9. What jobs have you held since your Master's degree?
10. What education has your wife had?
11. Have you lived in any other foreign country? (where, how long)
12. What were you doing there?
13. How did you feel about this experience?
14. Did it have any bearing on your decision to come out here?
15. Have you had any experience in the U.S. working with people from other nations?
16. How did you feel about this experience?
17. Did it have any bearing on your decision to come out here?
18. What are some of the reasons you decided to take this present job in Pakistan?
19. As you see it today, what are some of the advantages of your job and situation here?

20. As you see it today, what are some of the disadvantages of your job and situation here?

21. Have you studied Urdu or Punjabi while here in Pakistan? (how much time spent?)

22. Do you think a knowledge of Urdu or Punjabi is/would be helpful in your job?

23. When did you begin working here in Pakistan?

24. When does your present contract expire?

25. Have you considered extending your contract? Why?

26. What professional position will you be returning to next?

27. What job is your goal, or expected final position in your career?

28. Have you attended religious services or meetings while over here? About how often?

29. Have you ever talked to any Pakistani colleagues about your own religious views?

Now a Few Questions about Your Living Situation Here

30. How many servants do you have? (What are their jobs?)

31. How would you say it worked out for you, to have servants?

32. What nationality are most of your neighbors?

33. What interaction or contact do you have with your neighbors?

34. How do you feel about your house and the neighborhood in which you live?

35. Where do your children attend school?

36. Is each of your children happy in his living and school situation? (If not, why not?)

37. How does your wife spend her time over here?

38. How does your wife feel about living over here in comparison with the States? (favorable/unfavorable)

39. What effect has her attitude toward your job and organization had upon your work?

40. Has your wife been able to contribute to the work you are doing here?

41. What are the various groups of Americans living here? (in Lahore/other)

42. How do you feel about some of these other groups of Americans over here--how do they differ from your group, in the way they live, or in their general attitude? (take the groups, individually)

43. What are the mainly American groups or activities you belong to or attend?

44. How often do you attend these, in an average month?

45. How often does your wife attend these, in the same period of time?

46. Is this participation less or more frequent than the average American in your group?

47. From what group are some of the other Americans you enjoy being with most?

48. How frequently do you get together with these friends? (in an average month)

49. What do you do when you get together with these friends?

50. What do you talk about?

51. What is the common interest or reason for doing things with these particular friends?

52. What other foreigners besides Americans live around here?

53. Do you have any friends from these groups? (what particular nationality and groups are they from?)

54. Have you had these friends to your home?

55. What do you do socially with these friends? How often?

56. How do these people seem to differ from the Americans here, in their relations with Pakistanis?

57. Do you think your group (the Americans in this institution) differs in behavior or attitude from the other Americans living around here?

58. Do you see any connection between the work of your group here and that of the other American groups?

59. Have any other Americans done anything that has either helped or hindered the work of your group--(either personally or as organizations)?

Now some Questions about Your Job and the Organization Here

60. What are your specific duties and responsibilities? (how much time does each take?)

61. Describe briefly a typical working day (who, what, how long).

62. Who are the Pakistanis with whom you work most closely?

63. What exactly are their jobs and how are they related to yours? (including whether superior/colleague/subordinate)

64. What actually do you do--and how do you act--in your job as (advisor/counterpart/fellow colleague)?

65. Exactly how does each of them respond and react to what you do?

66. Is rank very important in your relationship with them? (what titles or language of respect is used?)

67. Can you think of anything in the behavior or attitude of the Americans in this group that could annoy or offend the Pakistani staff?

68. What are some of the problems, as you see them, in being an advisor or counterpart? (what are some of the things Pakistani staff do, or don't do, which makes it difficult?)

69. Do you think you have had less or more problems along this line than most of the other Americans here (in this institution)?

70. What have you done about this situation?

71. When you have a disagreement with a subordinate Pakistani staff member how is it usually resolved?

72. When you have a disagreement with a superordinate Pakistani staff member how is it usually resolved?

73. You may have to think a little about this one--What is the most important service or contribution you hope to make while in Pakistan?

74. Have Pakistani colleagues often discussed their personal life or problems with you? What sort of question or matter is discussed?

75. How do you feel about this sort of relationship?

76. Have any Pakistani colleagues used a personal relationship with you to ask favors, or to help reach personal goals? (give example)

77. Have you worked out some sort of "line" or way of dealing with these requests?

78. Do you think you are easier with the Pakistanis, in doing what they ask, than the other Americans?

79. When talking casually with Pakistani staff members are there any topics you try to avoid discussing?

80. What topics are most apt to be discussed in "small talk" or in a casual situation?

81. What is the most important factor here in getting promoted or receiving a raise in pay?

82. Do you think rank or position is very important to the Pakistani staff?

83. What are some of the ways they show that they have high rank or position (in their behavior)?

84. Are there some Pakistani staff with whom you feel more comfortable or at ease?

85. What about these particular individuals makes you feel this way?

86. Has there been any changeover in leadership positions here--from Pakistani to American or American to Pakistani--since you have been here?

