

# NEWS OF THE PROFESSION

## Sociology in Pakistan

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Several factors have combined to hinder the growth of Pakistani sociology. The areas that became Pakistan at the 1947 Partition of India were the poorest regions of the entire sub-continent, educationally and culturally as well as economically. Social research in both Pakistan and India has also suffered from the British tradition that regarded universities as centers of literary and humanistic learning for the training of civil servants.<sup>1</sup>

Pakistani sociology, though still in its infancy, has made a promising beginning in spite of many current problems. One such problem is an almost complete lack of texts and other literature oriented specifically to the study of Pakistani culture. University students of sociology are compelled to use American and British texts, since these are the only ones available. Undergraduates tend to discuss topics such as industrialization, stratification, status, urban family patterns, and societal change in terms of American data derived from American texts, overlooking the fact that the data and the resulting generalizations are not applicable to their own society. The technical style is often difficult for Pakistani students to comprehend, while certain themes (e.g., caste structure and the impact of Islam) can only be adequately analyzed by a study of the region itself.<sup>2</sup>

Another problem is the serious shortage of trained Pakistani sociology teachers. To date,

the three universities offering sociology have had to rely mainly upon Fulbright and UNESCO appointees from abroad. Very few Pakistani social scientists have studied in North America, and those who have been overseas find on their return little scope for their training. More sociological investigations in Pakistan have been engaged in by European and American scholars than by Pakistanis themselves.<sup>3</sup>

A third problem relates to securing the cooperation of villagers and others in connection with rural research surveys. The Pakistani peasant tends to be suspicious of any kind of "survey" or interview, since he associates it with police inquiries, new taxation measures, and government interference. There are also serious difficulties in financing research. Until recently, both the government and private industrial firms have been disinclined to see value in research, and university administrators, though more sympathetic, are handicapped by lack of funds. Poor means of communication lead to delays in research procedures. Western research models are often inapplicable, and correspondence and questionnaires are ineffective as tools of investigation, owing to illiteracy and the migrant character of certain population elements.

Problems of inadequate and costly transportation also are a retarding factor in an underdeveloped country, especially in the rural areas where lack of housing renders long-term research impracticable. Government has been handicapped by poor methods of data collection and reporting, and in university investigations

<sup>1</sup> John E. Owen, "University Life in Pakistan," *Teachers College Record*, 61 (December 1959), 151-157.

<sup>2</sup> See I. H. Zuberi, "Translation and Adaptation of Textbooks in the Social Sciences," *Round Table Conference on the Teaching of the Social Sciences in South Asia* (Delhi: UNESCO, 1954), pp. 82-87. One of the few recent texts based upon the society of the sub-continent, written especially for Indian and Pakistani students and well adapted for use in the region is P. Gisbert, *Fundamentals of Sociology* (Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1957).

<sup>3</sup> The Work of Wolfram Eberhard, John J. Honigmann, John B. Edlefsen, Johannes Humlum, and A. N. J. den Hollander is noteworthy. See also Stanley Maron, editor, *Pakistan: Society and Culture* (New Haven, 1957), and Ralph Braibanti, "A Note on Recent Social Science Research Relating to Pakistan," mimeographed, 1959, for the Association for Asian Studies.

tabulation of survey data has frequently had to be done manually.

Another factor hindering social research is that of national temperament, which in Pakistan is more conducive to artistic and poetic expression with an emotionalism that renders objective social analysis very difficult to achieve, particularly since the culture lacks any long-established tradition of scientific inquiry.<sup>4</sup>

In West Pakistan, over 120 surveys of Punjab villages had been made between 1927 and 1935 under the auspices of the Department of Economics at Panjab University, Lahore. But the value of the information so gained was nullified by the population changes that occurred after 1947, and with the departure for India of most of the Hindu research workers new investigators had to be trained.<sup>5</sup>

