The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

Editor
S. H. Hashmi
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Council of Social Sciences, Pakistan (COSS)
Islamabad
2001
Preface to reprinted edition

Council of Social Sciences, Pakistan (COSS) is reprinting the book *The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan*, edited by Dr. S. H. Hashmi and published by Quaid-i-University, Islamabad in 1989 to make it available to a larger number of social scientists. The book consists of 19 articles, 13 of them analyse major social science disciplines. The book is first comprehensive evaluation of social sciences in Pakistan. It retains its relevance and utility even after eleven years of its publication.

COSS is grateful to:

- Islamabad office of UNESCO for providing funds to process the book for reprinting and meeting the cost of paper needed for this purpose.
- Vice Chancellor, Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad to allow its printing free of cost.
- Vice Chancellor Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and Prof. S. H. Hashmi, editor of the book, for granting permission to reprint it.

December 19, 2000
Council of Social Sciences, Pakistan (COSS)
Islamabad
Preface

In Pakistan, Social Sciences have remained grossly under-developed and the number of social scientists miserably low and declining. Social Sciences, on the whole, have been badly ignored by the universities and public policy makers, although social sciences can and do play an important role in the socio-economic development of the country: in economic development, rural development, the solution of urban problems, improvement of the efficiency and effectiveness of organisations in the public and private sectors, control of the alarming rate of population growth, and in several other areas. By ignoring social sciences, our development planners and educational policy makers have created a situation which has adversely affected our socio-economic development.

To discuss the state of social sciences and the causational factors of their under-development in Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam University, and the Centre for the Study of Central Asian Civilisations and the University Grants Commission organised a Conference from 24th May to 26th May, 1988 in Islamabad. This was the first conference of its kind and was attended by a large number of social scientists from all over the country. Papers were presented on general aspects of social sciences as well as on individual disciplines. The specific objectives of the Conference were to:

i) identify characteristics, trends and problems in social sciences in Pakistan;

ii) interpret the causes of development, under-development and mal-development of social sciences in Pakistan;

iii) make recommendations about the advancement of social sciences in Pakistan and their utilisation in the socio-economic development of the country.

At the end of the conference the following major recommendations were made:

1. The Government of Pakistan was requested to establish a Pakistan Social Sciences Research Council, the objectives of which would be to promote and finance research in social sciences, organise conferences and seminars, and promote the cause of social sciences in Pakistan.

2. The Conference noted the alarmingly low number of social scientists in the country and strongly recommended to the Government of Pakistan that a
large number of scholarships should be made available for higher studies in social sciences abroad.

3. A social science conference should be organised annually.

4. A conscious effort should be made to invite scholars from the smaller provinces and teachers and researchers from the less developed universities of the country to the conference.

5. An effort should be made to revitalise associations of individual social science disciplines and encourage them to organise annual conferences.

6. The Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences being published by Quaid-i-Azam University should be given necessary encouragement and support by the social scientists so that it could become a national journal.

7. Efforts should be made to initiate social science forums in all universities in which teachers from various disciplines could present their papers and promote greater inter-disciplinary awareness and coordination.

8. All universities should create research funds which should be provided to teachers to carry out research work.

9. Students at the post-graduate level in all universities should be required to take a certain number of courses in related disciplines so as to acquire a better understanding of the inter-disciplinary emphasis in the present day social sciences.

10. The syllabi and curricula of social science subjects should be updated and modernised.

This volume contains the papers presented at the conference. I hope it will be a useful addition to the limited literature presently available on social sciences in Pakistan and will be a pioneering effort for further studies in social sciences in general as well as studies in specific disciplines.

For the preparation of the papers, a general guideline and a bibliography were prepared and some useful background material was collected by Dr. Inayatullah and circulated among the writers for which I am grateful. I should also thank Dr. Z. A. Ansari, Director National Institute of Psychology, and Mr. Sabir for their help in the printing of the book.

April 1989

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Ch. 1

SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PAKISTAN: AN EVALUATION

Inayatullah

Introduction

The emergence of a "scientific outlook" and scientific methodology in the West as a dominant mode of knowing and validating reality has proved to be a development of revolutionary consequences. It increased man's understanding of uniformities and variations in natural phenomena which in turn enabled him to use it for developing new technologies and to gain control over nature. The new knowledge and the new technologies transformed the pre-existing social order in a way that it became conducive for the development of a new intellectual culture. This culture shook the foundations of established cosmologies, and conceptions about nature, man, and social order and gave birth to what are now known as "social sciences."

Impressed by the achievements and exactness of natural sciences the pioneering social scientists patterned social sciences after natural sciences, that is, they applied the same methodology to social phenomena which natural sciences applied to nature. This distinguished social sciences from their earlier ancestors - philosophy, moral philosophy and moral sciences (Easton, 1969: 20-21).