87. (If so) What specific changes have you observed in the way things are done?

88. (If so) What changes have you noticed in the relationship of the Pakistani and American staff?

89. What changes have you noticed in the relationship of the Pakistani and American staff since the war began?

90. In what ways is it more difficult to get things done in this organization than in a comparable organization in the U.S.?

91. In what ways is it <u>easier</u> to get things done here than in a comparable organization in the U.S.?

92. In your department who makes most of the decisions and how are they made?

93. How does your presence affect the decisions made by the department head (or counterpart)?

94. Which decisions are made jointly in committee or staff meetings?

95. In what ways do committee meetings here differ from those in the U.S.--in what is accomplished or in how it is done?

96. How do the Pakistani staff seem to feel about having Americans here on the staff?

97. Has there been a change in their attitudes about this in the past few years?

98. In what way?

99. For what possible reasons?

100. How does the Pakistani staff here feel about American education--its goals and methods?

101. Has there been a change in their attitude about this in the past few years?

102. In what way?

103. For what possible reasons?

104. In what ways have you found your role different from what you expected it to be?

105. Who helped you to learn your job over here, or who did you ask for advice or suggestions those early months?

106. How have you modified the job since taking over, or since being in it for awhile?

107. How do you think you do your job differently from the way a Pakistani faculty member would do it?

108. What has been the reaction to the way you perform your job?

109. What attitudes or actions of the Pakistani staff were difficult to adjust to, or have tended to annoy you?

110. Are there any groups or factions in Pakistani society that would oppose what this institution is trying to do?

111. Has there been any actual opposition to the institution? (What?)

112. What organizations or factions in Pakistani society would be apt to support or defend the work of the institution?

113. Has there been any act of support for the institution by some element in Pakistani society? Please describe how it happened.

114. Have some of the Pakistani staff been educated in the United States?

115. (If so) What are some of the ways these individuals show that they have been to the U.S.? (habits, attitudes, possessions)

116. What sort of adjustment have they made to life here after returning from the U.S.?

117. What problems have they had in fitting in, and working with the organization here?

118. What would you say is the greatest contribution these people are making to the institution because of their experience and/or training in the U.S.?

119. Are they more responsive to American-proposed innovations?

120. Do you believe it is a wise plan to send these Pakistanis to the U.S. for education? (Why?)

121. What is the relationship between this group (American) and the parent organization (AID, Ford, etc.)?

122. How does the American group allocate their own roles?

123. How does the American group support one another in shared functions?

124. How does the American group cope with differences among themselves?

<u>Finally, some Questions about Your Social Activities with Pakistanis</u>

125. How often, this past year, have you been in Pakistani homes, say in an average month?

126. What was the purpose of these visits?

127. Who else was present (number, nationality, couples, etc.)?

128. What did you do?

129. What did you talk about?

130. What are some of the reasons or obstacles that might keep you from being invited or from dropping into Pakistani homes more often?

131. How often, this past year, have you had Pakistanis into your home, say in an average month? (by invitation--"drop ins")

132. What was the purpose of their visit?

133. What did you do during these times?

134. What did you talk about?

135. What are some of the reasons or obstacles that tend to keep you from having Pakistanis into your home more often?

136. What are some of the reasons you have for entertaining Pakistanis in your home?

137. How do your social activities differ from season to season?

138. What are some of the local groups or activities where Americans can meet and get to know Pakistanis?

139. Which of these do you attend?

140. How often have you attended these functions the past year, say in an average month?

141. How often has your wife attended (in an average month)?

142. Does your wife ever feel uncomfortable or annoyed in Pakistani-American gatherings? (Why?)

143. What social contact do you have with students? (doing what, how often)

144. How often have you had them into your home? (how many usually; for what purpose)

145. How does this usually work out?

146. How do you feel about doing this?

147. Would you say your social contact with Pakistanis has been <u>less</u> or <u>more</u> frequent than what other Americans in your group have had?