#### *New Sociology Departments*

Sociology has been offered as an optional subject for the M.A. in Political Science at Panjab University for several years, and a number of theses have dealt with essentially sociological topics. A Department of Sociology at that institution has been in existence since 1955. The first to be established in Pakistan, it was initiated with the help of an Inter-College Exchange Contract Program between Panjab University and the Washington State University under ICA auspices. John B. Edlefsen was instrumental during 1954-57 in organizing the new department, which now has a teaching staff of five, three of whom are Pakistanis, with approximately seventy students engaged in a two-year M.A. course. The Department is currently headed by J. J. Mangalam, a Cornell Ph.D., assisted by Fulbright and Washington State University appointees. One sociology doctorate has been awarded; to Makhdum T. Ahmed whose "Institutions of Swat," was

based on a survey of tribal and family patterns in Swat. Current investigations in the Panjab department include a field project in applied research on the factors in student academic failures, based on a probability sample of one thousand students in affiliated Panjab colleges.

The M.A. courses offered at Panjab (the institution is entirely postgraduate) include history of sociological theory, sociology of rural life, methods of sociological research, world population and ethnic relations, cultural anthropology, social problems and planning, community development, criminology, and social institutions. Standard American texts are used in all the above fields. Thirty-two research projects were completed by M.A. students in 1957. They included such topics as caste and ethnic differences among the Muslims of Lahore, social organization of a Chakma village, community surveys, study of tension between citizens and refugees of Lahore, sociological study of the aged of Lahore, Negroes of West Pakistan, child labor in Lahore, and analysis of rural migrants.

For the year ending June 1958, thirty-four studies were completed, including a survey of the factors influencing the occupational choice of nursing, village attitudes toward almsgiving, factory absenteeism, social adjustment among railroad workers, recreation patterns of soldiers, social implications of Punjab land tenure, attitudes toward family planning, the joint family system, women's role in the Pakistani family, assimilation of two alien village tribes, and a study of recidivists. A comparable list was completed in June 1959. While not all of the above were of Western graduate school quality, some of them were very competent inquiries. They indicate both the range of student interest in social research problems and the wide scope for such investigation.

In the summer of 1956, the University of the Panjab initiated a Socio-Economic Research Project, in which Wolfram Eberhard of the University of California served as research consultant, which has stimulated the growth of research in West Pakistan. This project, aided by the State Bank of Pakistan and the Asia Foundation, consists of an intensive analysis of social and economic conditions in six Punjab villages selected by random sampling

<sup>4</sup> See S. M. H. Zaidi, "Some Sociopsychological Problems of Research in Pakistan," *The Indian Journal of Social Work* (September 1957). An unpublished paper by Abdul Farouk and A. F. A. Husain, "Experience of Field Work in Survey Research in East Pakistan," presented at a UNESCO Conference on Methods of Social Research, Calcutta, December 1958, dealt with issues in field work data-collection within the context of East Bengal culture.

<sup>5</sup> Wolfram Eberhard, "Social Research at Pakistani Universities," *The Asia Foundation, Program Bulletin* No. 5 (December 1957), p. 2.

techniques, and is under the supervision of C. Mohammed Bashir, an agricultural economist.<sup>6</sup> Research techniques used have included social distance schedules adopted from the Bogardus scale, participant observation, individual and group interviews, questionnaires, thirty life histories, and analysis of court records and other relevant documents. The aspects of rural life studied have comprised population and age composition, education, family and marriage, health and sanitation, agricultural economy, crime and delinquency, religion, family budgets, and dress patterns, in addition to investigations of irrigation practices, sources of rural credit and the nature of inheritance patterns. Training has been given in interview techniques to research assistants, and field work has been completed in all six villages.

Students are also being trained in survey methods under the Washington State University Exchange Program, in which Walter Slocum is the current representative at Panjab. Two Pakistani students, H. N. Gardezi and Khalida Shah, are pursuing research at Washington State University, where John B. Edlensen has recently completed investigations on the social structure of Punjabi villages, on caste differentials among Muslims of West Pakistan, on the Syed caste, and on the Anglo-Pakistani minority.

The Socio-Economic Research Project at Panjab University is now under the direction of Dr. Karl Hines Pfeffer. A significant study published under his direction is one on the attitudes of villagers toward basic democracies. This was done at the request of the Bureau of National Reconstruction with the aid of a grant from the Asia Foundation. It is an important development in improved relations between the government and sociological research.