The emergence of social sciences further strengthened the new intellectual culture. It accelerated the process of questioning and undermining what earlier appeared to man as "self-evident truths" about causes of social phenomena, functioning of social order, validity of established beliefs and values and practical knowledge about social affairs. The social scientists refused to accept them valid unless proven to be so after application of scientific methodology. This created conflict between the social sciences and the institutions whose underlying premises they questioned. The response of these institutions varied from directly opposing social sciences to accepting them and enlisting them to serve their interests.

As social sciences enabled man to increase his understanding of social order, the process of social change and social stability, and the causes
underlying them, they somewhat increased human capacity to intervene effectively in society and history, identify unanticipated problems emerging from such intervention and possibly manage them. This sometimes served "human good" defined in a broad sense as the good of all human beings. Social scientific knowledge, however, also increased the power of some to manipulate or control others regardless of its consequences for them.

Born and developed in the West together with natural sciences, social sciences gradually diffused into the colonies of the West as part of the colonial impact and the rest of the world. Their diffusion is now being accelerated as a result of planned action by several international organisations, Western governments, "philanthropic" foundations and multi-national corporations with support or at the initiative of national governments of the Third World countries.

The diffusion of social sciences in the Indian subcontinent was slow particularly in areas now comprising Pakistan compared to rest of India. Since Independence and particularly during 60s development of social sciences in Pakistan picked up momentum. By 1983, there were more than three scores of social science departments in the nine general universities and three Agricultural Universities. There were about a dozen research institutes in the public sectors engaged in social science research, and a large number of government in-service training institutions using social sciences. By 1983, the number of social scientists having training from M.A. and above has risen to about sixteen thousands.

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the development of social sciences in Pakistan based on six criteria described later. Hopefully this will sharpen among the social scientists an awareness about the state, inter-relationship, social relevance and the direction in which their disciplines are developing and should move in the future. The present exercise may also offer a methodology of evaluating social sciences in general.

**Philosophical Approaches to Science**

Before evaluating social sciences in Pakistan, it may be useful to describe what constitutes the essence of science, different issues raised by philosophy of science about scientific methodology and how science grows and changes.

It is enigmatic that it is yet not possible to state in definitive terms what constitutes "science." This is in spite of the impressive advancements in the philosophy of science and unusual importance which science as a vocation and a cognitive system has achieved in contemporary world.

Gellner, (1984) admitting the failure of scientists to exactly define science, has suggested the acceptance of the Socratic paradox that "... it is
possible to use a notion without being able to define it (569)." Therefore, instead of attempting to define science, a summary of the important postulates of science is presented below followed by a discussion of common and differentiating characteristics of three major philosophical approaches to science and scientific methodology. Such a discussion hopefully will enable us to identify later certain criteria of development of social sciences.

A. Essential Postulates of Sciences and Scientific Methodology

There are at least three postulates which constitute the essence of science and scientific methodology. They are summarised below:

1. The first postulate of scientific methodology is that at a given stage of development of science the "scientific" knowledge about reality is tentative; scientists are expected to search for greater truth without asserting that it has been finally achieved and remain open and ready to doubt their earlier conclusions.

2. The second postulate is that scientific knowledge is acquired through a process of checking an interconnected set of propositions constituting a theory against data about reality. This leads to falsification of weak theories resulting in their elimination. Thus, the theories, propositions and hypotheses which remain unfalsified are assumed to have greater reality contents particularly if a certain number of predictions derived from them come out to be true.

3. A third postulate partly derived from the above two is that science is not just an aggregation of disparate pieces of knowledge evolving randomly. Scientific knowledge is built coherently through a process of cumulative growth using the procedure described in the second postulate. Such cumulative growth is not impeded but rather facilitated by what Kuhn has called "revolutions" in paradigms. The new paradigms absorb into them whatever is not falsifiable in earlier paradigms and they also achieve a higher level of generality. Whether achieving a cumulative growth of knowledge through verification or falsification, an evolutionary accumulation of valid knowledge or revolutions in paradigms, science or a scientific discipline becomes developed as it becomes more general, more systematised and more exhaustive (Bernard, 1972: 93). Generality of scientific knowledge is achieved through systematisation, that is, by eliminating mutual inconsistencies and through arriving at a general statement of laws, propositions and theories which can explain all the facts falling into the same logical set or category.

The above description of scientific methodology and development of science, by implications, brings out some of the characteristics of non-scientific, unscientific or extra-scientific knowledge (and the three do not necessarily belong to the same category). They assume a finality for the
truths they proclaim. They cannot be subjected to verification - falsification test and, therefore, do not reflect empirical reality which can be known through available instruments or methods of knowing it. They remain un-aggregated, logically un-interconnected and, therefore, never achieve or push towards achievement of greater generality. (Extra-scientific knowledge claims an exception from such a generalisation). As a result they do not achieve cumulative growth and thus a higher level of development.

