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THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION
IN
THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT OF WEST PAKISTAN

By

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ADULT EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

ALVI

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ABSTRACT

The present decade marks the beginning of an age of rural renaissance when greater international cooperation and understanding have paved the way for united efforts to improve rural life in underdeveloped countries. The birth of Pakistan in 1947 has almost coincided with the beginning of this new era. The Pakistani nation is, thus, imbued with the spirit of regenerating rural life as is reflected in the First Five Year Plan, 1955-60 and the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme (Village AID).

The success of any programme of rural development that aims at improving rural life depends on the readiness of the people to receive it. Lest an elaborate programme of social, cultural and economic development may end in fiasco for lack of adult participation, it is necessary that adults in the rural areas be adequately prepared for a change that brings the promise of better life. In this study an attempt has, therefore, been made to discuss the role of adult education in the rural development of West Pakistan. The study is delimited to a discussion of the objectives of adult education in the light of a detailed analysis of the problems of rural

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development in West Pakistan. At the end, certain directions in which the adult education programmes may be organized and implemented are, however, indicated. The method of study is mainly analytical and has involved documentary and library research.

West Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural province. The village forms a nucleus of the life of over eighty per cent of the total population of the province. Agriculture, which is the mainstay of the people, is largely outdated in its form and practice. There are a few underdeveloped and neglected rural industries. Underlying many socio-economic problems, confronted by the rural people, are illhealth, ignorance and rapid population growth which are inter-woven in complex institutional patterns. Due to the rigidities of the joint household and the impact of social and technological change, the bonds of family life are weakening. The repercussions of mass immigration, the impact of disintegrating rural family and the barriers of rigid social stratification account for the disruptive tendencies in total village life. The rural life is further marred by the failure of democratic institutions and decadence of local self-government. In short, the rural people are becoming more and more unconcerned with their social responsibilities and human relationships.

The magnitude of the task of adult education, as revealed by the analysis of the problems of rural development and the nature of such programmes of rural development in the

province as the First Five Year Plan, 1955-60 and the Village AID, necessitates that adult education be conceived as a process that develops functional knowledge in the adults of rural areas through building in them new attitudes, behaviour patterns, and skills. Adult education should help them solve their every day problems which they face as individuals, and as members of the family and the community. The suggested objectives of adult education for rural development indicate how personal development, human relationships, civic responsibility, economic efficiency, and living could be improved and promoted by developing new attitudes, behaviour patterns and skills such as a new outlook on life, communication skills, and habits of healthy living.

In order that these objectives are realized, a number of adult education programmes such as literacy education, family affairs education, public affairs education, and education for production and distribution may be developed. The implementation of these programmes would require the organization of personal and inter-personal tutoring, mobile libraries, lectures and talks, study groups, discussion groups and the use of mass media. Planning, organization and coordination of such activities under the aegis of the Village AID will, therefore, assume crucial importance, for adult education will involve a whole set of individuals and agencies concerned with adult education and rural development. A national leadership gifted with vision, foresight and imagination and

a rural populace, charged with zeal and enthusiasm, will be the deciding factors in the success of these programmes and the realization of a fuller and more integrated rural life.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Age of Rural Renaissance

There has been a growing realization of the need for rural development in most underdeveloped areas of the world ever since the end of World War II, which marked the beginning of an era of self-government and independence in most parts of Asia and Africa. From the ruins of a devastating war has emerged a spirit of greater international cooperation. This is reflected in the cooperative efforts of friendly nations, philanthropic organizations, and various agencies of the United Nations.

The magnitude of the task of rural development is revealed by the fact that there may be from three to five million rural "communities" which are striving to alleviate

their poverty, illhealth, and ignorance.¹ It is interesting to note that Asia, Africa, and South America together, with almost 66 per cent of the world population, generate only about 16 per cent of the world's national income.² "The spectacular upsurge of interest in underdeveloped areas, although belated, is a welcome recognition of the importance which should be attached to an impoverished and disturbed two-thirds of the world."³ A survey of these efforts reveals that remarkable achievements in the field of rural development may well be heralding the advent of an age of rural renaissance.

Efforts are being made, all over the world, to improve rural life in all its aspects. The people and governments in most parts of Latin America are aware of the problems of rural life, and are endeavouring to solve them. One of the best successes in this region is the "Community Education" programme in Puerto Rico. This programme recognizes incentive and motivation as the mainsprings for enabling the community to make use of its own aptitudes and resources. The South East Asian peoples are equally conscious of the need for

¹ United Nations, Bureau of Social Affairs, Social Progress Through Community Development, p. 5.

² United Nations, "Levels and Sources of Income in Various Countries", Underdeveloped Areas, ed. Lyle W. Shannon, p. 24.

³ Douglas F. Dowd, "Two-Thirds of the World", Underdeveloped Areas, ibid, p. 12A.

better living. One of the spectacular achievements in improving rural life is the growth of 'Community Schools' in the Philippines. These schools working closely with 'purok organizations'⁴, are aiming at all-round development of the rural people. India is another country where commendable efforts are being made to improve the socio-economic condition of the rural people through the 'Community Development' programme and 'Basic Education' movement. Although rural development in the Middle East is still in initial stages, the 'Social Centres' in Egypt have become a cultural reality.

The attempts to improve rural life are not limited to the underdeveloped countries. Even in advanced countries there is considerable scope for activities that would promote rural welfare. The 'Folk Schools' in Canada and the Scandinavian countries, intended for out-of-school young adults, have set broad goals of a better life. The 'County Colleges' in England offer rich opportunities for living, education, and recreation. The country-wide 'Agricultural Extension' programme in the United States and the more localized programmes of community education in many states are other evidences of the attempts to build up vigorous rural communities.

⁴ The "purok" is the smallest organizational unit in the village, comprising a few scores of closely related families to promote rural welfare. See U.N., Bureau of Social Affairs, op.cit. p. 27.

The Birth of a New State

The birth of Pakistan in 1947 almost coincided with the beginning of this era of social reconstruction and economic development; since then the country has been benefiting from the experiences of, and the exchange of views with, other nations at international forums, conferences, and seminars. The efforts of other nations in improving rural life have given Pakistan an inspiration to make similar attempts which are reflected in the First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, and the Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme (V-AID). The change from chaotic conditions, at the time of independence, to a more orderly and planned national life, at present, is indeed significant.

(The creation of Pakistan climaxed the long-cherished desire and struggle of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent for a separate homeland. When the people of Pakistan shook off the yoke of foreign rule they found themselves face to face with problems of a great magnitude. Their level of living was very low and hardly rose above subsistence. There were few opportunities for education or economic advancement. The methods of agriculture were out-moded and the average yields of crops were among the lowest in the world. The system of land ownership in most parts of Pakistan was feudalistic. The technological and social changes of the

industrial age had not yet touched the life of the rural people. Industries were practically non-existent. As if the situation was not unhappy enough, the partition of the sub-continent brought, in its wake, new problems which further complicated the social, political, and economic problems of the country. The wholesale exchange of more than ten million people across the borders of India and Pakistan is unparalleled in the history of human migrations. Other effects were the disruption of trade and business, and the channels of communication. The industrial, commercial, and administrative organizations almost completely broke up because of a sudden void created by the mass migration of non-Muslims who had been occupying vital positions in all important fields. The Muslim refugees who entered Pakistan were mostly agriculturists and craftsmen. This gave rise to the significant problem of re-settling and rehabilitating them, in body and spirit. The total effect of the partition was a state of paralysis in the social, political, and economic life of the people of Pakistan.

The Problem, and its Significance

The transition from a chaos in national life, at the time of independence, to greater order and stability, that the country is now enjoying, has not been one of ease and

comfort. Although marred by the inadequacies of basic material resources, natural calamities like floods and droughts, political instability and international disputes like Kashmir and Canal Waters, the progress in improving urban life has been significant. But through all these years, the horizon of rural life has remained dark and cloudy, and there has been little change in the everyday life of the tiller of the soil.

Rural Development in West Pakistan

West Pakistan remains predominantly an agricultural province of the country. The village forms the nucleus of the life of more than three-fourths of the population of the province. Agriculture is the mainstay of the rural people, and is largely primitive in its form and practice. Despite spectacular advances in the growth of large-scale industries in the province, the rural industries remain neglected and backward. A great majority of the people is still unconcerned with its social responsibilities and human relationships. In general, the people are in a vicious circle of poverty, ignorance, disease, and illiteracy. This, however, does not mean that the people and land are devoid of potentialities. The fact is that until a few years ago the human and material resources of the province were allowed to be impoverished for lack of adequate planning and concerted effort. The formulation and implementation of the First Five Year Plan marks the first serious attempt by the Government to raise the social, cultural,

political, and economic standards of the people, by making full use of the dormant human and material resources of the province. One important means for accomplishing this is the Village AID Programme which has been given a high priority in the Plan. The increasing emphasis on improving rural life in the province may be attributed to at least four important factors.

First, the independence from foreign rule has paved the way for a balanced development of all sections of the people. Under foreign domination, the main function of the rural people was to produce agricultural raw materials that could be processed by the industries of Great Britain while the man behind the hoe was allowed to languish in the shackles of a feudalistic order. It is only recently that the Government has begun to appreciate his problems.

Secondly, for a number of reasons to be discussed in Chapter III, the productivity of agriculture in the province has been declining, as indicated by the trends in yield per acre of principal crops between 1948 and 1955.⁵ The situation has adversely affected the level of living of the rural people and has, therefore, made the Government doubly conscious of the need for rural development.

Thirdly, there has been a considerable increase in

⁵ Government of Pakistan, National Planning Board, The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 217.

technical assistance and economic cooperation at the international level. All over the world, rural development projects are being undertaken by local governments in collaboration with UNESCO, W.H.O., F.A.O., I.C.A., and such philanthropic institutions as the Ford, Rockefeller and Near East Foundations. The active support of many of these agencies has enabled the Government of Pakistan to expand its activities for promoting rural welfare.

Finally, greater political stability in the country has made possible planned efforts on the part of the Government. This was not the case in the early years of independence. The recent political upheaval in the country is expected to lend greater stability and thus pave the way for rural development on a bigger scale.

There is no doubt that the Provincial and Central Governments are showing great concern for the problems of rural development, and are undertaking or sponsoring activities to promote the welfare of the rural people. Whether the people also feel concerned with their life problems and interpret the programmes of rural development in meaningful relationships is a question that disturbs the mind of the writer. It is at this point that the problem before him appears in sharp focus.

The Role of Adult Education

The success of any programme of rural development that aims at improving land relations between the landlord and the tenant, building new roads, bridges and canals, establishing more schools and hospitals, and promoting new industries depends on the readiness of the people to receive it. The adults of a nation count more than any other segment of the nation in the realization of such a programme. While the First Five Year Plan is in the process of implementation, the work on preparing the Second Five Year Plan is already underway. The latest step to improve rural life is the decision of the Government to introduce suitable land reforms in the province, following the acceptance of the recommendations of Land Reforms Commission in January, 1959. It is, however, the feeling of the researcher that little has, so far, been done to bring about a change in the outlook of the adults of rural areas toward life, to develop in them an understanding of their personal, community and national problems, to build new attitudes and skills, and to arouse new hopes and aspirations. The hazards involved in offering something to the people, while they remain unprepared to receive it, are not difficult to foresee in the light of past experiences in the country. Recently, the efforts to implant democratic institution in the country culminated in a complete failure for the simple reason that the people failed to understand and appreciate it.

Lest a comprehensive programme of social, cultural, and economic development may likewise end in fiasco, it becomes necessary that adults in rural areas be adequately prepared for a change that brings the promise of better living.

How adult education could be geared to accelerate the process of rural development is a highly significant problem, for the real strength of the nation lies in a healthy and vigorous rural life which cannot be attained without the active participation of the adults. An adult education programme that touches every sphere of rural life is, therefore, the call of the time.

The Delimitations of the Problem

It is desirable to delimit the problem by defining 'Rural Development' and 'Adult Education', and by indicating the general demarcations of this study.

Rural Development

Rural development is concerned with those people who are living in villages scattered all over the province. These villages form communities of people living in them. As such, they may often be referred to as rural communities. The term development usually denotes "growth", "evolution", or

"expansion" in the historical sense but when used with some connotations as "rural development" or "socio-economic development", it will refer to self-help projects in rural areas like digging a village well, and also activities undertaken by Government or private agencies as, for example, the establishment of a sericulture centre for training the rural people. Further, the activities undertaken in urban communities will be in the sphere of "rural development" so long as they help to promote the welfare of the rural people, even though in an indirect way. Furthermore, "rural development" has been conceived at national level rather than at village level, for most of the rural development in Pakistan has been planned at a national level and forms an integral part of the national development plan. Therefore, "rural development" will also cover such activities as the introduction of land reforms, work on multipurpose flood-control and irrigation projects, and improvements in the means of communication.

Adult Education

Adult education is a process for developing functional knowledge in the adults of rural areas through building in them new attitudes, behaviour patterns and skills that will help them to solve their problems of everyday living which they face as individuals, and as members of the family and the community. It is a process which enables them to lead a

fuller and more integrated life. It is no longer confined to learning the three R's; it integrates learning with living by touching all aspects of rural life. It is by this process that the rural people are able to understand and appreciate their own socio-economic problems in a true perspective and have the urge and motivation to make concerted and cooperative efforts for their own self-realization. Adult education, in other words, is the regeneration of the rural masses so that they may become alive to their own life problems, and accordingly, strive to have a more contented and prosperous personal, family, and community life.

Lastly, as for the general demarcations, the over-all study is delimited to a discussion of the role of adult education in the rural development of West Pakistan. The first phase of the study is devoted to a critical analysis of the major problems of rural development as, for example, high mortality and illhealth, rapid growth of population, disruptive tendencies in family and group living, primitive agriculture, underdeveloped industries and low level of living. The second phase of the study is confined to a formulation of objectives of adult education for rural development. How a number of adult education programmes may be organized and implemented to realize these objectives is not discussed by the writer who feels that this is worth another independent study which cannot be undertaken in view of the limited time available for the study. In concluding this study, certain

directions in which the adult education programmes may be developed are, however, indicated.

The Method and Organization of the Study

The method of the study is mainly analytical, and has involved documentary and library research. While an attempt has been made to interpret the available data on social and cultural life in West Pakistan, the study remains far from statistical for lack of adequate facts and figures. Only a limited number of standard works on life in Pakistan were accessible while many authoritative works on rural life in the province were beyond reach. The writer, has, however, supplemented his efforts by his own personal experiences in rural areas where he was brought up and with which he is well acquainted.

The organization of the study is reflected in the following summary of the scope of each chapter. Chapter II is devoted to a discussion of the social and cultural background of the province. This leads to an analysis of the problems of rural development in Chapter III. Chapter IV has two major divisions; the first deals with the existing programmes of adult education and rural development which are critically analyzed in order to see how they fit into the needs of the rural society. The second deals with the

formulation of the objectives of adult education in the light of the discussion of these programmes and the analysis of the problems of rural development. Certain directions of programme development are indicated in the last chapter which discusses the broad areas of adult education and approaches to adult education programmes.

Chapter II

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

Before an attempt can be made to analyze and understand the problems of rural development it is necessary to take stock of the human and material resources of the province of West Pakistan, and the social and cultural forces which underlie the life of the rural people. This chapter, therefore, discusses the land and people, social institutions, economic life of the people, and values cherished by the rural society.

Land and People

Topography and Climate

West Pakistan has a topography that is rich in variety.

With an area of 309,424 square miles¹ that stretches from latitudes 24 to 37 N and longitudes 62 to 75 E its relief is a combination of one of the highest mountain ranges in the world and extensive lowlands which rise little above the sea-level. The fascinating beauty of lush green valleys and glacial features in the north is in complete contrast to arid and semi-arid conditions in the south and south-west where the temperature may rise above 120 F.

The mighty Karakorems in the north and the Hindu Kush, another western extension of the Himalayas, separate West Pakistan from Afghanistan. Further southward these mountain ranges merge into the Sulaiman and Kirthas Ranges. The mountain-wall in the north and north-west has, however, failed to isolate the province from northern influences. The history of the region is closely bound with several important passes — the historic Khyber, the Bolan, and the Gomal which pierce these mountain ranges. These passes have offered trading caravans and invading armies from the north a convenient passage. To the south-west of this mountain-wall is the arid plateau of Baluchistan which extends down to the Arabian Sea. This tableland tapers into Sind desert which lies in the south-east. The lifeline of the province, however, is the Indus Basin which stretches from the foothills

¹ The area excludes Karachi, Federal Capital Area. J. Russell Andrus and Azizali F. Mohammad, The Economy of Pakistan, p. 8.

of the Himalayas in the north-east to the Arabian Sea in the south-west.

A great majority of the people of West Pakistan has been practicing agriculture and living peacefully for centuries in small village communities, scattered all over the province but concentrated in the Indus Valley. The excavations at Moenjo Daro and Harappa have revealed that the Indus Valley had in fact been a cradle of civilization as early as 2500 B.C.² In the north-west, the rugged and barren hills do not offer an adequate economic base and so they are inhabited by war-like clans whose main economic activity is sheep-rearing and a little agriculture. Similar conditions prevail in the arid plateau of Baluchistan but here the people are leading a more peaceful and settled life.