In 1957, the first study of socialization in Pakistani culture was published, involving several case studies.<sup>7</sup> In the following year, three other studies appeared. One was an analysis of colony villages in the Punjab, followed by a bibliography of social and economic conditions in Pakistan, including many M.A. theses awarded since 1930 in socio-economics from

the University of the Panjab. Both works were produced by Wolfram Eberhard. Alide Eberhard made an investigation, "Youthful Convicts in Lahore." All three were distributed in mimeographed form by the Center for South Asia Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California. At the end of 1958, Panjab University was authorized by the U.N. to undertake a survey on community development programs in relation to national economic development in Pakistan, as part of a wider study for South-East Asia.

*Dacca University.* In East Pakistan the chief center of higher education is Dacca University. The establishment of a Department of Sociology there was recommended by a UNESCO Team of Social Scientists in 1952-53 under the direction of Professor A. N. J. den Hollander of the University of Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup> A department was instituted in 1956 under United Nations auspices and the first classes were held during 1957-58. Pierre Bessagnet, a French anthropologist and UN appointee, drew up initial plans and organized a curriculum which now includes, in addition to the elementary course, Social History, General Anthropology, Social Psychology, Research Methods, Family and Population, Political Sociology, Sociology of Religion, Urban and Rural Sociology, and Social Structure and Social Change. Margaret E. Shay of Fordham University was the first Fulbright lecturer in the department and participated in its early administration. The recommended bibliography consists primarily of standard American texts, supplemented by the writings of European anthropologists and the available works of Indian social scientists (Mukerjee, Ghurye, Ashraf, Ghosh, and Dube) though currency and other restrictions make it difficult for Pakistani students and libraries to secure copies of needed Indian works. Sociology at Dacca has benefited, however, through a valuable study of social structure in the sub-continent, *Changing Society in India and Pakistan*<sup>9</sup> by A. K. Nazmul Karim, a Columbia University graduate in both sociology and po-

<sup>6</sup> Eberhard, pp. 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> Faith Smither and Iqbal Dar, *Growing Up in Pakistan* (Lahore, 1957).

<sup>8</sup> Andre Bertrand, *The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Pakistan, Report on a Mission* (Paris, 1955), p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> A. K. Nazmul Karim, *Changing Society in India and Pakistan* (Dacca, 1956).

litical science who currently heads the Dacca sociology department.

The first sociology honors students at Dacca started their three-year course in July 1957, and the first graduates appeared in 1960. The department has over 120 students, and the first M.A. degrees are due to be granted in 1961. Thus within a short time both at Dacca and Lahore there should be a core of graduates who may be called upon to fill the shortage of qualified Pakistani teachers that has hitherto retarded the growth of academic sociology in the country.

Student research projects in the Dacca department to date have comprised such topics as Bengali village studies, analysis of occupational groups in Dacca, surveys of urban areas, the concept of status, and rural social organization. C. Op't'Land, a Dutch U. N. social survey specialist, joined the department in 1958 to initiate a research training program and to organize studies of voluntary groups in Dacca. Pierre Bessaignet pursued investigations of Hindu villages in Bengal during 1958-59, and published *Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts* in 1958, based on field work in the region.

*Other universities.* The University of Karachi does not have a sociology department, but sociology is taught as a part of other subjects. No definite plans have yet been made for a separate department, though the possibility enjoys administrative approval. The teaching of sociology at Karachi has to date been mainly the responsibility of Fulbright lecturers.

At the University of Sind, sociology has not yet been made a part of the curriculum. At the University of Peshawar, sociology is one of the optional subjects in the Economics syllabus, but the absence of a qualified teacher has prevented students from being able to choose it as an elective subject, though plans were under way in 1959 for drawing up a sociology syllabus. At the University of Rajshahi, ambitious plans for expansion are envisaged in which sociology may be expected to share. An attempt has been made to establish a faculty of social science at Rajshahi, together with a Socio-Economic Research Center.

*Recent Research.* At Dacca the Asiatic Society of Pakistan was founded in 1951, and its *Journal* established in 1956. The first two volumes dealt with historical, philological, literary, religious, and folklorist data of Asia and Bengal. Papers read before the Society have included "The Impact of Language on Society," "Purdah and the Employment of Women in Islam," "Cultural Life of Old Dacca," "Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills," "Methods of Historical Research," "Economic Development of Pre-Vedic India," and "Race and Culture Complex in Bengal." The Society's library contains historical works and Orientalia.