148. What are some of the reasons that might account for this?

149. In what ways do you feel you have changed personally as the result of your time over here in Pakistan?

150. Can you think of anything I have not asked about, which might help me to better understand your experience over here?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PAKISTANI PROFESSORS

First a Few Questions About Yourself

1. What is your position, what field do you teach, in what institution?

2. What is your age?

3. Are you married?

4. Do you have any children? What are their ages?

5. What academic degrees do you hold, from what institution, in what fields?

6. What education has your wife been able to have?

7. What professional positions have you held?

8. Where have you lived most of your life? (city or a village)

9. Do you often speak English with other Pakistanis? In what situations would you be apt to do this?

10. Do you feel comfortable in the use of the English language when talking with Americans?

11. In what situations do your parents speak English?

12. In what situations does your wife speak English?

13. Do you think your parents' generation was more religious than your generation? In what way?

14. Are your own beliefs about the same as the rest of your generation?

15. How can Islamic traditions be given greater importance in Pakistan, than at present? What specific kinds of Islamic traditions?

16. In what educational subjects of the university curriculum should Islamic/Christian values and approaches be presented?

17. How long is it going to take to adopt the Urdu language for instruction in the universities and colleges of Pakistan? How is this going to work out?

18. In ten years what place will English have in this institution?

19. Today the whole world is in the process of change. Certainly Pakistan is changing very rapidly. What kind of changes are most desirable for Pakistan, at this particular time?

20. What sort of changes--in customs and values--should be avoided by Pakistan? (Western culture?)

21. Have you ever lived in a foreign country? What country? How long? What were you doing there?

22. Have you had any difficulty in this institution using or putting into practice what you learned there? (In what way?)

Now some Questions about Your Job and the Organization Here

23. What are the specific duties and responsibilities of your job?

24. Describe a typical work day to me--who you see and talk with, meetings you attend, etc. (Get details)

25. Who are the Americans with whom you work most closely?

26. How is your job related to theirs?

27. What is an "advisor?"

28. When you serve as a counterpart to (the American) what exactly do you do in this role?

29. What should they do?

30. What are some of the advantages of your having an American as a counterpart?

31. What are some of the disadvantages of your having an American as a counterpart?

32. When did you start working here? (for this institution) How many years now?

33. What are some of the reasons you decided to take this present job?

34. What is the most important factor in getting promoted or receiving a raise in pay?

35. Do you think the staff members are very conscious of their rank or position? How do they show this?

36. Which decisions about the institution are made in formal (committee) meetings?

37. Which decisions are made more casually, say over tea?

38. Does the presence of an American in the department influence which kinds of decisions are made formally and informally?

39. What do you hope to accomplish in your job? What do you think is the most important part of your job, influencing the values and beliefs of students or teaching sociology (use interviewee's field)?

40. How well does discussion work out as a classroom technique in the courses you teach?

41. Are there any American educational methods that you feel can be adopted here in your department? What are these?

42. If the leadership position in this institution has changed--from Pakistani to American or from American to Pakistani--what specific changes have you observed in the organization, and in the relations of the Pakistanis and Americans?

43. How has this change affected you?

44. Do you discuss personal matters or problems with Americans on the staff? (say your relation with other staff or problems with your children?) How often have you done this?

45. Do they discuss their personal matters or problems with you? What did you tell them?

46. Are there any topics you avoid discussing, or have found it best not to talk about with the Americans on the staff?

47. What things are you most apt to talk about in casual conversation with Americans while at work?

48. Do Americans ever use Urdu in talking with you? Who? How often? In what circumstances? How do you feel about it?

49. Have some Americans on the staff done special favors for you? What? How often?

50. Have you done special favors for any of the Americans on the staff? What kind of thing?

51. When there is a disagreement between yourself and an American staff member, do you handle it the same way as if he were a Pakistani? How does it work out?

52. Let's take an example of first an American as your boss, say your department head, then we'll consider the situation where an American is your colleague--same level as yourself--then we'll take the case where an American is your subordinate, your assistant. How would each of these be apt to work out, and why? (take each individually)

53. Are any of the problems you face in your work directly the result of an American or Americans with whom you work? Please describe this situation.

54. What have you done about this situation?

55. Are there any of the Americans (at work) with whom you feel more comfortable and at ease?

56. What is it about these particular Americans that makes you feel this way?

57. Do you talk over with other Pakistanis how to understand the Americans with whom you work? Under what circumstances and what sort of things do you discuss?

58. Do you talk over with other Pakistanis how to deal with the Americans with whom you work? Under what circumstances and what sort of things do you discuss?

59. Are the Americans in this institution typical of the Americans who live in Pakistan? (If not, how do they differ?)

60. Do you think the Americans in Pakistan are fairly typical of the people of the United States? (If not, how do they differ?)

61. What are some of the traits or characteristics of the Americans in this institution that tend to annoy you?

62. Do you think the Americans here are more conscious of belonging to the BLANK [American university administering the contract] or the BLANK [local Pakistani institution]? Which is more important to them? How do they show this?