West Pakistan lies outside the tropics, but the climate in the whole region has been greatly modified by the high Himalayas in the north. During summer the centre of low pressure area in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is the Sind desert; but by the time the moist-laden Monsoons reach West Pakistan they have already exhausted their moisture in East Pakistan, north-eastern India, and on the Himalayas. Rainfall in West Pakistan, therefore, ranges

²
Mortimer Wheeler. "The Archaeology of Pakistan".
The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, eds. S.M. Ikram and
Percival Spear, pp. 21-23.

between five inches and twenty inches except on mountains in the north. During winter the region is in high-pressure belt. Occasional cyclonic disturbances, however, bring some rain; but it seldom exceeds five inches. Both diurnal and annual ranges of temperatures are considerable. The climate is, therefore, continental in its general characteristics.

Water, Power, and Minerals

Despite the shortage of rains the rivers of the Indus Basin have augmented the water resources of the province, and have thus given it a sound agricultural base. In the mountainous north and north-west are the fertile valleys of the Kabul, Swat, and Kurram rivers. By far the most productive agricultural lands are in the extensive plains of the perennial rivers of the Indus Basin. The Sutlej, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum, and Indus rivers are constantly fed by the snow-fields and heavy rains in the Himalayas. A fine network of canals enables the farmers to make ample use of the water resources of these rivers, and the flat, alluvial mantle spread by them.

Not full use is being made of the large water and power resources of the province. A number of multi-purpose projects for conserving large volumes of water, generating electricity, and irrigating new lands have been undertaken at various dam sites in the province. Their immediate effects are that new lands are being colonized, the nomadic

tribes are settling down as agricultural communities, and rural families are moving from congested areas to virgin lands.

While hydro-electric power is the major source of power in the province, other sources of power and fuel are petroleum, natural gas, and coal. The production of coal and petroleum does not match with the increasing demands of the industry. In 1954 only 33 per cent of coal consumption and 20 per cent of petroleum consumption was met from indigenous sources; the balance of the country's needs was met by imports.³ The discovery of natural gas in 1953 at Sui, about 350 miles north of Karachi, has kindled the hope of industrial progress in the province. According to the latest estimates of reserves, these gas fields are enough to supply 110 million cubic feet of gas per day for more than a century.⁴ In addition to its use as a source of power, the gas is to provide the basis for an ammonium sulphate or fertilizer industry, so badly needed for agricultural development.

Although the province is handicapped by modest production of low-quality coal and poor reserves of iron ore, work on setting up a big steel plant which will rely on indigenous raw materials is already underway. Local

³ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 385.

⁴ J. Andrus Russel and Azizali F. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 217.

production of iron and steel is expected to promote the establishment of an industry of light agricultural machinery. The province is self-sufficient in salt, ceramic clay, limestone, and gypsum. Chromite is the only mineral that is exported.

Flora and Fauna

Climate is usually the major determinant of forest types. This is as true in West Pakistan as elsewhere. In north and north-western montane and sub-montane regions of the province, vegetation is mainly coniferous and includes such important types as deodar, juniper, spruce, fir, and pine. On the foothills of these mountains are sub-tropical dry evergreen trees, the commonest species being wild olive and Acacia modesta. In other parts of the province the natural vegetation is tropical and desert thorny scrubs except some riverine forests of babul and shisham and 'plantation' forests.

There is literary evidence that a greater part of the Indus Basin was covered by large forests in Alexander the Great's day. "This original cover has been profoundly modified. Three millennia of clearing for agriculture and of unregulated grazing (both often promoted by burning the jungle) have stripped the forest from nearly all of the plains and much of the lower hills and plateaus, or turned

it into scrub."⁵ Now all that remains is a forest area that is only 2.9 per cent of the whole province.⁶ The importance of forests lies in that they maintain a regular flow of rivers and protect the land against soil erosion. Furthermore, they make available fuel wood to replace cow-dung which could be used as manure rather than as fuel.

The animal wealth of Pakistan consists of millions of cattle such as buffaloes, sheep, and goats. Other important livestock are camels, horses, donkeys, mules, and poultry. Farm animals play a significant part in the agriculture of the province. They provide most of the draught or motive power for agricultural operations; they are a source of meat and milk, hides and skins, wool, hair, eggs, and manures. The oxen and buffaloes are nearer to the farmer than any other livestock because they drive his plough, draw his cart, raise water from the well, turn oilseed and sugarcane crushers, and carry burden on the back.

Ethnic Backgrounds

West Pakistan is a land of antiquities which symbolize the saga of highly developed civilizations. According

⁵ O.H.K. Spate, India and Pakistan, p. 63.

⁶ J. Russell Andrus, and Azizali F. Mohammad, op.cit., p. 108.

to Wheeler, one may see the traces of prehistoric villages, in the vicinity of the Indus system and the Baluchistan Hills, dating from 20,000 to 5,000 B.C. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa bear witness to the existence of a high level of civilization, akin in culture to the Sumerians and Elamites, which flourished around 2500 B.C. To the north, the ruins at Taxila reveal that the region was a great centre of Buddhist and Indo-Greek civilization.⁷

The invasions from the north and north-west have left a deep mark on the ethnological background of the province. The Khyber Pass has been a gate-way for these successive inroads. The conquest of a part of the province by the Persian King Darius was followed by the invasion of Alexander the Great who in 326-321 B.C. conquered almost the whole of what is now West Pakistan. The first Muslim invasion was in 712 A.D. when the Arabs led by Muhammad bin Qasim conquered Sind. But it was only three centuries later that the process of establishing a Muslim rule began with the invasions of Turkish, Afghan, Persian and Turko-Mongol conquerors. The zenith of Muslim power reached under the Moghuls (A.D. 1527-1707) when their empire embraced almost all that is now India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.⁸

⁷ Mortimer Wheeler, op.cit., pp. 20-25.

⁸ G. Russel Andrus and Azizali F. Mohammad, op.cit., pp. 1-2.

In view of these strong foreign influences one finds that the people of West Pakistan are a mixture of Aryans, Scythians, Arabs, Turks, Afghans and Mongols, the dominant type being Scytho-Aryan. The largest group of foreign stock is made up of the Afghans or Pathans. This is partly explained by the fact that most Muslim conquerors while passing through Afghanistan used to recruit large numbers of Afghan soldiers and bring them to India. Some of the more widely distributed Afghan tribes are Yusafzais, Surs, Prangis, Niazis, and Baluchis.⁹

Although the people of West Pakistan are mainly Aryan in race and origin the greatest influence has come from the Semites in the form of Islam. In view of this and other influences brought by the conquering armies and devoted missionaries, the people have developed, since early days, an aptitude for synthesis, assimilation, and adaptation.¹⁰ This is manifested in the highly adaptive national language, Urdu, which draws heavily on Persian, Arabic, and Turkish and includes Sanskrit and English words as well.

⁹ Gamal-Eddine Heyworth-Dunne, Pakistan: The Birth of a New Muslim State, p. 30.

¹⁰ S.M. Ikram, "The Pattern of Pakistan's Heritage", The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, op.cit., p. 15.

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The people of West Pakistan are divided into five main linguistic groups. They speak Pashtu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi, and Makrani in well-defined areas. All these languages contain a number of Persian and Arabic words. Urdu, however, is a language that is understood in most parts of the province and is the vehicle of literary and scientific thought.

Demographic Characteristics

According to the corrected enumerations of the census of 1951 the population of West Pakistan was 34.08 million but is expected to rise to 38.25 million by mid-1959 as indicated by population projection.¹² An interesting aspect of this population is the rural-urban ratio. In 1951 about 84.4 per cent of the people were living in the rural areas. The average density of population in the province at that time was 109 persons per square mile. This, however, is not a true index of the distribution of population in the province. The plateau of Baluchistan, covering more than half the area

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At the time of independence West Pakistan consisted of three provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and Sind, the centrally administered Baluchistan and a number of princely states. In October, 1955, these administrative and political units were merged into a single province of West Pakistan.

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The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, pp.189-191.

of West Pakistan had a density of only nine persons per square mile while more than half of its population was concentrated in the north-eastern region. Even more revealing is the density of rural population per cultivated square mile, which in 1951 was 624 in the former North-West Frontier Province, and 507 in the former Punjab.¹³ The over-all situation remains practically unchanged despite growing urbanization and industrialization.

Although highly reliable data on mortality and fertility rates is lacking it is generally agreed that these are still quite high. In recent years there has been a considerable decline in death rates; yet infant mortality rates continue to be very high. The increase of the country's population is accompanied by a heavy toll of human life and suffering for men and women. Despite improvements in the average life expectancy at birth during the last half century, the average for the decade 1931-41 was only 31.8.¹⁴

Social Institutions

The more important institutions that compose rural

¹³ J. Russell Andrus and Azizali F. Mohammad, op.cit., pp. 21-22.

¹⁴ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 193.

society are the family, caste, village community, religion, and government, local or provincial. Education is also becoming significant as a social institution.

Family

As the oldest social institution, the family continues to be the strongest social organism in the province. It plays an important part in shaping and moulding the personalities of its members; it is in the family that the child begins to learn the traditions of the family and the community in which he is living and inherits moral concepts and philosophy handed down through generations. This is more true of rural areas where there are few schools to offer new ideas and skills.¹⁵ The family has a decisive role to play in the material and cultural life of the rural people. Familism permeates through the entire rural structure. The individual and the family are so intertwined that one cannot exist without the other.

The rural family in West Pakistan is patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal. The dominant family circle is the patrilocal joint family which includes the immediate or conjugal family and grandparents. The immediate or conjugal family is, however, emerging under the impact of both the urban socio-economic forces and the growth of agrarian economy. The pyramidal superstructure of lineage grouping

of Pathans of the north-western regions of West Pakistan has almost broken down. The patrilineal principle of descent, however, still prevails.¹⁶ Endogamy is highly stressed and inter-caste or inter-tribe marriages are almost non-existent. There is greater homogeneity, integration, and stability in the rural family than in the urban. The rural family is further characterized by greater discipline and has more social and cultural inter-dependence among its members than does the urban family. Another important characteristic is the dominance of family ego so much so that the individual member is completely submerged in the family and all his actions are appraised according to the status of the family to which he belongs.

Normally the family possesses a modest homestead and is a small economic unit of consumers, and often, of producers. The collectivistic family consciousness is manifested in the economic organization as well. All family members except very minor children engage themselves in work connected with peasant household and farming. Although the father or grandfather may exercise almost absolute powers the eldest woman in the farmer's household usually takes care of the grain and other agricultural products that come to the house. She is responsible for almost all customary dealings with the

¹⁶ Herbert H. Vreeland III, "Pathans of the Peshawar Valley". Pakistan: Society and Culture, ed. Stanley Maron, p. 121.

relatives and friends in her own or in the neighbouring village. The village craftsman finds his wife and children most helpful in his work. The combined effort of the family enables him to fulfill all his professional obligations.

Caste

The caste, as a social institution in West Pakistan is basically different from the popularly known Hindu caste system which derives its strength from Hindu philosophy. An insight into the kind of caste or class system that a Muslim society may have is provided by the following remarks made by Mounir H. Khoury:

Class and status systems in the Arab World and particularly in the village are basically economic; there is no caste into which an individual is born as is the case in India, thanks to the dominant Islamic religion which allows no place for such a differentiation among its adherents. All Muslims are equal on this earth as in the life hereafter.¹⁷

In West Pakistan, where the dominant creed is Islam, the caste is in fact a class and status system. It is a grouping of hundreds of families on the basis of "race" superiority, work patterns, and social status. The factors that have entrenched this institution are the outcome of

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The Rural Community and its Development in the Arab World, unpublished thesis for the degree of Ph.D., Cornell University, 1958, p. 39.

different "racial" and cultural groups, political exigencies arising from centuries of rule by Afghans, Moghols and the British, and the impact of Hindu caste system. As such, there are now rigid caste groups of Syeds, Quraishis, Shaikhs, Rajputs, Moghols, Pathans, and so on. They may be either ashraf or ajlaf depending upon whether they are the descendents of invaders and high class converts or of low caste converts.¹⁸

There is another form of social stratification on the basis of occupations which has become almost traditional and deep-rooted in the rural culture. The two main divisions are the agriculturist and the village craftsman. The latter may be a barber, weaver, potter, carpenter, cobbler, baker, washerman or an unskilled labourer. These village craftsmen are also known as house craftsmen, for they have yearly contracts with all the families in the village. Of all the craftsmen the barber has the highest prestige and has a variety of functions to perform. He is a messenger, cook, receptionist, and surgeon at one and the same time. Another important classification is between the dominant elite or feudal class which was encouraged by Muslim rulers and later patronized by the British for political reasons, and the poor peasants who till the soil on a tenancy basis.

¹⁸ Stanley Maron, ed., Pakistan: Society and Culture, pp. 12-13.

Village

The village in West Pakistan is a settled aggregate of scores of families belonging to a few caste groups or even a single caste. It has been their abode for generations and even centuries. The growth of agricultural economy in the province has been closely associated with the rise of the village and continues to strengthen it as a social institution.

The village is usually a cluster of mud houses dominated by a mosque. Not far from it is a public yard which is the venue of a variety of social, religious, and recreational activities. The self-sufficiency of the village is marred by a low level of skill and complexity so that the transition from village to town is rather marked. The village may, therefore, have one or two shops for certain basic needs like kerosene, sugar, and pulses. Peddling between villages takes care of other needs of the rural people. The village usually produces cereals, sugarcane, and cotton except in the north-western regions of the province where it may also have orchards of citrus fruits. When close to the town or city it would emphasize dairying and the production of vegetables. Farmlands are usually close to the village and extend two to four miles on all sides. The cattle and buffaloes may be kept in residential quarters or in courtyards made specifically for them in the outer fringes of the village cluster. Around the village are a number of ponds with standing water for the

farm animals.

It is in the village that the indigenous culture is truly depicted. The village community is generally characterized by relatively more cultural stability and unity. On occasions like birth, marriage, death, and sickness the villagers renew their social ties and strengthen them. The urban community, on the other hand, is much less integrated and its cultural unity is lagging behind the industrial and urban growth in the province. The number of rural communities where village-wide solidarity is already showing weakening and disruptive tendencies under the impact of wide socio-economic gaps, mass migrations, and social and technological changes is, however, significantly growing.

Government

Pakistan is a federation of two provinces, East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Before the abrogation of the Constitution by the President of Pakistan on October 8, 1958, the country was supposed to be democratic. That was natural to expect in a country where most of the people cherished the Islamic values of equality and brotherhood of man. In practice, however, the democratic political institution utterly failed. The people were not prepared to assume their responsibilities as democratic citizens for a number of social, political, and economic reasons. The recent political upheaval in the country

does not mean a permanent departure from democratic institution. As assured by the new regime, this change is only a stepping-stone to the introduction of a stable democratic system that is understood and appreciated by the common man.

The visible political role found in the village is the village headman, usually known as lambardar or tappedar. He is expected to collect the land revenue and water tax and act as a liaison between the villagers and district officials. The village chowkidar is expected to keep a record of births and deaths and submit periodic reports to the police station. In view of a long tradition of comparative self-sufficiency in the villages and their scattered and distant position, it has been found desirable to have a measure of self-government in the village. There are village panchayats (village councils, each consisting of five members) in many villages of Lahore, Multan, and Bahawalpur divisions. The villages in the north-western region of West Pakistan may have jirgas (judicial councils, consisting of individuals of prestige belonging to the village or neighbourhood) with limited judicial functions. Elsewhere, the rural self-government is almost non-existent. These local councils can handle only minor inter-personal conflicts. "The ultimate sanction behind village social control is, in theory, the provincial government, operating through the courts and a body of law, which though partly religious in origin, is nevertheless entirely secular in its administration." ¹⁹ This holds

¹⁹Herbert H. Vreeland III, op.cit., pp. 132-133.

true in practice, all over the province, except in villages along the tribal belt on the north-western frontier of West Pakistan.

Religion

Religion is one of the most important themes of rural life in West Pakistan. Although a few minority groups of Zoroastrians, Christians, and Jews exist in urban areas the rural population is almost entirely Muslim. Islam, as the dominant religion, is reflected in all spheres of rural life. The rural people are more conservative in their religious beliefs and attitudes than the urban people. The educated urban people of the province, on the other hand, have a more rational approach to religious beliefs and practices than do the rural. "Observance of ritual and adherence to the injunctions of Islam form only one part of the religious life of many Muslims. Perhaps one half or more of all adult male Muslims in Pakistan are also spiritual seekers."²⁰ These believers of mysticism or Sufism hold that a man needs to have a spiritual guide to pursue the path to spiritual salvation. The spiritual guide is usually known as the pir and it is in the village that he enjoys the highest prestige. He is quite often the disciple of a saint

²⁰ Stanley Maron, ed., Pakistan: Society and Culture, pp. 132-133.

belonging to a particular religious order. Saint-worship is an important aspect of the religious life of the average Muslim.