A very active and competent social research organization is the Socio-Economic Survey Board, established at Dacca University early in 1956 under the auspices of the university with the cooperation of the State Bank of Pakistan and the Asia Foundation, to undertake surveys and research on the social and economic problems of Pakistan. Originating in 1952 with a group of volunteer workers, its supervisory personnel are now drawn from university departments of economics, statistics, and commerce, and aid has been secured from the Ford Foundation. In addition to publishing reports of its investigations, the Board has also advanced research by offering training in research design, statistics, empirical field work, survey-making, and interviewing to a pioneer group of younger workers. For its, and East Pakistan's, first project, a 1955 survey of rural credit and rural unemployment,<sup>10</sup> over 3000 households were investigated to ascertain the demand for rural credit, the sources of credit and causes of agricultural indebtedness, the terms of lending, and the pattern of land use.<sup>11</sup>

In 1956 the Board sponsored, and UNESCO assisted in publishing, a work that has since become a landmark in Pakistani social science, *Human and Social Impact of Technological*

<sup>10</sup> *Report on the Survey of Rural Credit and Rural Unemployment in East Pakistan* (Dacca, 1956).

<sup>11</sup> Research into rural credit in what is now East Pakistan can be traced back to 1925, when the British Government initiated inquiries, e.g., the Royal Commissions on labor and agriculture. A plot enumeration (agricultural census) of Bengal was made in 1944, using the random sample technique to ascertain the indebtedness of rural families.

*Change in Pakistan*.<sup>12</sup> Its chief author, Dr. A. F. A. Husain, professor of commerce at Dacca University, worked in collaboration with a group of university scholars from several fields. The study, which was confined to East Pakistan, examined some of the important changes in physical conditions brought about by technology in an area which for the first time is feeling the influence of industrialization. It also sought to evaluate the significant modifications in habits and attitudes produced by technology.

The methodology included a set of narrative questionnaires at seven Dacca factories, as a basis for hypotheses and research design. The subsequent inquiries combined case study, scheduled interviews, and observation techniques, with statistical schedules to elicit information on the age-composition, literacy, economic and marital status, and family background of Bengal laborers. Published in two volumes that rely heavily upon cited case studies and statistical tables, the report is the most ambitious social survey yet attempted in Pakistan.

A third survey by the Board dealt with the employment of middle-class "purdah-observing" Muslim women and was published in 1958,<sup>13</sup> with a grant from the Asia Foundation. The planning of the survey and supervision of the field work was handled by Dr. Abdul Farouk, a survey specialist trained at the University of Michigan with experience in the Gallup organization and the National Opinion Research Center. His investigations were undertaken during 1955-56 to gather factual information on the attitudes toward the employment position of middle-class Muslim women in Dacca, to ascertain the factors retarding their entry into various professions, a topic on which very little published data is available.

At Peshawar University in West Pakistan,

the Board of Economic Inquiry, North-West Frontier, has been recently established and under the direction of S. M. Idris, a Peshawar economist, and K. Ashraf, has produced a first report on socio-economic conditions of village life in the northern region of the West wing.<sup>14</sup> Based on rural research during 1955-56, the work is a study in village economy with particular reference to population, methods of cultivation, land holdings, rural credit, cottage industries, and family budgets. Social class relationships also received attention. The methodology utilized was that of the questionnaire, statistics and records, individual and group interviews, with examination of over 1200 village families and the life histories of elderly persons.