63. Has there been any change in the attitude of Pakistanis toward individual Americans who live in Pakistan, in the last few years? (What, and for what reasons?)

64. Do you work with any other foreigners besides Americans? If so, how specifically does this affect the way you work with each group?

65. How much contact do you have with students on campus, outside of the classroom?

66. Do you have students into your home? Do they drop by, sometimes? About how often; for what reason?

67. Is this contact with students about the same as what the other Pakistani staff would have? (If different) What are some of the reasons that might account for this?

Finally, some Questions about Your Social Activities

68. When you get together with other Pakistanis are these usually relatives or just friends?

69. How often are you with relatives each month? What do you do?

70. How often are you with friends each month? What do you do?

71. Do you have any European friends here (in Lahore)? (German, British, French, etc.) What organizations are they with?

72. What kind of activities do you have when you meet these friends? How often do you get together?

73. How often are you invited into American homes (per month)?

74. Whose homes have you been in recently (not names, just what organization are they with)?

75. What was the purpose of these visits? What did you do?

76. Who else was present? (Pakistani/American)

77. How often have you had Americans into your home (per month)?

78. Who is it that you invite (not names, just what group are they with)? By themselves, or in groups? Mixed (Pakistani-American) groups?

79. Is this for tea, or a meal, or what?

80. Are there any organizations or activities in Lahore where you meet and get to know Americans? What are these?

81. How often do you attend these functions? (per month)

82. Are there any reasons that keep you from having Americans into your home more often?

83. How much opportunity does your wife have to meet the American wives of the American men you work with?

84. Does your wife feel at all uncomfortable in mixed Pakistani-American gatherings? What is it that makes her feel uncomfortable?

85. What sort of contribution does your wife make to your job and your career?

86. How does she feel toward your work?

87. What effect does her happiness here have upon your work?

88. What specifically do you talk about with Americans, when you are together socially?

89. Would you say your social contact with Americans has been less or more than what the other Pakistani staff have had?

90. What are some of the reasons that might account for this?

91. Can you think of anything I have not asked, that you think might help me to understand your position or activities better?

APPENDIX C

CATEGORIES OF INTERVIEWEES

American Professors

1. Male AID advisor
2. Male AID advisor
3. Male AID advisor
4. Male AID advisor
5. Male AID advisor
6. Male AID advisor
7. Male AID advisor
8. Male AID advisor
9. Male AID advisor
10. Male AID advisor
11. Male AID advisor
12. Female missionary colleague
13. Female missionary colleague
14. Female missionary colleague
15. Female missionary colleague
16. Male missionary colleague
17. Male missionary colleague
18. Male missionary administrator
19. Male missionary administrator
20. Male Fulbright colleague
21. Male Fulbright colleague
22. Male Fulbright colleague

23. Male Ford Foundation advisor

24. Male AID advisor

25. Male AID advisor

26. (number not used)

27. Male Ford Foundation advisor

28. Male AID advisor

29. (number not used)

30. Male AID advisor

31. Male AID advisor

32. (number not used)

33. Male AID advisor

34. Male AID advisor

35. Male AID advisor

36. Male missionary colleague

37. Male missionary administrator

38. Male missionary administrator

39. Male missionary colleague

40. Male missionary administrator

41. Male missionary colleague

42. Male missionary colleague

43. Female Ford Foundation advisor

Pakistani Professors

101. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

102. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

103. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

104. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

105. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

106. Female professor in institution with AID advisors

107. Female professor in institution with AID advisors

108. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

109. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

110. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

111. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

112. Female administrator in Christian college

113. Female professor in Christian college

114. Female professor in Christian college

115. Female professor in Christian college

116. Male professor in Christian college

117. Male professor in Christian college

118. Male professor in Christian college

119. Male professor in Christian college

120. Male professor in Christian college

121. Male professor in department with Fulbright professors

122. Male professor in department with Fulbright professors

123. Male professor in Christian college

124. Male professor in Christian college

125. (number not used)

126. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

127. Male professor in institution with Ford Foundation advisor

128. (number not used)

129. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

130. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

131. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

132. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

133. Male professor in institution with AID advisors

134. (number not used)

135. (number not used)

136. Male administrator in Christian college

137. Male administrator in Christian college

138. Male professor in Christian college

139. Male professor in Christian college

140. Male professor in Christian college

141. Male professor in Christian college

142. Male administrator in Christian college

143. Female administrator in institution with Ford Foundation advisor

144. Male professor in Christian college

145. Male administrator in institution with AID advisors

146. Male professor in Christian college