Islam does not have any place for priesthood. Those who are devout Muslims and have received special training in Muslim theology and law may lead prayers and guide the people on religious matters. They are called ulema. Lately, the standards of theological teaching have dropped considerably and they are now referred to, by the less flattering appellation, as mullahs.²¹ The rural people often have greater respect for the pir or saint than for the mullah.

The village mosque is the centre of religious activities. Before daybreak the call for prayer brings a few villagers to the mosque. They go to their work soon after their prayer. The village boys and girls come to the mosque in the early hours of morning to read the Qur'an under the guidance of the imam. Thus it is in the mosque that the education of the child begins. The girls may go to the house of the imam where his wife would give them religious instruction. On special occasions there are big congregations in the mosque.

Education

According to the injunctions of Islam all men and women are enjoined to seek knowledge at any personal cost. In Muslim

²¹ Ibid., p. 23.

India before the advent of British rule the maktab, usually instituted in the mosque, was the smallest teaching unit. After finishing his education at the maktab the child could proceed to a higher institution known as madrassa for cultural and professional education. The end of Muslim rule, the replacement of Persian by English as the official language, and the introduction of government primary schools contributed to the decline of the old system of education and created a feeling of suspicion and distrust among Muslims who were, therefore, inclined to accept the new system rather reluctantly.²² Since then the Muslims of the sub-continent have remained slumped into the abyss of illiteracy.

Although the province has an impressive array of primary and secondary schools, colleges, and universities literacy remains very low. According to 1951 census only 18.9 per cent of the people of Pakistan could read or write. Nearly half the primary age children were out of schools. As regards girls the situation was even more depressing, for only 20 per cent of the school age girls were attending schools.²³ Around 1950 about 80 to 85 of the adults (15 years and above) were illiterate.²⁴ Since independence there has, however, been a

²² Gamal-Eddine Heyworth-Dunne, The Birth of a New Muslim State, p. 84.

²³ M. Shamsul Haq, Compulsory Education in Pakistan, p.43.

²⁴ UNESCO, World Illiteracy at Mid-Century, p. 39.

reasonably good expansion of facilities for education. In rural areas the mosque continues as the centre for religious and moral education. The number of schools has considerably increased, and the enrollment of children has shot up. The school is now becoming an increasingly important social agency.

Education in Pakistan is a provincial subject. The role of the central government is to coordinate educational policies throughout the country. The burden of financing primary education falls mainly on the Government of West Pakistan although the administrative control in most areas is in the hands of local boards. Secondary education, on the other hand, is financed chiefly by private societies, local boards and municipalities, and religious organizations. Secondary schools have arisen where private enterprise and beneficence are available whereas rural areas remain neglected for lack of adequate financial support.

Economic Life of the People

The major economic pursuit of the people of West Pakistan is agriculture. This is followed by manufacturing, government services, and trade and commerce. Other avenues of employment are construction, transport, mining, and public utilities. In this chapter, the writer is more concerned with agriculture, manufacturing, and trade and commerce which largely

determine the character of rural life.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the largest and by far the most important segment of the economy of West Pakistan. According to 1951 census 66 per cent of the entire civilian labour force in the province was engaged in agriculture and 90 per cent of the people in rural areas were dependent, directly or indirectly, on agriculture.²⁵ The agricultural sector is expected to assume greater importance in view of urban growth and industrial expansion which are creating new incomes and are thus increasing the demands for foodstuffs and industrial raw materials. As the only economic base of rural life, agriculture shall remain of crucial importance under the stresses of population increases in rural areas.

According to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture only 14 per cent of the total area of West Pakistan is sown. There are, however, vast possibilities of extensive agriculture; the province has 13.2 per cent of the total area as culturable waste which could be brought under cultivation, given adequate irrigation facilities.²⁶ The most important food crop in the

²⁵ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 195-213.

²⁶ Ibid., facing p. 214.

province is wheat. This is followed by rice, millet, sorghum, maize, barley, and grain. The most important non-food crops are cotton and sugarcane. They are followed by tobacco and oilseeds.

The agricultural organization in West Pakistan has evolved over a period of a century and a half, and reflects the political and social forces which have dominated the history of the region. Many types of land ownership and cultivation prevail in varying degrees in different parts of West Pakistan. There is a class of peasant proprietors which owns comparatively small areas of land. These peasants till the land with the help of their family members or hired workers. The other type is of individual landowners who own large landed estates. Their lands are tilled by a third group of rural people who fall into two categories. They may either be occupancy tenants who cannot be ejected without legal action, or tenants-at-will who are entirely at the mercy of the landlord.

Industry

The most significant stage in economic development of West Pakistan is the shift from feudalism to industrialism. At the time of independence industries were practically non-existent in the province although it had a number of important industrial raw materials like cotton, sugarcane, wool, hides, skins, and other products. They were either consumed by

industries in other parts of undivided India or exported to European markets. Since then, however, an increasing number of industries is being established. "The progress of industrialization in recent years has been spectacular. The rate of progress recorded compares favourably with the highest achieved in the history of industrialization achieved in any country."²⁷ Yet, the outcome, in absolute terms, marks only a beginning of the process of industrialization.

The significance of industrial development for the rural population in the province lies in the fact that industry and agriculture support and complement each other. The migration of workers from agriculture to industry is reducing the pressure on cultivated land, and the use of agricultural raw materials by local industries has a more stabilizing effect on their prices. The prosperity of the industries, on the other hand, depends on a regular flow of agricultural raw materials for the industries and of foodstuffs to meet the increasing demands of urban population.

The most important large-scale industries in West Pakistan are the production of cotton and woollen textiles, wheat and rice milling, production of edible vegetable oils, fruit and vegetable processing, and manufacture of sugar, cigarettes, leathergoods and cement. Since independence,

²⁷ Ibid., p. 395.

investment in consumer goods industries has proceeded at a faster rate than in capital-goods industries. ²⁸ More directly related to rural life are the small-scale and cottage industries. The handloom industry is by far the most important cottage industry and has penetrated into the villages as well. Other cottage industries are the making of carpets and rugs, sericulture, sports goods, wood furniture, leather goods, pottery, metal works and a variety of fancy products.

Trade and Commerce

Whether the economic activity of the people is confined to agriculture or embraces the industry as well, another aspect, the exchange of goods and services is always involved. The growth of 'money' economies and increased specialization has necessitated trade relations to maximize the satisfaction of wants. So trade and commerce are a deep concern of both the individual and the nation.

At the time of independence, the foreign trade of Pakistan largely consisted of imports of consumer goods and export of raw materials. Since then the composition of foreign trade has undergone a fundamental change. Necessitated by the demands of economic development the imports are now mainly in

capital-goods while the country is finding it increasingly possible to manufacture consumer-goods for local and foreign markets. The most important exportable commodity from West Pakistan is cotton. The phenomenal growth of cotton textile industry in the province is now making it possible for the country to export cotton cloth to many African and Asian countries. Other important exports are hides and skins and wool. A number of cottage industries products like sports goods, surgical instruments, leather goods, embroideries, tapestries, and other fancy goods are also attracting foreign markets. The imports include machinery, vehicles, mineral oil, metals and ores, chemicals, drugs, and medicines.

The movement of goods within the province has also increased because of greater economic activity. The integration of West Pakistan into a single provincial unit in 1955 has facilitated domestic trade by removing provincial and state barriers. The rise of trade and commerce has opened new avenues of employment and a new class of people, specialized in distributive functions, is emerging.

Level of Living

An analysis of the estimates of national income of Pakistan indicates that there has been a moderate increase of 13 per cent in national income between 1949-50 and 1955-56.²⁹

During this period there was, however, only a slight increase in the contribution made by agriculture to the total national income while the share of manufactures was doubled. Despite an increase of 13 per cent in national income there was a minor increase of Rs. 7 (~~Rs.~~ \$1.50) in per capita income which went up from Rs. 230 (~~Rs.~~ \$48.3) to Rs. 237 (~~Rs.~~ \$49.8) in 1955-60.³⁰ Figures on per capita income in West Pakistan are not available but the national figures do approximate the conditions in the Western wing. It is obvious that the per capita income of Pakistan is very low even by Asian standards. Moreover, the per capita income is not a true index of the average level of living in view of great disparities in the distribution of national income.

Although appreciable progress has been made in restoring and improving social and economic life in the province since independence one finds little change in the life of the rural people. Their level of living remains very low, for a great majority of them are without adequate food, clothing, and shelter.

Values and Value Systems

The value systems of the rural people in West Pakistan

are dominated by land, family, and religion. Land is highly cherished by these agricultural communities; it is considered much more than an economic asset. The ownership of land symbolizes prestige and honour. As such, the farmer does not like to part with even a small piece of land. He would like it to remain unproductive than to be consolidated into a larger unit. Closely associated with the land is the farm animal, held in esteem as a source of wealth and prestige. The death of a buffalo or an oxen brings great sorrow and is a suitable occasion for offering condolences. The villager is almost a captive of his natural environment. His emotional attachment to the rivers, mountains and valleys is reflected in his legends, folklores, riddles and dances. The rural life is closely connected with the flow of the rivers, and this is depicted in the following description by Zakiye Eglar:

...the fields extend to the river Chenab, which to them is The River. The life of the people is closely connected with the flow of the river. Sitting in their home they feel its throb. During the summer months when the river rises, they ask who come and go to the river: 'How is The River?' just as if they were asking: 'How are you?...It is a source of romantic love, the love which is sung in all the Panjabi songs and in their love epics. 31

The individual and the family are two facets of the

31
 "Panjabi Village Life", Pakistan: Society and Culture,
op.cit., p. 64.

same thing. They are inter-woven by a thread of strong loyalties. Tribal loyalties in the north-western regions of West Pakistan and caste loyalties in the former Punjab and Sind are giving way to family loyalties. The birth of a boy is an occasion for rejoicing because he is considered to be a young man from birth and an addition to the power of the family. The birth of a girl gives rise to mixed feelings. "...to have a girl is a great responsibility for the family...there must not arise any occasion in which her name might be involved, because any blemish on her name makes vulnerable one aspect of the honor of the family, the dignity."³²

Closely related to the family are religion and morality. It is the express desire of the villager to perform his religious duties and act fairly at all stages of life as a son, brother, husband, parent, neighbour, and member of the village community. He longs to see that his children are well-married and continue his line. Home-making is highly coloured by religion in that a person considers it a religious injunction to continue his line and have good many children. The chastity and modesty of the woman are highly prized values of the rural society. Segregation of the sexes is appreciated. A woman may, however, go to the fields to assist her family members at work. The individual is usually content with what his share is

³² Ibid., p. 70.

in life, apportioned to him by God. "Kismat, or the concept of destiny, is ever present in the minds of the people. Death, sickness, unhappy marriage, loss of property — all of these are explained by referring to Kismat."³³

The villager does not think of time in terms of minutes or hours for he has a plenty of time at his disposal. His concept of time is defined by eight divisions of a day and night known as pehars that are based on the movement of the sun and stars. These pehars integrate his schedule of work, meals, and prayers. These broad divisions are an indication of the fact that the rural people are quite flexible in their concept of time. "Yet, for two occasions in their lives they are never late. One is the time of the arrival of a barat, or the bridegroom's party at the village of the bride.... The second occasion when they are never late is at a death."³⁴

Hospitality and generosity are highly cherished by the rural people. Wealth to them is not for personal glory but for becoming hospitable and generous. In his study of the people of Peshawar Valley Vreeland III makes the following comments:

Hospitality is important everywhere among the men. It is as much a symbol of status and prestige as it is in the hills. In regard to hospitality, the settled Pathan is most explicit about his divergences from tribal tradition.

³³ Ibid., p. 75.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

To him the tribal form of hospitality is an ideal which he is continuously hoping to equal. It is the proudest symbol both of his being a true Pathan, and a man worthy of esteem among Pathans.³⁵

The rural communities in other parts of the province likewise associate prestige and honour with hospitality and generosity. As a family tradition the latter must be upheld at any cost. Not infrequently do they run into debt in an effort to keep these values intact.

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Herbert H. Vreeland, "Pathans of the Peshawar Valley", Pakistan: Society and Culture, pp. 126-127.

Chapter III

PROBLEMS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The native of the underdeveloped country is often thought of as ignorant, lazy, and as a ne'er-do-well. He is illiterate, but not stupid; his ignorance stems from his poverty and his need to concentrate his time and energy on staying alive. He is not lazy; he is ill. He is not a ne'er-do-well; he has been demoralized by an oppressive social environment.¹

These remarks by Douglas F. Dowd, in a nut-shell, signify the plight of people in underdeveloped areas, and their validity for the rural areas of West Pakistan can hardly be questioned. Poor health, rapid population growth, illiteracy, poverty, mal-adjustments in group living, political instability, religious failings, inefficient agriculture, underdeveloped industries, price instabilities, and undesirable consumption habits are some of the most important problems of rural life that call for careful study and analysis. Most of these

¹ Douglas F. Dowd, "Two-Thirds of the World", Underdeveloped Areas, ed. Lyle W. Shannon, p. 19A.

problems are highly inter-related. Nevertheless, each problem is discussed individually but with due regard to underlying social and cultural forces.

High Mortality and Illhealth

The ebb and flow in the demographic history of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has been governed not by fluctuations in birth rates but has been the result of wars, banditries, famines and epidemics. Separate figures for West Pakistan are not available, yet the trends discernible in Table I approximate the mortality situation in the province.

TABLE I

Estimated Birth and Death Rates in British India
1881 - 1941

(Rates per thousand)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Birth Rates</u>	<u>Death Rates</u>
1881 - 1891	49	41.3
1891 - 1901	46	44.4
1901 - 1911	48	42.6
1911 - 1921	49	38.6
1921 - 1931	46	36.3
1931 - 1941	45	31.2

Source: Compiled from Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, pp. 36B, 69A.²

2

Kingsley Davis has calculated these rates from life tables. He believes that the official returns on births and deaths are greatly under-reported.

Now that local conflicts, like banditries and battles, famines, and epidemics have largely been eliminated, general mortality in West Pakistan has considerably dropped, as is evident from Table I. Compared with mortality rates in European countries, general mortality and infant mortality rates in the sub-continent are still very high. According to a United Nations report, the death rates in European countries ranged between 8.6 and 18.9 per thousand during 1937-39 while they were as high as an average of 31.2 for 1931-1941 in British India, as indicated by Table I. By 1950-51 the death rates in European countries had fallen to a minimum of 7.6 in the Netherlands.³ Like the general mortality rates, the infant mortality rate in the sub-continent is also distinctly high. Although it has dropped from 204.2 in 1911-15 to 161.0 in 1941-45⁴ it remains much above the infant mortality rates in Europe which ranged between 21.0 and 108.0 during 1950-51.⁵

Despite the advances in modern medicine there has been little change in popular health habits of the people, standards of living, the philosophy of life, and the techniques of controlling diseases in rural areas. Discussing the effectiveness

³ United Nations, Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, p. 12.

⁴ Kingsley Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, p. 35.

⁵ United Nations, op.cit., p. 14.

of modern medicine and the importance of social change Kingsley Davis says: "The danger in such ingenious control of mortality without basic social change is that the gains are insecure. Reduced mortality itself is a social development which ultimately will either force social changes to occur or will prove self-defeating."⁶ According to him the reduction of the death rate in recent decades is a tenuous thing and it will remain so until basic changes are incorporated into "The warp and woof" of the people.

Some of the important factors that account for the ill health of the rural people are the unhygienic environment, low resistance due to malnutrition, sub-standard housing, lack of adequate and potable water supply, want of medical care — preventive, diagnostic, and curative, and above all, poverty which is the prime-mover of the entire vicious circle. The National Planning Board reveals that only 6 per cent of the population has access to potable water supply. There is a great dearth of doctors, nurses, health visitors, and midwives. In December, 1954, the approximate ratios of doctors to population in Pakistan was 1:13,500 as compared with 1:1,000 in the United Kingdom.⁷ While about 85 per cent of the people

⁶ Kingsley Davis, op.cit., p. 52A.

⁷ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 610.

are living in villages a great majority of doctors and ancillary medical personnel is working in urban areas. The rural people remain without regular medical care. Malaria continues to take a heavy toll of life and health. It causes more sickness and loss of working power than any other disease, often at seasons when agricultural work is at its peak. Other diseases that account for high morbidity and mortality are tuberculosis, diarrhea, dysentery, and typhoid. Low expectancy of life and low productivity of human endeavour are, therefore, the natural outcomes which have their own chain of repercussions.

High Fertility and Population Growth

An understanding of demographic situation is not complete without an analysis of human fertility, absolute or differential, for it is the fertility which along with the decline in mortality, explains the growth of population in West Pakistan. While death, despite its "tenuous and possibly temporary reduction", is still tragically dominant fertility remains quite high. The rapid growth of population in the province is a serious drain on its limited natural resources and is, therefore, a great obstacle to social and cultural change.

For the whole sub-continent the average annual birth rate during 1951-45, according to official returns, was 28.3

per thousand but was estimated by Kingsley Davis to be as high as 45 during 1931-41, as indicated in Table I. In his opinion these estimated rates are minimum approximations; they are not⁸ incredibly high for a backward country like Pakistan or India. Yet when compared with rates of 15 to 25 per thousand in the heavily industrialized countries of Western Europe and northern North America these are considerably higher.⁹ A study of birth rates in West Pakistan reveals that fertility is higher among lower classes, agricultural groups, illiterates, and in the country than among higher social classes, non-agricultural groups, literates, and in urban areas.¹⁰ Therefore, the problem of high birth rates is all the more acute in the rural areas.