*Future Prospects.* Few countries offer such an untilled field for social research as does Pakistan. Apart from the development of academic sociology, there is a practical need for research as a basis for governmental policy in a new nation faced with vast problems of rural health, agricultural output, literacy, urban planning, and refugee resettlement. As one example, little work has been done as yet on the psycho-social aspects of fertility and the cultural factors contributing to a high birth rate.<sup>15</sup> There is wide scope for inquiries on Pakistani family patterns, which reveal wide variations of background, education, western orientation, and class position: this is a field in which generalizations are dangerous and interpretations demand care. Research is also needed on ethnic and religious attitudes (one quarter of the

<sup>14</sup> Matlub Hussain, "A Socio-Economic Survey of Village Baffa in the Hazara District of the Peshawar Division," Publication No. 5 (Board of Economic Inquiry, North-West Frontier, Peshawar University, 1958). No survey of this nature had previously been conducted in the N. W. Frontier Province. Other publications of the Board of Economic Inquiry include M. A. Sethi, "Family Budgets of Low-Paid Employees of Educational Institutions in the former N. W. Frontier Province, 1953-54"; N. I. Mian, "A Preliminary Economic Survey of the Tribal Areas Adjoining West Pakistan"; and Salma Sami, "A Survey of Female Education in the Peshawar District, 1957-58."

<sup>15</sup> One of the few inquiries in this field is John S. Aird, "Fertility Levels and Differentials in Two Bengali Villages," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956).

<sup>12</sup> A. F. A. Husain, *Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in Pakistan, a Report on a Survey conducted by the University of Dacca* (Dacca, 1956). A shorter version of the same report, bearing the above title, is available in a UNESCO publication issued from the UNESCO Research Center for S. E. Asia, Calcutta, 1956.

<sup>13</sup> A. F. A. Husain, *Employment of Middle Class Muslim Women in Dacca* (Dacca, 1958).

population of East Pakistan is composed of (Hindus) and on the reasons for interprovincial tensions. Pakistan also offers many possibilities for students of the sociology of religion and the impact of technology. In the sociology of law and education, the interplay of Muslim and British influences in the formation of Pakistan's legal and educational system might well repay investigation. Culture analysis is needed, together with case studies and participant observation; there is very little material dealing with Muslim social structure and stratification, or with the role of social classes in a time of change.

Notwithstanding, empirical research in Pakistan has made headway, and this may be expected to continue and expand. There is danger that research may advance at the expense of theory and that the progress of sound investigation may itself be retarded through inadequate theoretical foundations. But as more Pakistani sociology students receive training overseas, it is likely that theoretical sophistication will keep pace with empiricism.<sup>16</sup>

In the meantime, optimism regarding the future of Pakistani sociology is amply warranted, both by the advances of the last five years and by current developments. Although university libraries are not strong in sociology, their deficiencies are being remedied through gifts from overseas agencies. In fields bordering on sociology, Pakistani government libraries contain a surprisingly rich amount of social science material, with the additional advantage that it is in English.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Several Pakistani graduates are studying sociology at the University of Chicago, Pennsylvania State, Michigan State, and Minnesota Universities, and more than ten U. S. sociologists have received Fulbright grants to Pakistani universities.

<sup>17</sup> Mention should be made of the Planning Board

Among factors auguring well for the future were the establishment in 1959 of two Village-AID community development leadership training centers, one in each wing, with American social scientists on the staff. This project is sponsored by Michigan State University, the Ford Foundation, and the Government of Pakistan. An Institute of Pakistani Studies has been set up at Columbia University, and a new College of Social Welfare and Research Center was inaugurated at Dacca early in 1959, with U. N. support. A social science research center has also been established at Panjab University. Statistical research, already expanding in scope, may assume even greater significance owing to a public statement by the President of Pakistan, Field Marshall Ayub Khan, of the need for statistics as a basis for official policy and planning. Empirical inquiry should also benefit from the appointment of Irene B. Taeuber in the establishment of a Population Research Division of the Institute of Development Economics. Sociology is now a paper in the Civil Service entrance examinations, a fact that should increase the number of sociology graduates, since government service is considered the most prestigious occupation in the nation.

The combined effect of these developments should function to give sociology a more enhanced academic status and greater public acceptance. In an undeveloped Asian country unfamiliar with the scientific outlook, it would be unrealistic to pretend that the future of sociology is not beset by many problems. But in view of the gains of the last five years, the progress of Pakistani sociology has been undeniably rapid.

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Library, with a large number of reports submitted by foreign advisers, the library of the Food and Agriculture Council, and the libraries of the Ministry of Labor and the State Bank of Pakistan.