High Fertility and Institutional Patterns

To find out the factors that give rise to these high but defunctional birth rates, it is necessary to have an understanding of the institutional patterns dominating the rural society. In the words of Kingsley Davis, "It is through the relations of the nuclear family to the rest of the society,

⁸ Kingsley Davis, op.cit., p. 69B.

⁹ Hope T. Eldridge, "Population Growth and Economic Development", Underdeveloped Areas, op.cit., p. 62A.

¹⁰ Kingsley Davis, op.cit., pp. 70-82.

then, that we expect to find the social factors controlling the level of fertility." ¹¹ In the rural areas of West Pakistan, the composite family or the joint household is still dominating the nuclear family. The formation of the latter through marriage, its economic status, and the conduct of its members are all greatly influenced by elderly relatives. In such a situation, some of the social factors that have been held responsible by Kingsley Davis for high and relatively stable fertility in underdeveloped areas and which may well account for high and defunctional fertility in West Pakistan are as follows:

1. The economic cost of bringing up children does not impinge so directly and heavily on the parent as it would in the case of a more independent nuclear family.
2. "The inconvenience and effort of child care do not fall so heavily on the parents alone."
3. The age at marriage is quite young, for under the joint household the husband need not be able to support his wife and family.
4. "The young wife is motivated to have offspring as early as possible and in considerable numbers", for only then could she have a higher position in the domestic circle.
5. The man is motivated to demand offspring for he must

¹¹ "Institutional Patterns Favoring High Fertility in Underdeveloped Areas", Underdeveloped Areas, ed. Lyle W. Shannon, p. 89B.

perpetuate his family line and strengthen it.

6. The segregation of male and female roles and the institutional restriction of the latter to household duties tend to identify women with reproduction.

7. The value system, dominated by religious and moral values, tends to bolster the existing institutional arrangements.¹²

Rapid Population Growth

High fertility needs to be related to other problems of rural development for their proper understanding. This requires a study of the trends in population growth. In view of a great deal of under-enumeration in official returns Kingsley Davis prepared his own estimates of birth and death rates. These estimates in Table I (see page 48) reveal that whereas the mortality rates have fallen considerably the birth rates have registered only a moderate decline. These figures indicate that the rate of natural increase in population has, of late, been climbing. The National Planning Board computed an average reproduction rate of 1.29 per cent during 1931-51 for undivided India. After taking into consideration higher differential fertility of Muslims and net immigration it estimated the annual rate of natural increase in Pakistan during 1955-60

¹²

Ibid., pp. 90-94.

to be about 1.4 per cent.¹³ Commenting on the rate of population increase Kingsley Davis says:

The people of Pakistan and the Indian Union therefore expend a tremendous amount of biological and social energy in obtaining a fairly modest rate of population growth. In this respect their reproduction is like their agriculture, for there, too, they spend much labor in producing only mediocre results.¹⁴

This rate of increase is not very high but in view of the limited resources of the province, the magnitude of socio-economic problems, and the pace of economic development, it is indeed great.

Stresses on Family Living

The concern of the writer for the rural family goes beyond its growing size. The existing relationships between members of the family, nuclear or joint, and the impact of social change on the structure of the rural family are giving rise to some important problems which need to be analyzed.

Effect of the Joint Family

As already indicated, the rural family is patriarchal

¹³ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 190-191

¹⁴ The Population of India and Pakistan, p. 87B.

dominated by the authority of the father. As the head of the family, he distributes the work of joint household among family members in accordance with age and sex differences; decides the marital affairs of his sons, daughters, and grand-children; and trains them for work in the fields and for relations with members of the community. Sometimes the authority of the head may be almost absolute to the detriment of fuller growth of the family member as an individual. Akshaya R. Desai says:

...the rural family through its head, subordinates its individual members to itself. The latter are completely submerged in the family; hence they hardly develop any individuality or personality.

Such a family type can only be nursery for the ¹⁵ growth of family collectivism but not individuality.

The rural family being a unit of social and economic responsibility, the individual is appraised according to the status of the family to which he belongs. This is so much so that an infamous act by an individual member brings discredit to the family and the glory of his achievement also accrues to the family from which he comes. Since the rural family is a single economic unit, all members of the peasant household are expected to participate in the productive activity as their age and sex may warrant. The earnings of all members are held in common for the benefit of the family as a whole. In such an economic organization the members of the family do not consume

in proportion to their productive efforts. As such, frictions between members of the joint family are not uncommon and they may even have an adverse effect on production. The more efficient member may, therefore, lose incentive and cooperative spirit to work hard.

Impact of Urbanization ✓

It has already been stated that the rural family is more integrated, stable, and homogeneous than the urban family; and the ties binding the members of the former are stronger and last longer than in the case of the urban family. Lately, however, these characteristics of the rural family have been becoming less distinct under the impact of growing urbanization.

Under the impact of this urbanization the rural family is already indicating centrifugal tendencies. This is particularly true of villages which are in the suburbs of the cities. There, the institution of joint family is being disrupted as a growing number of its adults are demanding separation to earn their "own" living in the towns and cities and enjoy the amenities of more advanced living. The growth of this individualistic behavior is desirable in so far as it tends to inculcate greater self-reliance and initiative and promote mobility to make possible the self-realization of the individual. This however, brings losses by weakening or eliminating family bonds, cooperative relationships, and affection for the indigeneous agrarian culture. The impact of urbanization and

industrialization on the rural family means a transformation of the entire familistic rural framework with corresponding changes in production, consumption, reproduction, and a number of other social functions.¹⁶

Parenthood in Rural Family

Few tasks call for calmer thinking and greater care than selecting a mate. Under the joint-family set-up this function exclusively rests with the elderly members of the family. The factors that drive parents to arrange early marriages of their sons and daughters are, (a) the view of the family orientation which regards their daughters as a potential liability, (b) the keenness of the groom's family to expand the lineage, and (c) their view to regard marriage as a religious and moral obligation.

The birth of the child brings little addition to the responsibilities of the parents for he is subjected to the general care of the entire household. As such they do not care much about the changing physical, social and emotional needs of their growing children. Their knowledge and skills in child care and development remain primitive, conditioned by whim and superstition. They have little understanding of how to help their adolescents become independent and emotionally mature. Little respect is shown to the unique individuality and varied

potentialities of the individual members for under the authority of the head of the family, they should grow alike.

Disrupted Group Living

A considerable number of rural communities in West Pakistan which, in the past, enjoyed village-wide solidarity and harmonious inter-group relationships, are now beginning to break up. This may be largely attributed to the rehabilitation of refugees in a new physical and social setting, the impact of social and technological change on the family structure, and the socio-economic structure of the village community.

Repercussions of Mass Immigration

The partition of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent which resulted in a mass migration of refugees had a shattering effect on their group living. Forced by the vicissitudes of the partition to bid farewell to their homelands, they were further handicapped in not being able to resettle as groups of closely-related families which were an eminent feature of their abandoned villages. The villages occupied by the refugees became conglomerations of families coming from different regions and belonging to different social groups. The net effect was a loss of community feeling, mutual sympathy, and mutual help

which even to this day have not been made good. Inter-group relations in villages which were already partially inhabited by Muslims were far from friendly. TIME is a great healer but the villages affected by mass migrations still remain without a reasonable semblance of cooperative and sympathetic inter-group relationships although a period of eleven years has elapsed; village solidarity is still a mirage.

Impact of Disintegrating Rural Family

As indicated in the preceding section, the rural family is already showing centrifugal tendencies under the impact of urbanization and industrialization so that the family bonds and human relationships among family members are becoming more and more impersonal and dehumanized. These tendencies may be perceived, in varying degrees, in good many families of each village. Such tendencies have a cumulative effect of rendering the village an aggregate of disjointed families which lack the spirit for cooperative work to promote community welfare. Because the villagers lack community feeling there is little communication between different village communities except on the occasion of cattle fairs. Thus there is little exchange of views on common problems and no attempt to share experiences.

Barriers of Social Structure

The problems of group living are all the more acute in rural communities which have wide socio-economic gaps in their social structure. The fact that a person is a tenant or landlord, an ajlaf or ashraf, rich or poor tend to reduce social mobility. The social status of a person is determined by his birth. In any kind of group work leadership and initiative must always rest with an elderly figure from the top of the social hierarchy. There is not much communication between different social groups. All these factors combine to become a serious obstacle to community effort. Vreeland III in his significant comments on Pathans of the Peshawar Valley points out:

Looking at the village as a whole, it is thus apparent that when any extensive cooperative activity is initiated within the village, in either an economic or a political direction the cooperating group involves either landlords or tenants, but not both, and if landlords are involved only those families which are closely related and compatible will normally respond. Any suggestion for joint action thus tends to hit eventually some barriers of disinterest, distrust, or hostility. Attention to this state of affairs is drawn quite explicitly by village religious leaders, particularly at burial services which are the only occasions when a representative sample of the whole village is on hand. Village-wide cooperation and solidarity is the religious leader's theme song, but there is little response. The result is that in time of disaster, or when there are other needs affecting the village at large, the villagers turn to the outside to a paternalistic government for help. This despondency complex appears well-developed and strongly entrenched throughout the Peshawar Valley and

applies to both the landlord and the tenant classes.¹⁷

This state of affairs is not confined to the Peshawar Valley; it may be generalized for the entire province. In fact, the landlord-tenant dichotomy in the former Sind is even more distinct. In the former Punjab the relations between the refugees and local inhabitants still lack harmony.

Crises in Politico-Religious Life

The political history of Pakistan bears witness to repeated failures of national leadership to establish democratic institutions in the country, resolve national issues like Kashmir, Canal Waters, and the rehabilitation of refugees, bring an end to corruption and inefficiency in public administration, solve the crisis in rural economy, and check increasing inequalities in the distribution of national income. This catalogue of failures on the part of the Government bred discontentment and disillusion among all levels of the people who, in turn, developed an attitude of despondency and irresponsibility. They regarded the Government as a "vague, monolithic

¹⁷ Herbert H. Vreeland III, "Pathans of the Peshawar Valley", Pakistan: Society and Culture, ed. Stanley Maron, p. 131.

and Omniscient organ which could give or withhold at will".
As such, they also contributed to the demise of democracy.

Failure of Democracy

The democratic political institutions in the country succumbed to injuries caused by feudal interests, factionalism, regional and provincial strifes, selfishness of the politicians, improper political behaviour of the electorate, and negation of the spirit of the Constitution. In his reflections on political situation in the country Keith Callard says:

There has been little reason for the voter in Pakistan to develop the feeling that he was the master of the central or provincial government. ...The working of the political system has not served as a means of civic education for the public. The discussion of issues has usually been subordinated to the struggle for office and prestige. Political parties have been organized from the top downward... The programmes of the parties have meant nothing to the ordinary man.¹⁹

These comments are even more true of the tiller of the soil. Oppressed by his social environment, he found little meaning in his so-called freedom. Because of the ignorance emanating from the farmer's illiteracy and relative isolation, the politician was able to play with his emotions through the medium of public meeting and demonstration. The newspaper

¹⁸

Keith Callard, Pakistan: A Political Study, p. 267.

¹⁹

Ibid., pp. 269-270.

content that had passed on to him orally was often malicious and inciting.²⁰ The Panjab Disturbances of 1953,²¹ fomented by politico-religious elements, serve as an appropriate illustration of these unscrupulous acts. By October 1958 the chaos in political life had driven the country to a point where the end of the so-called constitutional rule became inevitable, and even desirable.

Decayed Local Self-Government

The political life at village or district level has been similarly marred by a number of factors. Adequate powers to local authorities usually lend stability to democratic rule. The local authorities in West Pakistan have, however, been subjected to the pressures of provincial and central authorities. A large number of local district boards have remained suspended. Except in the former Punjab, elected local village councils have been largely non-existent. The villages have been, therefore, subjected to the control of provincial

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Ibid., p.272.

21

These disturbances were caused by an agitation of orthodox Muslims against the Ahmadis, the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d.1908) who claimed to be a prophet as well as to be the promised Messiah. The motives of the movement that created considerable disorder and threatened governmental stability in West Pakistan were both religious and political. In the early stages, the movement was actually initiated and conducted by a discredited politico-religious group. See Government of Punjab, Report of Court of Inquiry into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953.

authorities without leaving any initiative and self-rule in the hands of the villagers. Referring to this void created by an absence of adequate local control Vreeland III sharply remarks:

It is probably to be expected also that this structural vacuum between the village and the provincial government has been filled by various forms of administrative "bossism". Villagers are forced to deal with several echelons of appointed agents and officials particularly those of the revenue department, who, being underpaid, are prone to accept bribes and falsify records and evidence, thus encourage mistrust and tension between villagers, and ultimately reinforce the existing fractures in the village society.²²

It is probably unjust to criticize the provincial authorities for not relaxing their grip. The fact is that the local district boards and village councils have also been dominated by unscrupulous politicians and landlords for furthering their own interests and prestige to the detriment of community welfare.

Religious Failings

The struggle for Pakistan was launched by the Muslims of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent because they wanted to lead their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam. During eleven years of independence little attempt has, however, been made to develop an Islamic outlook on life that would

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Herbert H. Vreeland III, op.cit., p. 133.

embrace social, political, and cultural aspects of human behaviour. The landlord has shown little respect for the Islamic values of brotherhood and equality. The politician did not hesitate to exploit the masses and play with their emotions. The rich or the well-to-do has brushed aside the Islamic principles of social justice and has thrived at the expense of the poor and the under-privileged. Even general moral principles have been thrown to the wind by all Muslims alike.

Since the politico-religious leaders have not hesitated to raise the slogan of 'Islam in danger' to grind their own axe, as in the case of the anti-Ahmadiya movement, the relations between the average Muslim and the religious leader, even though the latter may have good intentions, have become characterized by mutual distrust. The Muslim has become impassive partly for lack of enlightened leadership and partly for his own irrational approach to religious matters. Deploring these facts Chief Justice Mohammad Munir remarks that the Muslim "finds himself in a state of helplessness, waiting for someone to come and help him out of this morass of uncertainty and confusion." He adds:

Nothing but a bold re-orientation of Islam to separate the vital from the lifeless can preserve it as a World Idea and convert the Muslim into a citizen of the present and the future world from the archaic incongruity that he is today....

It is this lack of bold and clear thinking, the inability to understand and take decisions

which has brought about in Pakistan a confusion..."²³

The life of the average Muslim in rural areas has become all the more static and stagnant in view of his approach to his everyday problems. For example, in his view the saints are credited with cures and miracles; so he is more inclined to turn to them for the solution of his everyday problems. "The man in his field with a sick ox or cow appeals to his favourite and appropriate saint. If that does not serve the purpose, then it is the will of Allah."²⁴ He has been incapacitated by his attitude of resignation; and Islam, as a way of life, has lost meaning to him.

Outmoded Agriculture

The economy of West Pakistan rests mainly on agriculture that is characterized by a low level of production. Lately, this most important sector of the economy has been showing a downward trend in productivity which may be largely attributed to primitive agricultural and an out-moded agrarian structure.

²³ Government of the Punjab, Report of the Court of Inquiry into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953, p. 232.

²⁴ Gamal-Eddine Heyworth-Dunne, Pakistan: The Birth of a New Muslim State, p. 48.

Trends in Agricultural Productivity

A study of comparative crop yields reveals that in Pakistan these are among the lowest in the world. Table II compares yields per acre for wheat, paddy and maize in Pakistan and some other countries.

TABLE II

Yields Per Acre in Different Countries
(in lbs. per acre)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Paddy</u>	<u>Maize</u>
Pakistan	768	1,249	946
Egypt	1,620	3,519	1,859
Japan	1,332	3,361	1,036
Italy	1,218	4,522	1,719
France	1,392	2,293	946

Source: Ministry of Food and Agriculture. ²⁵

The cause for alarm is not so much the result of low agricultural yields in Pakistan compared with yields in other countries, but is more an outcome of the fact that little progress has been made in improving the productivity of agriculture. On the other hand, a decline in yield per acre of foodgrains which form more than 80 per cent of the cropped area has been registered between 1948-49 and 1954-55. This is evident

²⁵
Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Economic Affairs,
Report of the Economic Appraisal Committee, p. 56.

from Table III.

TABLE III
Yield Per Acre of Principal Food Crops in Pakistan
(mounds - 82 2/7 lbs. per acre)

	<u>1948-49</u>	<u>1954-55</u>
Rice	10.6	9.7
Wheat	10.2	8.1
Barley	7.9	6.2
Maize	10.8	10.8
Sugarcane	40.1	33.4

Source: Ministry of Food and Agriculture. 26

Except rice, all these crops are produced mainly in West Pakistan. The decline in productivity has caused a serious problem of food-shortage which has gone a long way in lowering the purchasing power of both the individual and the nation.

Causes of Low Productivity

The problem of low yields has been complicated by a number of socio-economic factors. The growth of rural population has forced the farmer to bring marginal and sub-marginal

lands, with low productivity potential, under cultivation. In conjunction with the law of inheritance the growth of population has further undermined the efficiency of agriculture by multiplying the process of sub-division and fragmentation of land holdings. Among the natural factors that have acted to keep the yields at a low level are the alternating strong sunshines of the tropical climate, erosion of top-soil caused by torrential rains and wind, and droughts and floods due to the vagaries of monsoons. The margin of safety provided by irrigation has been far from adequate and reliable in view of the heavy demand on the Indus Basin and Canal Water Dispute with India. Moreover, irrigation has not been an unmixed blessing. It has created serious problems of water-logging and salinity. Almost anything that the land yields is consumed as food, fodder, or fuel; thus, very little returns to the soil to replenish its fertility. The farmer lacks an adequate understanding of the rotation of crops. Animal diseases and crop pests have their own adverse effects on yields. Agricultural implements are still largely primitive and the farmer, obsessed by his conservatism, is hesitant to accept better tools. Lack of adequate credit facilities prevents him to make some fundamental improvements in land. Added to these factors are the illiteracy, mal-nutrition, and conservatism of the farmer which tend to make him a much less important factor in production. The last and by far the most important factor is the oppressive social environment

in which the farmer is forced to languish. An analysis of land relations in relation to agricultural production reveals the significance of the problem.

Land Relations in the Agrarian Structure

The agrarian structure of West Pakistan supports a big class of farmers who do not own any land and a small class of landlords who own vast areas of land. According to 1951 census only 56.3 per cent of the land workers in West Pakistan owned land while 41.4 per cent of them were tilling the soil as tenants.²⁷ The concentration of land in the hands of the few is a source of many social and economic ills in the province. Although recent figures on the distribution of land are not available Table IV is, nevertheless, a useful index of the pattern of land distribution in the province.

Table IV indicates that less than one-third of the cultivated area is owned by almost 80 per cent of the owners while the rest is held by only a small minority. The conditions in the former North-West Frontier Province are no better. In former Sind the conditions have been even worse for about 80 per cent of the total land is cultivated by tenants-at-will.²⁸

²⁷ J. Andrus Russell and Azizali F. Mohammad, The Economy of Pakistan, p. 24.

²⁸ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 309.

TABLE IV
Area Owned Including Uncultivated Area by Size of
Holdings in the Former Panjab

<u>Size of Holdings</u>	<u>Acres</u> (% of total)	<u>Number of Owners</u> (% of total)
Less than 10 acres	31.8	78.7
10 to 99 acres	46.7	20.7
100 to 499 acres	11.2	0.5
500 and above	10.3	0.1

Source: Reports of the Tenancy Laws Inquiry
Committee, Punjab, Appendix IV.²⁹

The concentration of land in the hands of a few has been accompanied by absentee landlordism which shows no interest in the welfare of the tenant or in improving land. The tenant has little incentive to work hard because he is not sure of his legal share in the crop in view of the unscrupulous means that the landlord so often uses for social and economic exploitation. Discussing the comparative position of these two human elements in the agrarian structure, the National Planning Board says:

Landlords enjoy high economic and social status, and with influence in politics and administration are able to exploit the tenants in various

ways, thereby obstructing and delaying the process by which tenants can raise their economic and social status. The tenant usually has little means of redress since so far as he is concerned the officials are a part of the system which the landlords control.³⁰

Since the tenant lacks the security of his tenure, he is without status and dignity, and is not guaranteed the fruit of his labour; he has no motivation to bring about improvement in agriculture. He has "no higher motive than to continue to exist as best he can without rights, without opportunities and without status or dignity."³¹ This situation is quite incompatible with the growth of a healthy rural society. It is gratifying to note that the national government has, after all, decided to introduce land reforms in West Pakistan, a decision which may well be a landmark in the history of the nation.

Underdeveloped Industries

Trend Toward Industrialization

Although West Pakistan is a predominantly agricultural region, there has been a growing trend toward industrialization. The growth of industries has offered to the people another economic base which may assume considerable significance in

³⁰Ibid., p. 309.

³¹Ibid.

the course of time. The trend toward industrialization is evident from changes in the distribution of civilian labour force between 1951 and 1955, as indicated in Table V.

TABLE V
Industrial Distribution of Civilian Labour Force
in West Pakistan, 1951 and 1955.

<u>Economic Group</u>	<u>Census 1951 (per cent)</u>	<u>Sample Manpower Survey 1955 (per cent)</u>
Agriculture	66.0	54.5
Manufacturing	9.5	15.1
Trade and Commerce	6.7	8.3

Source: Manpower Survey Report. ³²

Table V indicates that the proportion of civilian labour force engaged in agriculture to the total industrial labour force has considerably decreased between 1951 and 1955. On the other hand many more persons are engaged in manufacturing, trade and commerce than were in 1951. This means that the economy has become many-sided without however belittling the significance of agriculture. This is because agriculture and industry in the province are complementing each other.

³² The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 195. Only three major economic groups have been included in the Table.

Problems of Industrialization

Although the development of industries, according to the National Planning Board, has been spectacular, it cannot be assumed that the process of industrialization has had a smooth function. Industrialization is a social as well as an economic revolution. The migration of workers from agriculture to industry gives rise to problems of housing, sanitation, new ways of living, and family disruptions and dislocations. The use of comparatively cheap factory production by the rural people is bringing about changes in the ways in which they live, work, and think. "Enormous problems of human adjustment and of social and economic policy fill the path of industrialization with hazards of all kinds..."³³

Large-scale industries: The development of industries in West Pakistan has been mainly in large units and is largely restricted to urban areas. The problems that beset the development of industries are very closely related to rural life. One of the most significant problems is the availability of very limited foreign exchange, so badly needed for importing capital goods. The foreign exchange is procured by exporting agricultural raw materials. On the other hand, these raw materials are also needed for local industries. The growth of industries

³³ Ibid., pp. 395-396.

is therefore highly dependent on the efficiency of agriculture. Since, however, agriculture is marred by low productivity, the pace of industrialization is substantially conditioned by this negative force. The underdeveloped base of agriculture, which supports the rural masses at subsistence-level, leaves neither a place for adequate capital formation nor enough purchasing power to stimulate the demand for factory production.

Small-scale industries: The development of small-scale or cottage industries which are more intimately related to rural life has, however, remained far from spectacular. A great majority of the farmers still remains idle for a greater part of the year. After sowing their crops the farmers do not have much to do. Other avenues of employment to keep them busy during off-season remain almost non-existent. Those few cottage industries that exist in urban or rural areas are facing some important problems of finance, marketing, and raw materials. The industry is in need of both short-term and long-term credit for purchase of raw materials and working expenses. There is almost a complete absence of standardization of manufactured goods which also lack finish. The cottage worker is conservative and tradition-bound and is often unaware of changing wants and fashions. Lack of education makes him suspicious and thus he hesitates to choose new designs and try out new techniques and tools. Any move

34
 J. Russell Andrus and Azizali F. Mohammad, The Economy of Pakistan, pp. 198-201.

to integrate the cottage industry with the traditional agriculture is very likely to increase the intensity of these problems.

Price Instabilities and Defective Marketing

It is true that the low productivity of agriculture forces the farmer to languish in poverty, but that is not the end of his sorrows. A multiplicity of factors tend to make his production highly variable and subject it to wide price fluctuations. He is further disabled to obtain a just price for the meagre produce that he carries to the market because of defective marketing. His incomes therefore continue to remain low, and so his level of living.

Oscillations in Prices

The factors that have made agricultural production highly variable (some of them already referred above) are the variable climatic conditions, changing water-levels in rivers and canals, the occurrence of floods and droughts, losses from locust invasions, and similar reasons. The prices of agricultural products have not, however, been determined by the nature of supply alone. On many occasions since independence the demand for agricultural products has indeed been quite a

powerful determinant of their price, especially of non-food crops. The loss of the Indian market following the independence, the devaluation of the pound sterling in September, 1949, the economic boom created by the Korean war, the consequent recession, and the devaluation of Pakistani rupee in July, 1955 have been turning points in the unstable price structure of the province. All these forces are discernible in the fluctuating prices of major primary products of the province. Table VI includes the indices of unit values of three leading export commodities of the province during April-June quarter of each year from 1949 to 1956.

The figures in Table VI bear testimony to the fact that the farmer is exposed to considerable fluctuations in prices of agricultural products conditioned by both local situations and international market conditions. His inability to make rather quick adjustments in his output to varying demands places him in an all the more difficult situation. His situation is therefore greatly weakened; during recessions or deflationary conditions he is the principle loser while during booms and periods of inflation his gains are much less than those of other major economic groups.

TABLE VI

Indices of Unit Values of Cotton, Wool, and Hides
and Skins, April-June Quarters, 1949-56

(April 1948 to March 1949 = 100)

<u>Period</u>	<u>Cotton</u>	<u>Wool</u>	<u>Hides and Skins</u>
April-June 1949	110.9	110.6	123.3
April-June 1950	98.7	111.1	87.6
April-June 1951	194.3	270.0	154.4
April-June 1952	139.0	102.3	83.2
April-June 1953	84.3	161.3	92.0
April-June 1954	94.8	160.0	90.4
April-June 1955	81.8	164.6	94.3
April-June 1956	105.3	204.5	98.2

Source: Statistical Bulletin, Central Statistical Office³⁵

Defects in Marketing

When the farmer carries his produce which varies both in amount and quality he is besieged by a number of other problems. Some of his serious handicaps are the lack of adequate information on market conditions, inadequate transport facilities, and difficulties in storing and processing agricultural produce. These factors in conjunction with his

dire need for money often force him to sell his produce immediately after harvest when the prices are low. In the market he has to deal with a number of middlemen who take away fat profit margins in return for inefficient and expensive services. They are skilled in fraudulent practices and are competent enough to rob the farmer of a fair price. The markets are characterized by lack of uniformity in weights and measures, absence of proper regulations, and the indifferent, unstandardized quality of agricultural produce; the middlemen exploit all these lacks to their advantage. The farmer, on the other hand, handicapped by the inadequacy of his market intelligence and lack of understanding of number concepts into meaningful relationships is all at bay. All these factors combine to deprive the farmer of fair returns for the produce that he carries to the market.

Low Level of Living

The cumulative effect of low productivity of agriculture, lack of supplementary occupations, defective marketing, and instabilities in price structure is that the average farmer remains without adequate means to support a reasonable level of living. During bad years he may have to lead a life of privation and suffering and be forced into heavy debt.

As already indicated in the previous chapter the per

capita income of Pakistan, estimated to be Rs.237 (~~\$~~49.8) is still among the lowest in the world. Despite the fact that there has been an increase of 13 per cent in national income between 1949-50 and 1955-56, the increase in per capita income is only about 3 per cent.³⁶ This may be attributed to two factors; first, the population of the country has continued to increase at a high rate, and secondly, the contribution made by agriculture to national income has remained almost stationary.³⁷ Other sectors of the economy like trade and commerce, transport and communication, mining, and manufacturing have, however, increased their share in national income but they are not yet quite important when compared with agriculture. Moreover, there are considerable disparities in the distribution of national income. All these considerations make it obvious that per capita income of a vast majority of people living in rural areas is much less than Rs. 237 (~~\$~~49.8).

It is often the case that the income of the average farmer lags far behind his consumption needs. How to balance his budget is always a nightmare for him. His need for money is almost perpetual; he needs it to pay off land revenue, water tax and interest, to purchase consumer goods, and to take care of ceremonial and religious expenses. The cleavage

³⁶ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 28.

³⁷ Ibid., pp.27-28.

between his high expenditure and low income drives him into debt. The debt that he incurs is usually for his current needs than for investment in improving land. Very often the money that he borrows is spent for unproductive purposes. Because he associates prestige and honour with hospitality and excessive spending he is tempted to become spendthrift on occasions like religious ceremonies, marriages, and festivals. Instead of augmenting his productive capacity the borrowings tend to multiply his indebtedness which becomes a standing curse to him with serious economic, social, and moral consequences. Indebtedness leads to agricultural inefficiency, creates class friction between the creditor and debtor classes, and leads the cultivator to lose his ancestral property and in many cases his economic freedom.³⁸

The use of the limited resources for consumption goods is also open to question because the farmer and his family are not well-versed in the basic principles of home economics and domestic science. Their food consumption and nutritional levels are still far from satisfactory. Dietary matters are primarily limited by low purchasing power and economic capacity for a considerable section of the rural population is struggling for enough food to keep alive, but the dietary habits of people living at intermediate economic levels can be greatly

improved. The great imbalance which characterizes food supplies per capita in Pakistan is the dominance of cereals, pulses, and spices at the expense of such rich sources of food as vegetables, meat, eggs, fats and milk.³⁹ In most villages except those in the neighbourhood of cities there are some related problems like the prejudices against raising vegetables and poultry for they are considered as inferior occupations. Housing and furnishing are also highly unsatisfactory. The mud houses have very inadequate arrangements for light and ventilation. Unsanitary and crowded shelter is the usual case in most parts of the province.

This chapter has been devoted to an analysis of major problems of rural development with one notable exception, the high illiteracy in the province. Since all problems of rural development are highly inter-related, the problem of illiteracy was never out of sight. A detailed analysis of this problem in its manifold relationships with other problems of rural development is the major concern of the following chapter.

39
United Nations, Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, p. 48.

Chapter IV

OBJECTIVES OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Before an attempt is made to discuss the objectives of adult education in West Pakistan it is desirable to take stock of the situation in the province in regard to rural development and adult education programmes. In the light of an analysis of these programmes it is, then, possible to formulate the objectives of adult education that would promote rural development in the province.

Rural Development and Adult Education in Perspective

Ever since independence the Central and Provincial Governments have been alive to the urgent need for tackling the problems of rural development. A number of development projects have been undertaken to improve agriculture and irrigation, generate more power, and develop industries and

the means of communication. In September, 1950 a Six-Year Plan was hurriedly drawn up. Since at that time the process of planning was not yet well-advanced, many inadequacies and omissions were discovered when the plan was put into effect. In February, 1951 another Two-Year Priority Programme was, therefore, chalked out to supersede the original Plan.¹ From time to time new schemes were added to the Programme. Economic and social development in the country continued at a steady pace but remained out of tune with these plans. A more comprehensive and realistic programme awaited the creation of the National Planning Board in July, 1953. The Board was entrusted with the task of preparing a national plan of development to cover five years from 1955 to 1960. It was on April 15, 1957 that the First Five Year Plan, 1955-60 drawn up by the Board was approved by the National Economic Council.

First Five Year Plan, 1955-60

In its discussion of the social and economic objectives of the Plan, the National Planning Board has been quick to appreciate the fact that the people rightly desire and insist upon a rapid social and economic change. The urges that are agitating the hearts of Pakistani men and women, according to the Board, are that the era dominated by inequalities of

¹ Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Report of the Economic Appraisal Committee, p. 139.

opportunities and wide disparities in the distribution of incomes and wealth should come to an end, that the right to adequate means of living, right to education, and the right to reasonable standards of work be recognized, and that poverty and illiteracy be banished. These ideals are not easy of accomplishment; the process is both long and arduous, and needs "generosity, vision and courage from those holding economic, social and political power in their hand; and patience, perseverance, discipline, cooperation, and understanding from others." The process of development could be greatly facilitated if man-made artificial barriers are removed. Outdated institutions which no longer serve any social or economic purpose need to be discarded or re-modelled. At the same time the growth of new institutions, more suited to the changing circumstances, needs to be encouraged.²

The fundamental objectives of the First Five Year Plan are as follows:

- " (a) To raise the national income and the standard of living of the people;
- (b) To improve the balance of payments of the country by increasing exports and by production of substitutes for imports;
- (c) To increase the opportunities for useful employment in the country;

² The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, pp. 2-3.

- (d) To make steady progress in providing social services: housing, education, health, and social welfare; and
- (e) To increase rapidly the rate of development, especially in East Pakistan and other relatively less developed areas.³

In view of the limited resources of the country the Plan is far from being ambitious. An increase of 15 per cent in national income is expected during the Plan period; the rise in per capita income is, however, expected to be only about 7 per cent. The Plan is expected to have a direct effect on rural life in a variety of ways and in varying degrees. The Plan provides for an expanding Village Agricultural and Industrial Development (Village AID) programme; about 5,000 village workers are expected to be trained and posted to about 26,000 villages during the Plan period. In the agricultural sector the basic target of the Plan is to secure adequate food supply to meet the needs of the growing population. Such measures as agricultural research, extension service, and the provision of fertilizers, equipment and pesticides are emphasized to achieve a more diversified and valuable agricultural output. The Plan envisages an increase of 9 per cent in food supply, and large increases in cotton,

³ Ibid., p. 13.

oilseeds, sugarcane, fruits, and vegetables. A number of multi-purpose projects are underway to improve irrigation facilities, reclaim lands from salinity and water-logging and generate hydro-electricity; it is expected that 1.5 million acres of new land will be brought under irrigation and 3.5 million acres will be provided with suitable irrigation facilities or will be reclaimed in West Pakistan by 1960. The production of large-scale industries is expected to increase by 75 per cent. Small-scale and cottage industries are to be helped through research, trading, financing, and advisory services.⁴

It may be pointed out that the Plan gives high priority to the rural sector. This is evident from the fact that one-third of the planned public expenditure has been allocated to this area through agriculture, Village AID, irrigation, reclamation, and drainage programmes.⁵ The programme which is most intimately connected with uplifting and developing the rural people is, however, the Village AID.

Village Agricultural and Industrial Development Programme

The fact that the nucleus of the life of over eighty

⁴ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

per cent of the population of West Pakistan is the village has necessitated a programme that would reconstruct life in the village so that the people in the village may lead a fuller, richer, and healthier life. The Village AID programme is an expression of the belief that the "tremendous reserves of energy which lie virtually dormant in the villages must be stimulated and released. Millions of rural people can do more to improve their lives than can be done by the Government through a few large-scale schemes."⁶ The Government helps by providing specialists in various fields and by making available physical resources not available in the village.

Objectives of the Village AID programme: "The basic concept of the Village AID programme is to provide a means by which technical and financial assistance from the Government can be used to draw forth the resources of skill, energy and money which exist in the village, to channel them into productive uses and to create means by which they can be progressively enlarged."⁷

Some of the more important objectives of the programmes are:

- "(a) To raise the output and income of the villagers through better methods of farming, and the

⁶
Ibid., p. 197.

⁷
Ibid.

- expansion of cottage industries;
- (b) To create a spirit of self-help, initiative and cooperation among the villagers — a spirit that can be the basis for continuing economic, social and political progress;
 - (c) To multiply the community services available in rural areas — such as schools, health centres, pure water supplies, etc; and
 - (d) To create conditions for a richer and higher life through social activities including recreation for men and women.⁸

The fundamental element underlying the philosophy of the Village AID programme is the concept of self-help. The old policy of unilateral government action to improve rural life without the participation of the people is now considered obsolete. The cherished ideal is not so much the improvements in village life as the creation of a feeling among the people that the improvement has been accomplished by their own efforts.⁹ Village AID is much more than a programme of "Agricultural and Industrial Development" as indicated by its name (It may be pointed out that this programme is expected to be renamed as Community Development Project).¹⁰ It is a programme that

⁸
Ibid., p. 197.

⁹
Ibid.

¹⁰
Dawn, January 21, 1959, p. 1A.

aims at both arousing enthusiastic participation of the people of the community and sustaining it so that they may become progressive, self-respecting and confident citizens.¹¹

Organization, planning, and priorities: The basic unit in the Village AID programme is a development area which includes 150 villages with a population of about 100,000. The staff in the development area consists of village workers, supervisors, a development officer and subject-matter specialists of various development departments. The specialists cover such technical fields as farm management (agriculture), animal husbandry, cooperation and marketing, health and sanitation, works supervision, social education, cottage and small industries, fisheries, forestry, and range-management. These specialists working full-time under the operational control of the Development Officer, are expected to give advice and assistance to the village workers and the villagers in tackling their problems. The village worker, in charge of five to ten villages, is more directly concerned with what happens to the villagers than any other member of the staff; his friendly, sympathetic, and enlightened approach to their problems fires them with enthusiasm to work for their own regeneration.

Planning and development work is guided by the expressed desires or felt needs of the people. Thus different

¹¹ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 198.

villages may have different priorities as to the type of community activity they like to start; some may like to begin with improving sanitation or agriculture; others may feel stronger about combating illiteracy. A new development area, during its first year of the programme, usually gives priority to the needs for improvements in agriculture, roads, and sanitation; any village is, however, free to begin with education or any other welfare activity.

Village AID as Community Development Programme

The term "Community Development", in its broadest sense, may include a variety of developmental activities, including the Egyptian Social Centre, the American Extension Service, and the Community School, for all these types aim at promoting the development of the community. According to Mounir H. Khoury, Community Development does not have any nucleus while most development activities do have certain nuclei of one sort or another. "Start where the people are" is its only home-base. "The only services it deals with are those that pertain to the 'felt needs' of the people. This is actually the essence of modern Community Development; start where the people are, and respond only to their felt needs." ¹²

¹² The Rural Community and its "Development" in the Arab World, unpublished thesis for the degree of Ph.D., Cornell University, 1958, p. 114.

Three approaches to Community Development: Murray G. Ross believes that three major approaches to Community Development are being pursued in underdeveloped countries.

The first approach embodies a scientific technique or programme implanted by an external agent, or agents without consulting the people of the community. The agent enters the community with a project or programme the general nature of which is determined by him alone. His concern for the feelings of the people in the community in respect to the innovation he desires to introduce is limited only to the degree to which they support it.

The second approach termed by Ross as the "multiple" approach recognizes the "indivisibility of the community life" and the need to provide for the "social consequences of technical change." Although the impact of certain technical changes on the whole culture is emphasized the approach nonetheless deals with the whole through quite distinct parts such as education, health, and industry. This approach is not merely interested in technical change but also has an absorbing interest in the social repercussions of the technical change in terms of, for example, health, education, and social welfare.

The third approach, referred to as "inner resource" approach, stresses the need to encourage the communities to identify their own wants and needs, and to work cooperatively to solve their own problems. The role of the agent of change

is that of a "catalyst". In this approach technical change follows social movement and not vice versa. "Change comes as a community sees the need for change and as it develops the will and capacity to make changes it feels desirable. Direction is established internally, rather than externally."¹³

Evaluation of the Village AID programme: In the light of the objectives and organization of the programme discussed in the preceding section it is obvious that it is not a programme implanted by an external agent; it is a programme that encompasses all important phases of the life of the village communities and, at the same time, uses the "inner drives" of the people as spring-boards for developing and improving their life. It combines both the "multiple" and "inner-resource" approaches to Community Development suggested by Murray G. Ross. The programme has "multiple" approach in the sense that it starts community activity in a variety of fields like agriculture, sanitation, and education; it combines "inner resource" approach in that it encourages the rural communities to identify their own problems and work cooperatively to solve them. The village worker acts merely as a "catalyst".

The basic philosophy of the programme is commendable but as to the working of the programme it is rather early to make any final comment. The programme was introduced only a

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Murray G. Ross, Community Organization, pp. 7-14.

few years ago and has not yet embraced even one-fourth of the population. Dr. George C. Fetter¹⁴ believes that there is a tendency on the part of the agricultural expert, or the technician to overlook the fact that "culture is a unified concept. It is not possible to introduce a particular aspect of change without appreciating how it will affect other areas of culture, thought, values, and so on." He adds, however, that such aspects of the community as better schools, sanitation and social welfare ultimately depend upon more income. The people are interested in "visible, tangible and immediate results." Unless the people see a lot of more tangible results they won't feel very enthusiastic and excited about the programme.

The programme is excellent in that all major areas of rural development are covered. Dr. Fetter feels that in certain development areas education and cottage industries are quite strong. Serious difficulties are, however, encountered in the field of home economics, for women "do not yet have the green light" to go out, secure some education and return to the

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Dr. Fetter of the Department of Sociology, American University of Beirut, visited a number of Village AID development areas in West Pakistan during February, 1959 on his fortnight tour of the province. The evaluation of the Village AID largely reflects his views which the writer recorded in an interview with him on March 22, 1959. Any other evidence or information on the actual operation of the Village AID is lacking.

village in the role of teachers. Commenting on agricultural extension service he says that contact with the farmers is not enough; it is interpreted in terms of supplying them with pamphlets, posters and pictures; direct help on the farm is lacking. On the other hand, cooperation and initiative on the part of most village communities are still lacking. The efficiency of the village worker is greatly handicapped by the fact that he is over-worked. Deputed to work in five to ten villages he is in a position to get to every village only once every two months. The multiple approach to Community Development demands that at least in the initial stages he should be able to work constantly in the village. One encouraging fact, according to Dr. Fetter, is the fact that the Government, the Village AID Administration, the national leadership, the intelligentsia and good many rural communities are showing great concern for improving rural life.

Adult Education in Retrospect

Various attempts that the Government and private welfare organizations have made in the past to establish adult schools or literacy centres bear witness to the fact that there has been an awareness of the high percentage of illiteracy in the province and the hurdles it places in the way of social and cultural advancement. Several lukewarm attempts made to educate the adult population date as far back as 1917

when a number of measures through the instrumentality of local bodies were adopted in the former Punjab to fight illiteracy.¹⁵ For the most part the efforts made during the last few decades have, however, been unsuccessful. The factors that contributed to their failure are that reliance was placed upon school teachers and voluntary workers without special training; inadequate provision was made for making suitable teaching materials available; and the curriculum was limited to teaching in the three R's.¹⁶

It may be recalled that 80 to 85 per cent of the adults are still unable to read and write. About half of the primary age children are still out of schools. It is, however, believed that if steady progress in expanding educational facilities is maintained the country may reasonably expect to achieve a universal system of compulsory primary education in about twenty years. If this estimate holds true the country cannot escape the problem of illiteracy for at least two decades yet to come. Another important factor that tends to aggravate the problem of adult education is that a large percentage of the children who complete the fifth and final year of primary education are unable to continue their education at the

¹⁵ K. Mohyeddin, "Let Us Educate Our Adults", The Pakistan Times, January 25, 1959, p. 5A.

¹⁶ The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60, p. 587.

secondary level; many of them again lapse into illiteracy and ignorance to join the larger community of illiterate adults after a few years for the simple reason that the system of primary education is largely divorced from the problems of rural life and fails to reconstruct their behaviours and attitudes to fit the needs of a dynamic rural society. The pace of social and economic development in the province is expected to be quickened in the near future; this implies that the rural society will be expected to assume a more dynamic character, and will thus create a greater need for adult education as a life-long process. What is, therefore, needed is both an improvement of primary education and the launching of a mass adult education programme.

Before the inauguration of the Village AID programme adult education was a function of the provincial departments of education. Since then, however, Village AID has been entrusted with the task of educating adults in rural areas, for it is an appropriate agency to conduct a programme of adult education that would be intimately related to the problems of the rural people. It is expected that during the First Five Year Plan a sound primary school shall be provided for every three villages. While the schools shall remain a part of the main educational system, the Village AID will help in establishing these schools. In regard to adult education it is felt by the Village AID that the efforts of the village workers in promoting adult literacy and social education are highly limited; it has, therefore,

established an Adult Education Unit at Lalamusa, assisted by two experts made available by UNESCO, for the training of adult education teachers and for research to produce library materials to meet the requirements of adults. The trained adult education teacher is in charge of twenty villages in each development area and is responsible for organizing adult literacy centres in his own sector.¹⁷ Dr. Fetter, in his evaluation of the work of the Village AID, however remarks that in practical operation the adult education programme is still on the drawing board; a systematic long-range instructional process is still lacking; and only casually do the village folks come to listen to the lecture of the village worker and the adult education teacher in the social centre.

Objectives of Adult Education for Rural Development

As already indicated adult education was, in the past, conceived mainly in terms of teaching in the three R's. It was not until 1952 that the problem was correctly defined in the report of the UNESCO Fundamental Education Mission to Pakistan by emphasizing that adult education must be related to the problems of the rural communities, especially to their economic problems. The Mission outlined the purpose of fundamental

¹⁷ Shehla Shibli, "The Village AID Programme", Pakistan Quarterly, VIII, No. 2 (1958), 30.

education in Pakistan to be minimum knowledge necessary for the people:

- " (a) to acquire the skills of thinking and communicating, through the knowledge of speaking, reading, writing and calculation;
- (b) to improve health conditions through personal and community hygiene;
- (c) to organize economic life, chiefly on cooperative lines, for a more efficient use of natural resources, and the development of more productive and useful cottage crafts; and
- (d) to lead better and fuller integrated lives, in an ordered and disciplined way, as responsible citizens of their country."¹⁸

It is expected that through the agency of the Village AID efforts will be made to achieve the goals of fundamental education. Dr. Fetter has, in his interview with the writer, pointed out that the approach of the Village AID to adult education is not limited to teaching in the three R's; the start is made with reading, the idea being to instruct the adults in improved agricultural practices, home economics, and certain fundamental economic concepts. Although the objectives of fundamental education outlined by the UNESCO Mission cover almost all the

major problems of rural development discussed in Chapter III they are inadequate in that they are too broad to give an insight into the tasks of adult education with all their ramifications. In the absence of any detailed information on the objectives and the programmes of adult education planned to be undertaken by the Village AID Administration which may be reviewed at this stage, it is reasonable to formulate the objectives of adult education that will help accelerate the process of rural development. In this section the analysis of the problems of rural development is carried a step forward by discussing the desirable objectives of adult education and stating them in behavioural terms.

Personal Development

Personal development is the primary and immediate concern of all individuals who are motivated by the basic drive of survival and self-preservation to employ their latent abilities and potentialities for the development of the highest intellectual and aesthetic interests. A great majority of the adults in the rural areas of West Pakistan is, however, incapacitated by an attitude of resignation emanating from the dominance of an other-worldly philosophy, by mental passivity and a well-developed "dependency complex", and by the absence of proper communication skills. Adult education has, therefore, a vital role to play in raising the rural people in mind, body

and spirit.

Developing a new outlook on life: A major pre-requisite of rural development is that the adult develops a dynamic philosophy of life which embodies the belief that the individual could change and modify his environment, that he needs to continually adjust himself to changing situations in life, and that his efforts would be rewarded with a fuller and more contented life. Since religion largely conditions his outlook on life he needs to develop a bold and clear understanding of his religion, no longer marred by his conservatism, superstition, and "archaic incongruity". A reorientation of his spiritual and moral values is also necessary so that they give meaning to life.

Developing self-reliance, initiative, and an inquiring mind: A great deal of individual development can be achieved when the latent powers of human personality are released by subjecting the adult to suitable educative influences. "The depth and richness of a personality depends primarily on its dynamic relationship with its human and natural environment, assimilating from it whatever it has to offer and contributing to it all that it can."¹⁹ Through these educative contacts the adult can develop self-reliance, initiative, and an inquiring

¹⁹K.G. Saiyidain, Problems of Educational Reconstruction, pp. 211-212.

mind which would accelerate the process of his self-realization. The development of these distinctive characteristics of personality is all the more important in the light of the "inner resource" approach of the Village AID programme whereby the rural people are to be encouraged to utilize their potentialities and abilities to the maximum.

Developing basic communication skills: The development of the whole range of communication skills — speech, reading, writing, listening, and numerical calculation — is a pre-condition of marked improvement in any aspect of the social and cultural life of the rural people. Efforts to improve health, agricultural production, and consumption habits can be a lot more fruitful if the people are literate. A democratic society lives in and by communication; to lay the foundations of a stable democratic order it is necessary that the masses are equipped with suitable communication skills.

Developing desirable interests: Individual development is not complete until suitable use is made of the leisure time. For a great part of the year the adult in the rural areas is under-employed. The absence of the constructive and creative ways in which he could have utilized his leisure has been a considerable handicap to his fuller development. He needs to be inspired to develop interest in folksongs, local poetry, folkdances, athletics and other recreational activities; this will save him from being dazzled by some superfluous glitters

of the urban culture, and will promote genuine respect for, and a feeling of, integration with the indigenous culture.

The outcomes of adult education for personal development, stated in behavioural terms, are that the educated adult:

- (i) has an optimistic outlook on life;
- (ii) worships according to his religious beliefs and shows tolerance for others;
- (iii) reorients his spiritual and moral values in line with the needs of individual and social development;
- (iv) is continually adjusting himself to his physical environment and the village community;
- (v) directs his behaviour by reason rather than by dogmatic and superstitious beliefs;
- (vi) shows self-reliance and initiative in solving his personal and community problems;
- (vii) accepts criticism, praise, and frustration without an undue emotional charge;
- (viii) recognizes the worth of new scientific ideas with care and patience;
- (ix) speaks clearly and fluently, writes legibly, reads intelligently, and listens and observes patiently;
- (x) can conceptualize, think in abstract terms, and identify generalized ideas in meaningful relationships;
- (xi) maintains a balance between work and leisure;
- (xii) appreciates indigenous cultural heritage and

occupies himself or herself in such recreational activities as folkdances, tableaux, folksongs, poetry, and literature; and

(xiii) channels youth's enthusiasm and energy in healthy and constructive activities.

Human Relationships

The discussion in Chapter III has revealed that the rural communities in West Pakistan are characterized by a variety of stresses on family living and disruptive tendencies in inter-group relationships. Lack of family planning and suitable parenthood, disintegrating effects of urbanization and industrialization, and the rigidities of the joint household are the major stresses on family relations. Inter-group relations are devoid of mutual respect, sympathy, and cooperation. Much of the happiness that results from harmonious human relationships is, therefore, lacking. The chief ingredients of happy family and community life are that the adults develop personal friendly contacts, maintain a rich and varied social life through cooperative relationships, enjoy warm family relationships and have community-wide sympathies.

Developing responsible parenthood: The attainment of adulthood brings such important tasks as "selecting and learning to live with a marriage partner, starting a family, rearing children, and helping them to become responsible and mature

adults."²¹ In selecting a mate for his or her "child" an elderly parent in the rural society may not be asked to dispense with his present authority altogether, but his role must change into one that is essentially advisory. In starting a family and rearing children, the parents need to learn how the changing physical, social, and emotional needs of their growing children are to be taken care of. An important consideration is the size of the family. Family planning "is the logical concomitant of man's elimination of his natural enemies", and parents must accept it as an important determinant of the welfare of the family, the village community, and the nation.²² Superstition and make-believe religious notions must not be allowed to dictate parents in their family affairs; and through educative process, "it must be shown that the sanctions of religion reward rather than condemn the control of population in order that living persons may live better."²³

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Ibid.

22

Ahmad Saeed Khan, "Need for Family Planning", West Pakistan, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 44A.

23

Howard W. Beers, "Social Components of Community Development", Rural Sociology, Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 20. The article contains a discussion on certain components of social change in a comparative case of Pakistan vs. U.S.A.

Developing an appreciation of changing family patterns:

The existing joint household system does not allow the fullest growth and development of the members of the household because of the emphasis on family collectivism at the expense of the uniqueness and individuality of its members. It is therefore desirable that the adults dominating the household give enough encouragement to the growth of the individual family members. The vast opportunities for social and economic advancement coming through urbanization and industrialization cannot be thrown to wind; the need for maintaining personal friendships and strong family ties to prevent the disintegrating effects of the technological change is all the greater, for normal human companionship is important for mental health.

Developing an understanding of basic human values: The disruptive tendencies which are progressively weakening the village as a social organism call for broadening human sympathies among members of different caste and socio-economic groups. The psychological and physical uniqueness of the individual reinforces the dignity of man; it is, therefore, necessary that the adults develop the habit of judging, thinking about, and dealing with fellow-villagers as individuals, as well as members of various groups. The acceptance of the principles of brotherhood, equality and tolerance is essential to the fuller development of the village community.

Promoting inter-group understanding: The solidarity and unity of the village community depends on harmonious inter-group relations which in turn depend on proper understanding between the various groups in the community. It is, therefore, necessary that each group develops proper understanding and appreciation of the customs, norms, and folkways of each group in the community. Further, the village community as a unit cannot live in isolation with the outside world; it is, as such, desirable that the members of a rural community develop an appreciation and understanding of the cultural traits of neighbouring rural, urban, and industrial communities.

Developing cooperative relationships: A great deal can be done to promote rural development if the village people are motivated to think, plan, and work together to solve their common problems. Cooperative relationships can help them, through formal or informal group relations, to do things which cannot be done effectively on an individual basis. The cooperative activities involving the landless labourers, the unemployed or under-employed artisans, and cultivators with uneconomic holdings will go a long way in improving their economic and social status.²⁴ The benefits accruing from the formal organization of multi-purpose village cooperatives can

²⁴ Government of India, Ministry of Community Development, A Guide to Community Development, pp. 141-143.

strengthen the feeling of interdependence and mutual help among all villagers, improve their economic situation, and enable them to enjoy a fuller social life.²⁵

The outcomes of adult education for human relationships stated in behavioural terms are that the educated adult:

- (i) selects a suitable marriage partner;
- (ii) performs an advisory function in selecting a match for his or her son or daughter;
- (iii) knows skills in child care, shows affection without spoiling the child, and encourages an ever maturing parent-child relationship;
- (iv) recognizes the importance of family planning in relation to the health of the mother and the children, and the social and economic well-being of the whole family;
- (v) shows interest in family planning practices;
- (vi) understands and appreciates the implications of the technological change for the rural family;
- (vii) encourages the family member to realize the uniqueness and individuality of his personality outside the framework of the joint household;
- (viii) develops strong family ties and personal friendships;

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Georges Fauquet, Le secteur cooperatif essai sur la place de l'homme dans les institutions cooperatives et sur la place de celles-ci dans l'economie, quoted by Maurice Colombian, Cooperatives and Fundamental Education, p. 14.

- (ix) reflects in his actions his faith in the dignity of man, universal brotherhood, equality, and tolerance;
- (x) understands the social structure of the village, and appreciates the norms, folkways and customs of the various social groups in the community;
- (xi) understands and appreciates the cultural traits of the neighbouring communities, rural, urban, and industrial;
- (xii) develops living relationships with fellow-villagers; respects and trusts them, and shares in their joys and sorrows;
- (xiii) respects the rights and privileges of others;
- (xiv) gives due consideration to the points of view of others;
- (xv) believes that cooperative organization comes up from villager's understanding, interest and leadership and not only by government action; and
- (xvi) thinks, plans and works together with other villagers to solve common problems.

Civic Responsibility

The unsatisfactory working of political institutions and degeneration of local self-government which frustrated all attempts to establish a democratic order in the country call

for a reorientation of political thought and civic behaviour of the people. The restoration of a democratic system necessitates that people affirm their faith in the democratic ideals, develop sound political behaviour, have genuine understanding of, and respect for, public institutions, and evince interest in community problems at local, national and international levels.

Developing adherence to democratic ideals: The growth and development of the individual and the welfare of the community **are** assured when respect for the dignity of man, equality, freedom, and sharing are accepted as the guiding principles of human behaviour. These ideals are achieved when every individual develops the "qualities of initiative, enterprise, self-reliance, and perseverance", when there is emphasis on hard work, the dignity of labour, and scorn of idleness and a leisure class", and when a deep devotion is shown to "civil rights and ... a²⁶ no less regard for civic responsibilities."

Building an enlightened and informed citizenry: The successful working of democracy in which the will of the majority is to prevail requires that the will be enlightened, intelligent, and inspired by benevolent motives and purposes. "An uneducated democracy, swayed by random gusts of fanaticism

²⁶
John S. Brubacher, Modern Philosophies of Education, pp. 233-234.

and prejudice and invitingly responsive to the machinations of self-seeking demagogues, can be even a greater menace to peace, security and happiness than any other form of government."²⁷

Good citizenship requires the development of the critical sense of the adults so that they may be able to distinguish between falsehood and truth, and between incitement to violence and appeal to decency; only then can they select suitable candidates, take part in group discussions and leadership, and participate in public activities at local and national level.

Developing understanding of the structure and operation of government and community organizations: The success of any programme of rural development depends on the participation of the village people in developmental activities. Their participation cannot be secured until they have developed an adequate understanding of the structure and operation of local, provincial and central governments, and community organization as village cooperatives, village panchayats (councils), youth clubs, women's organizations, and recreation clubs. The success of various village organizations and institutions depends on the degree to which the village people can be stimulated to think, plan, and organize as a unit and act in close

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K. G. Saiyidain, Problems of Educational Reconstruction, pp. 233-234.

coordination with the Village AID agency. "The germination for village self-development must come from within as assuredly as the seed of wheat must germinate from within if the seed is to produce a plant and later yield a harvest";²⁸ and hence the need for proper understanding of, and active participation in, the working of village institutions by the people.

Developing recognition of village school as an important village institution: A village school with a poorly trained and illpaid teacher, and a programme that is detached from village life constitutes a major problem of rural development. A major task of adult education is to impress upon the village folks the importance of educating their children and youth under a competent, well-trained, and adequately paid teacher. The socio-economic upgrading of the village teacher is essential for a noticeable improvement in rural education. The village school must be elevated to a position of prominence which would make it a vital centre of community education and welfare, and the village teacher an important agent of social change. Various programmes and activities should be organized to develop the great human potential of the country — the youth, so that they become effective transmitters to their parents and village elders of new ideas, learn to work together

28

Government of India, Ministry of Community Development, A Guide to Community Development, p. 95.

in group projects and recreational activities, and develop as enlightened and intelligent adults and leaders of the future."²⁹

Stimulating interest in local, national, and international problems: Since every individual is a member of the local, national and world community an important task of adult education is to develop in all adults an adequate understanding of their common problems for only then can they participate to help make effective decisions. The problems which are the primary concern of the village community are those of education, housing, drainage, health and sanitation, supply of drinking water, consolidation of land holdings, locust control, and recreation. At national level, the major problems are those of economic development, national unity and security, rehabilitation of refugees, and Kashmir and Canal Water Disputes. At international level, adult education is concerned with developing an understanding of major trends in international economy and world politics as they affect Pakistan and international peace and security.

The outcomes of adult education for civic responsibility, stated in behavioural terms are that the educated adult:

- (i) practices the democratic ideals of respect for dignity of man, equality, freedom, sharing, and communication.

²⁹

Ibid., pp. 154-155.

- (ii) knows his rights and responsibilities, and respects the rights and privileges of others;
- (iii) possesses a critical sense to judge individual and group behaviour;
- (iv) is skilled in detecting and evaluating propaganda;
- (v) acts wisely in electing members to the panchayats, local boards, and assemblies;
- (vi) understands the structure and operation of government agencies and village organizations;
- (vii) is willing to work with fellow-villagers in expanding the welfare and happiness of the community;
- (viii) offers his active cooperation in continuous planning and development of village-created and village-led organizations as panchayats, cooperatives, youth clubs, etcetera;
- (ix) has a two-way communication with village development agencies by getting scientific information from them and apprising them of the problems of the village;
- (x) realizes the importance of improving literacy, and enabling all children to attend school under a competent and well-trained teacher;
- (xi) recognizes and supports village school as an effective village institution;

- (xii) views the problems of village education in a broader aspect than merely in terms of erecting a school building;
- (xiii) gives the teacher due recognition and respect;
- (xiv) feels the necessity of a youth programme or activity;
- (xv) encourages youth to participate in decisions concerning community problems;
- (xvi) takes active part in fairs, exhibitions, seminars, and discussion groups;
- (xvii) understands problems of the village community and joins hands with fellow-villagers to solve them;
- (xviii) understands national problems and cooperates with national agencies to solve them; and
- (xix) shows interest in changing international situations and their implications for the nation.

Efficiency in Production

The low level of living of the rural masses has in Chapter III been attributed largely to low productivity of agriculture and virtual absence of industries in rural areas. Among the factors that have been accounted for the low yield of agriculture are the primitive agricultural practices, the out-dated structure of land relations, and inadequate understanding by the farmer of his natural environment. The

underdeveloped nature of rural industries has been attributed to such factors as the problems of finance, marketing and raw materials, absence of standardization of manufactured goods and conservatism of the cottage industry worker. Since the welfare of the rural people depends considerably on increased incomes it is imperative that adult education should assume the task of increasing the efficiency of agricultural and industrial production and distribution.

Developing understanding of the natural environment: The efficiency of agriculture requires a proper understanding of the natural environment by the farmer. Such factors as climate, rainfall and topography are important determinants of the growth of animal and plant life. The farmers are, therefore, expected to know how different types of crops are suited to different conditions of diurnal and seasonal changes in temperature and rainfall, and variations in soil types. Soil erosion, salinity, and water-logging are some of the problems which for their solutions necessitate that the farmers understand the relevance of such environmental factors as wind, rain, temperature, and topography. Furthermore, the farmers need to appreciate the importance of animal and forest resources for economic development and their duty to conserve them.

Introducing improved agricultural practices: An increase in the productivity of agriculture depends, among other factors

on the possibilities of introducing improved agricultural practices. A major function of the educative process should be to enable the farmers to apply such practices as improved seeds, crop rotations, control of plant pests and animal diseases, manures and artificial fertilizers, and better agricultural implements. "The organization of cooperatives for the improvement of marketing and for the provision of credit facilities forms the essential framework which small-scale farming needs, if it is to bring about better living standards and better methods of farming."³⁰ It is, therefore, necessary that the farmers be prepared to accept voluntarily imposed disciplines in order to make these cooperatives a success.

Developing appreciation for land reforms: Improved agricultural practices, useful as they may be in raising agricultural productivity, alone are incapable of bringing about a permanent improvement in the socio-economic condition of the farmer. The reform of the land tenure system which would involve an improvement in his status and increase incentives to work through the grant of ownership and secure tenure is, therefore, a basic necessity.³¹ Alive to the

³⁰ United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, Land Reform: Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development, p. 74.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 67-74.

situation, the new regime in Pakistan has taken the bold decision to introduce land reforms which according to President Gen. Mohammad Ayub Khan are "designed to eliminate social and economic injustice and to contribute effectively to the establishment of a progressive agricultural economy."³² The reforms highlighting this decision are:

- (i) abolition of land-ownership over and above 500 acres of irrigated or 1,000 acres of unirrigated lands, with compensation;
- (ii) abolition of jagirs (land estates offered by the British and earlier rulers to "loyalists") without compensation;
- (iii) check on fragmentation of land holdings beyond a certain minimum, and facilities for consolidation and joint management of such holdings; and
- (iv) security of tenure for the tenants, embargo on the enhancement of rents, and check on illegal exaction in the shape of fees or free labour or services from the tenants.³³

A Land Reforms Implementation Commission has already been set up to carry out these reforms. The successful implementation of these reforms, which depends heavily on the

³² Dawn, January 25, 1959, p. 10F.

³³ Ibid., p. 1C.

attitudes of the farmers toward them, necessitates that they understand the nature of these reforms and prepare themselves for a whole set of changes in human relationships and agricultural organization which are implied in these reforms.

Helping to promote small-scale rural industries: There is no doubt that better land tenure system and agricultural reorganization are to be the major concerns of the farmers, yet they could hardly ignore the influences of general economic conditions on the agrarian structure. The agrarian structure in the province is characterized by a serious problem of surplus or under-employed agricultural labour force under the stress of rapid population growth. Even a redistribution of land cannot increase the supply of land. Useful employment of this idle man-power can be made possible by a diversification of the provincial rural economy, that is, by promoting small-scale industries in rural areas. Any long-term increase in agricultural productivity in rurally over-populated areas depends heavily on a greater measure of industrial development.³⁴ Small-scale or cottage industries can directly augment the welfare of the rural population. It is, therefore, inevitable that the educative process should help the village people to get the technical 'know-how' and acquire skills in marketing

³⁴ United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries, pp. 58-60.

the production of small-scale industries.

Developing an understanding of the price-structure and agricultural marketing: Any increase in agricultural production will not bring forth a corresponding increase in the farmers' incomes until they have understood the supply-demand situations of their outputs and have developed enough competence to deal with a series of middlemen. An understanding of local market conditions is not enough for them; they need to be aware of international market conditions in order that they may regulate the production of their non-food crops to meet changing demands. Furthermore, they need to be well-acquainted with standard weights and measures, simple mathematical calculations, and other marketing practices. The establishment of cooperative marketing and credit societies can be of considerable advantage in making possible a direct contact between producers and consumers, by offering their members better prices, and by improving the methods of distribution.

The outcomes of adult education for efficiency in production, stated in behavioural terms, are that the educated adult:

- (i) appreciates the importance of natural resources and endeavours to conserve them;
- (ii) understands the relationships between agriculture and such natural factors as climate, rainfall, and topography;

- (iii) shows increasing readiness to place his faith in the applications of science to agriculture;
- (iv) focusses his attention on improving agricultural practices essential for increased production;
- (v) understands and appreciates the need for land reform;
- (vi) helps to implement land reforms, land management, and rural development generally;
- (vii) renders assistance in working out individual village plans for the consolidation of fragmented holdings;
- (viii) develops working relationships with members of all classes, castes, and creeds;
- (ix) appreciates the need for many-sided farm activity by promoting cottage or farm industries;
- (x) employs his surplus time in rural industries;
- (xi) focusses his attention on improving the existing and organizing new village crafts;
- (xii) knows local, national, and international market conditions;
- (xiii) has competence in marketing techniques;
- (xiv) helps in organizing marketing cooperatives and utilizes their services to get credit, to stock, and to sell supplies; and
- (xv) appreciates the need for better means of transport and communications, and is willing to improve

them in collaboration with fellow-villagers and rural development agencies.

Consumption and Living

All attempts to increase farmers' incomes will be in vain as long as they are unable to make proper use of their increased incomes. It has already been indicated in Chapter III that the village folks have many undesirable consumption habits; they also lack skills in home management and are living in unhealthy conditions. Adult-education should, therefore, undertake to develop desirable consumption habits, develop skills in home management, develop appreciation of personal and community health, and stimulate the rural people to strive for a higher level of living.

Developing desirable consumption habits: The scarcity of means and multiplicity of wants necessitate that the village folks make intelligent choices of consumer goods so as to maximize the satisfaction of their wants. Greater stability could be lent to the economic condition of the rural families if they are encouraged to save at the time of bumper crops. These savings could then be usefully employed during bad harvests or when these families need money for special ceremonies, for the education of their children, or for long-term investments in agriculture.

Developing skills in domestic science: An important task of adult education is to help adults become good home-makers. This could be achieved by developing in them an appreciation for healthy living and encouraging new ways of healthier and more productive living. Attempts to develop skills in cleaning the house, making simple household furniture, cleaning kitchen utensils, making soaps and paints, eliminating household pests, budgeting family income and expenditure, washing and knitting clothes, keeping suitable ventilation and lighting, balancing food and nutritional values, and isolating domestic animals under suitable conditions could go a long way in promoting healthier and fuller family living.

Developing appreciation of personal and community health and hygiene: The educative process should aim at developing new values of orderliness, cleanliness and beauty, for only then will the village people strive to create a hygienic and healthful environment. The interdependence of personal and community necessitates that the village people take joint action to maintain well-drained streets, make proper arrangements for supply of drinking water, and clear the village and its surroundings of the breeding places of mosquitoes and flies while they are observing the principles of personal health and hygiene. Although they are to be helped to understand the causes and cures of important diseases like malaria, dysentery, and typhoid it should be emphasized that preventive

health measures hold greater promise than curative.

Stimulating to higher level of living: Since little can be achieved without incentives an important educational task is to arouse among village folks new hopes and aspirations of a higher level of living, a feeling that they are quite capable of finding out new and better ways of making a living, and adopting new and improved patterns of living. They should be helped to channel their desires for better living and increased incomes in ways that will actually raise their level of living.

The outcomes of adult education for consumption and living, stated in behavioural terms are that the educated adult:

- (i) makes better uses of the money coming from increased production, giving realistic priorities to his needs;
- (ii) looks ahead to plan for future needs of the family;
- (iii) takes out National Savings Certificates, Defence Savings Certificates and other instruments of saving to increase his own savings and help the national cause;
- (iv) understands the relation between the food he eats and his health, and raises more vegetables and fruits to enrich his diet;
- (v) knows such home economics practices as cooking and preserving food, sewing and knitting, laundry

- work, and furnishing;
- (vi) understands that a house which permits entrance of sunlight and fresh air is a better place for living;
 - (vii) believes that many deaths could be prevented if all were protected by immunization against certain diseases common to the village;
 - (viii) acknowledges that it is much easier to prevent disease by following protective health programmes than it is to cure disease;
 - (ix) feels the necessity of better community health, understands the causes of poor health, and knows the remedies to improve health;
 - (x) works cooperatively to give the village a clean and orderly look; and
 - (xi) has sanguine expectations of a happier and fuller life, and works out ways and means to attain it.

The completion of this chapter brings the study to a point where the above-formulated objectives of adult education suitably manifest the role of adult education in the rural development of West Pakistan, and thus, cover the scope of the study. Before concluding the study an attempt is, however, made in the fifth and final chapter to indicate certain directions in which adult education programmes may be organized and implemented.

Chapter V

CERTAIN DIRECTIONS OF PROGRAMME DEVELOPMENT

In order that the objectives of adult education discussed in Chapter IV are fully realized it is necessary that a number of instructional programmes which reflect these objectives be developed.

Broad Areas of Adult Education

It may be recalled that West Pakistan has a rich topography of mountains, river valleys, plains, and deserts; so one would find village communities on mountain slopes, in narrow river valleys and plains, and in semi-arid conditions. These communities differ in their human and material resources, and in their customs, traditions and ways of living despite the common elements of faith, history, and aspirations. No two communities have identical needs although they may have

similar problems. In the following pages an attempt is, therefore, made to outline the broad areas of adult education and approaches to various adult education programmes. The suggested areas are necessarily broad and flexible so as to fit a variety of situations; they are by no means in the final form and could be regrouped and correlated as the situations would require.

Literacy Education

Literacy education, as conceived here, is concerned with developing skills in reading, writing, and mathematics. The content of the programme will be as follows:

Reading and writing: Development of the power of self-expression, written and oral; practice in written and oral expression of one's ideas on social and cultural themes; practice in written and oral expression of important events and incidents; practice in written and oral expression of an activity on completion; practice in reporting speeches and interviews; practice in critical appreciation of the material read; practice in writing essays on major rural problems and in giving one's own original ideas on the problems under discussion; practice in personal and business correspondence.

Mathematics: The value of numbers in the ordinary business of life; practice in solving the ordinary numerical

and geometrical problems arising out of work situations, and home and community life; practice in making calculations without recourse to pen or pencil; training in problem solving techniques — in understanding the problems clearly, in analyzing them, and in finding out the processes and employing them to solve the problems.

Problems related to the work situations of the adult as, for example, marketing, weighing and grading of products leading to the teaching of four fundamental rules of arithmetic; calculations of farm areas through the application of geometry when planning gardens, beds or paths; and running village cooperative shops and keeping proper accounts of the farm to get training in "interest", "profit and loss", "partnership", and other rules in arithmetic.

Family Affairs Education

In this area adult education is mainly concerned with parent roles, family relations, and home-making. The content of the instructional programme will consist of the following:

Parent education: The importance of selecting a suitable mate or match for a happy married life; implications of early marriage for rural development; parent roles in family planning, pre-natal and infant care, and child development through adolescence; problems of adjustment in the home during maturity and old age.

Family relations education: Factors contributing to harmonious husband-wife, parent-child, and in-law relationships; technological change and its impact on family relations; adjustments in family relations required by changing family patterns; factors contributing to greater mobility within the family structure yet allowing cooperative relationships.

Home-making education: Significance of a healthy home; skills in maintaining food and nutritional values; preserving food; keeping suitable ventilation and lighting; sewing, knitting and washing clothes; making soaps and paints; eliminating household pests; cleaning kitchen utensils; daily and weekly house-cleaning; furnishing the house; budgeting the family income and expenditure; using modern methods of saving money; giving priorities to immediate consumption and long-term spending.

Inter-Group Education

In this area major concerns of adult education are basic human values, group understanding and inter-group relations. The programme will be as follows:

Education in basic human values: The concept of the dignity of man based on his physical and psychological uniqueness; the principle of brotherhood, equality and tolerance; Islamic teachings to promote universal brotherhood and equality; values of mutual help, broadening human sympathies, and mutual

respect among different socio-economic groups; repercussions of sectarian, "racial", and economic class considerations on rural development.

Education for group understanding: Knowledge of the norms, customs, and folkways of various groups forming the village community as a pre-requisite for inter-group relations; study of the customs and tradition, food and dress, manual skills and mechanical processes, and other cultural traits of neighbouring and distant urban, industrial and rural communities.

Education for inter-group relations: Need for harmonious inter-group relations; cooperation as a means of better rural life; desirable attitudes for the success of cooperative activities; distribution of responsibility in, and reward of, a cooperative activities; the role of village leadership in carrying out a cooperative activity; characteristics of a sound leadership; scope, organization and working of cooperative activities.

Public Affairs Education

In this area the main functions of adult education are to acquaint the adults with the working of various public institutions, sharpen their critical thinking, help them develop democratic behaviour and elicit them on village and national problems. The instructional programme will include the following:

Education in the working of public institutions: Village panchayat; the nature of its organization and working; role of the village people in making it an effective means of self-government; the structure and operation of District and Municipal Boards, village cooperatives, Village AID, Agriculture, Forest, Irrigation, and Revenue Departments; role of the village people in facilitating the working of these public institutions.

Education in critical thinking: Skills in detecting and evaluating propaganda — more direct contacts with public leaders and officials; discussions and debates on current issues; comparison of newspapers for objectivity and accuracy; comparison of radio news reports with those in newspapers; ways in which mass media could be abused.

Education in democratic principles: The meaning of democracy; fundamentals of democratic institutions; democratic ways of government; rights and responsibilities of people in a democratic society; the concept of vote; how to exercise one's franchise; study of such matters as electoral roles and constituencies related to elections for village panchayats, district boards, and provincial and national assemblies; the significance of effective communication and face-to-face discussions on common problems; skills for effective group discussions — for defining the nature of the problem, for gathering pertinent data, for analyzing it, and for evaluating the results; the

role of local leadership in solving community problems; the requirements of a democratic, dynamic and capable leadership.

Education for community feeling and national outlook:

Problems of community health and sanitation; causes, cures and preventions of important diseases; measures to improve sanitation in the village; significance of educational and recreational facilities for the youth in the village; steps to improve educational and recreational facilities by local effort; problems of social reconstruction and economic development at local and national level; activities of the Provincial and Central Governments for promoting economic growth and social welfare; problems of national unity and means to strengthen national solidarity; relations with the outside world; problems of international peace and security.

Education for Production and Distribution

In this area adult education is concerned with improving agricultural practices and agrarian structure, developing skills in rural industries, and improving marketing and business techniques. The content of the programme will be as follows:

Agricultural education: Factors determining the climate of the region; the effects of the four seasons on the plant life; amount of water, air, sun, and manure needed for the growth of different crops; study of soil and its formation;

methods to control water logging, salinity, and soil erosion; forest and animal resources, and their contribution in improving agriculture; inter-dependence of animal and plant life; cattle diseases, their causes and cures.

Study of improved varieties of seeds; crop rotation practices; manures and artificial fertilizers; improved agricultural implements; crop pests, and methods to control them; ways of organizing village multi-purpose cooperatives as a source of credit, machinery and other facilities; ways and means to implement land reforms and develop harmonious tenant-landlord relations.

Industrial education: The nature of large-scale and small-scale industries; interdependence of agriculture and industry; agricultural raw materials needed for large-scale and cottage industries; significance of small-scale industries for rural development; skills in such farm and cottage industries as dairy, poultry, bee-keeping, silkworm rearing, handloom weaving, textile printing and dyeing, mat making, reed fencing, pottery, furniture making, soap making, cigarette manufacturing, fruit canning, and sports goods manufacturing.

Business education: Organization of farm activity and rural industries; managerial, operative, and distributive functions of the multipurpose village cooperatives; methods of raising credit; structure and operation of local and national markets for agricultural products and manufactured

goods; methods of standardizing production; means of transport and communication; elasticities of supply and demand for various rural products; situation in world market of different agricultural products, and their repercussions on local and national markets.

Approaches to Adult Education Programmes

The suggested programmes of adult education have been conceived as education of the whole adult personality in its manifold aspects. The implementation of these programmes is by no means an easy task. Adult education is, in many ways, a more difficult task than the education of the child, for adult personality has already taken a deep impression of certain behaviours, attitudes and skills which the adult is rather unwilling to modify. Nor can he be greatly attracted by conventional classes and allow himself to be treated like a school boy. There are immense psychological barriers in the education of the adults which could be removed only if an imaginative touch is given to the approaches of those who are responsible for educating them. Although adult education in West Pakistan is being undertaken by the Village AID Administration it is obviously a responsibility which neither the Village AID nor the Education Department can take on by itself. If adult education is to make a vital contribution

to the regeneration of the rural people it needs the closest cooperation of all agencies, official and non-official, and of all individuals who are inspired by a patriotic zeal and the ideal of social welfare. A number of approaches to adult education programmes may be suggested and grouped as individual approaches, group approaches, and mass media.

Individual Approaches

Among individual approaches personal tutoring, although limited in scope, has considerable merit. The oldest approach to education, and yet in many ways the most efficient, personal tutoring would be effectively offered when the village workers, adult education teachers and subject-matter specialists of the Village AID come into personal contact with the people in the village. The officials of the Departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Irrigation, Land Reclamation, Health and Industry when making routine visits to the rural areas can find many opportunities of guiding individuals on their various problems.

As already indicated, adult education programmes can hardly be made very formal or rigid and placed exclusively in the hands of the Government. Adult education is a great task of national reconstruction and everyone has a certain role to play in accomplishing it. Anybody can join the cavalcade of service whether he is a student, a teacher, a man of leisure, a craftsman, a government official, or a professional man. It

is here that one finds vast opportunities for inter-personal tutoring through exchange of views, ideas and experiences. Although the approach has a wide application it can be employed very effectively for education in parenthood and home-making, and for vocational guidance.

Another individual approach is correspondence study. It has practically no scope until a reasonable degree of literacy has been achieved in the rural areas. Once the ground has been prepared, the adult education centres of the Village AID and the information bureaus of rural development departments can furnish the adults with suitable instructional material. This approach can be especially convenient for those who otherwise will not be able to attend the evening classes and group discussions organized by the village workers and adult education teachers. Mobile libraries could effectively cater to the needs of new literates. Great success has been achieved in Turkey through organizing two grades of mobile schools, grade "A" for those who do not know how to read and write or who know only the Arabic alphabet, and grade "B" for those who have completed grade "A"¹. It is the second phase of adult education that mobile libraries could more effectively furnish the new literates with follow-up literature.

¹
Habib A. Kurani, "Values Derived from the Commission's Trip Around the World", Education and Rural Development, (unpublished typed manuscript), 1957, p. 28.

Group Approaches

Group approaches, involving a large section of the village population, may be organized through talks and lectures, discussions and study groups, and a variety of projects.

Literacy education would yeild better results if it is conducted on a class basis. The magnitude of the problem as reflected by almost universal illiteracy and the shortage of adult education teachers necessitates that as many adults as possible should have the opportunities of benefitting from literacy education. The adult education teachers and village workers would do well in arranging a series of talks and lectures by the subject-matter specialists of the Village AID who could enlighten the villagers on the ways and means of improving and promoting farm management, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, cooperation and marketing, cottage industries, and other aspects of rural life.

It is not, however, expected that these talks and lectures would be limited to one-way communication. What is desired is that the adult education or social centres should assume a dynamic function. The talks and lectures arranged at these centres should motivate each member of the village community to work actively for his own improvement and help create an atomosphere that would be conducive to the growth of cooperative activity. As pleasant meeting ground for the villagers, these centres could provide an excellent starting point for the formation of discussion groups which would

ultimately become living forums for the expression and exchange of ideas, for better understanding between various groups, and for an absorbing interest in current affairs. It is here that inter-group education and public affairs education would be most effectively undertaken.

There is hardly any other field of education where the activity method will offer such rich dividends as could be realized in the field of adult education. The adult education teacher and village worker could organize study groups from among the village folks. The groups could study infant care in the child clinic of the neighbouring town, home economics and industrial arts in the nearby institute of domestic science, or improved agricultural practices on the experimental agricultural farm in the vicinity of the village. These groups of village folks with their direct experiences in how to lead a better life could, in many ways, be more effective transmitters of social and technological change than the Village AID officials.

The participation of the adults in such recreational and family-related activities of the village school as the annual health round-up, school fairs, exhibitions, and plays could have considerable educative influence on parents. In addition to these activities, the village workers and adult education teachers could help the villagers organize fairs and exhibitions where such things as improved agricultural tools, artificial fertilizers, improved varieties of seeds, and new

cottage crafts might be displayed. In this way the villagers will be motivated to improve their own agricultural practices and craftsmanship.

The introduction of group projects of a more practical nature could go a long way in educating for production, distribution, and inter-group relations. Such group activities as cooperative farming and marketing, digging a village well, or erecting a school building would help adults learn cooperation, reliance, understanding, resourcefulness and willingness to assume and carry out responsibilities. Their participation in such projects will give them opportunities to manifest their special abilities, aptitudes and talents and will, thus facilitate the process of vocational guidance. The successful completion of such projects will give the participants pride, joy and emotional satisfaction.

Mass Media

The third approach to adult education programmes is mass media. It calls for a rational and coordinated use of audio-visual aids like pictures, charts, posters, radios and films all of which can exercise a powerful formative influence on the minds of the village folks. In view of the magnitude of the problems of illiteracy and ignorance in underdeveloped countries, the mass media have, lately, assumed considerable significance for programmes of adult education. Working toward a common end the producer and educator of the Division

of Community Education in the Department of Education, San Juan, Puerto Rico have achieved remarkable results in employing mass media for community education.² Such examples are not lacking in the annals of community education in other countries.

Whereas the production and use of imaginative, colourful and attractive posters, pamphlets, readers and newspapers can be useful aids to adult education the greatest formative influence on the village folks, most of whom cannot read or write, is exercised by radio and motion picture. The immediacy, realism, emotional impact, and inexpensiveness which characterize the use of radio establish it as one of the most important mass media. An even deeper impression is, however, made by motion picture which appeals simultaneously to the eye, the ear, and the imagination. The guiding principle that should govern the use of audio-visual materials be that these materials can best serve the intent of adult education programmes when they deal with the people, not things. The foremost aim of audio-visual materials whether they are printed textbooks, posters or films should be to portray and dramatize the struggle of man's victory over dependency, authoritarianism, unenlightened leadership, resignation and such other enemies of human growth and development. Audio-visual

²
Fred Wale, "Audio-Visual Aids in a Community Education Programme", Fundamental and Adult Education, Vol. IX (1957), No. 4, p. 158.

materials should be concerned with the process by which men bring about change in their lives and, as such, should dramatize such themes as the rights and responsibilities of women, duties of men, dynamics of community leadership, and scientific approach to community problems.³

The analysis of the problems of rural people and the suggested objectives of adult education which form the main body of the study are fully illustrative of the role of adult education in the rural development of West Pakistan. The organization and implementation of adult education programmes is a great national crusade which can neither be made a responsibility exclusively of the Village AID Administration nor can be accomplished by only one of the approaches mentioned above. If the programmes of adult education are to embrace the entire adult population of the province, they should, in course of time, enjoy the closest and active cooperation of all agencies, official and non-official, and of all individuals who would employ all these approaches depending upon their suitability for different situations. This calls for suitable planning, organization, and coordination of all activities that have their nucleus in adult education. An agency that would plan, organize, coordinate such activities undertaken by village workers, adult education

³ Ibid., pp. 159-161.

teachers, subject-matter specialists and other individuals or agencies is still lacking. It is desirable that a dynamic and competent agency be created in each development area of the Village AID to undertake these responsibilities. A national leadership gifted with vision, foresight, and imagination may well arouse sanguine expectations of the eventual success of these programmes and realization of the dream of a fuller and more integrated rural life.

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