Though an agreement on basic postulates of science gives scientific community a basic framework within which to operate and distinguishes science from what is not science, it does not resolve several issues basic to the accumulation of valid knowledge. As our discussion below brings out, there are several competing and sometimes exclusive approaches to knowing reality scientifically. Therefore, the challenge before scientific community is not just of defining science and agreeing on essential traits of its methodology but deciding which of the claims of different competing approaches to science have greater validity and whether it is possible to reconcile and integrate them. Although critique of different approaches to science has clarified many issues, it is still not possible for the scientists to agree which one of these claims has greater validity. Below are identified three main approaches to nature of science followed by an analysis of their impact on emergence of different approaches in social sciences.

A recent important contribution (Keat and Urry, 1982) has identified the following three major approaches to science. (For present discussion the fourth approach - pragmatism - is ignored).

1. Positivism
2. Realism
3. Conventionalism

Positivism and Realism share two elements in the conception of science;

(1) the possibility of rationality and objectivity and

(2) existence of universal scientific criteria of determining valid knowledge.

However, they sharply disagree about the ultimate objective of science and methods of achieving it. Positivism seeks the discovery of regularities and uniformities, which, following Hume, are considered a succession of events in time and space. Positivists regard determination of causation difficult if not impossible. The principle question for them is how events occur rather than how they are caused. Realists on the other hand not only attempt to discover laws in nature but also the causes and causal mechanisms which underlie them.
Though both approaches agree on the importance of seeking correspondence between theory and facts, existing independent of theoretical formulations and subjective reactions of the knobbier, they disagree on what constitute "facts." Positivism only accepts "observable" facts as facts while Realism admits, besides observable facts, theoretical entities or "facts" which may not be observable but whose existence can be theoretically anticipated or implied.

Conventionalism rejects the two basic assumptions of both Positivism and Realism, that is, the existence of universal objectivity and rationality and universal criteria of validating true knowledge. According to this conception of science, at a given point of time there develops a shared agreement or a paradigm among the scientists about what constitutes science which may later be replaced by another paradigm; competing or succeeding paradigms may be incommensurable, every paradigm and theory having its own criteria of validation. Furthermore, according to Conventionalism no objective facts exist independent of theory and every theory is contaminated by personal biases and shared group perspectives of the scientists. (For a tabular presentation of these approaches see appendix I).

### Impact of Natural Science on Social Sciences

The emergence of social science in the 19th century followed the institutionalisation of natural sciences and their remarkable success in providing a deeper understanding of nature and the capacity to predict and regulate it. The earlier emergence and success of natural sciences predisposed the pioneer of social sciences like Comte, Spencer and classical economists to pattern the social sciences on the model of natural sciences. This gave Positivism an earlier start. Natural science theories and models particularly from physics and biology were often used to generate theories and models in social sciences.

This disposition to model social sciences after Positivism was reinforced by a belief, which many social scientists shared with Comte, that the dawn of an era of sciences, both natural and social, is a culmination of a long intellectual process in human history. It will succeed and replace the two earlier eras in which religious and metaphysical or magical and religious modes were the dominant methods of perceiving reality. Most of them were optimistic that scientific understanding of social reality would enhance man's power over regulating affairs of the society or reconstructing it on scientific lines which would ensure the elimination of social conflicts, wars, economic scarcity and maximise human happiness.

At a time when Positivism was consolidating itself in the emerging social sciences in Europe and America, Realism, also known as Marxism after the name of its major proponent, emerged as a competing social scientific approach. The rise of Marxism coincided with the emergence of a new class in Europe produced by the development of industrial capitalism which disrupted
traditional modes of production and social relations causing impoverishment and alienation of the poor strata. Marxism shared with Positivism the need to develop an objective science of man and society patterned on the model of natural sciences. It attempted to discover laws of motion (on the patterns of Newtonian physics!) of history suggesting imminent replacement of capitalism by socialism and communism in the future. Like earlier positivists, Marx also thought that the use of scientific knowledge for understanding social phenomena would usher in a conflict free society.

The emergence of Marxism gave birth to a debate between the two schools. Marxists criticised positivistic social sciences on several grounds; first, they represented the perspective, outlook, and interest of the bourgeois class and legitimised its power. Second, their search for timeless and spaceless universal laws of society was misdirected. The society moved in history and in time, passing through several phases, each phase having its special economic and social characteristics and reflecting a higher level of development which cannot be understood through supposedly timeless laws.

Positivist social sciences were also criticised for lack of social relevance by Marxists and others. They argued that by failing to deal squarely with the question of values, by restricting the range of issues for study with the availability of appropriate scientific techniques, it left out some very important questions for study vital for man's survival, his further evolution, development, welfare and happiness.

In the twentieth century, the influence of both Positivism and Marxism further expanded though at different rates; Positivism became the main epistemological foundation for proliferating and specialised social sciences institutionalised into increasing number of social science departments of universities, colleges and research institutes in the West. After the second World War it got a new boost when "behavioural revolution" based on Positivism gripped the main stream social sciences. Its effects spread beyond America and Europe as these social sciences disseminated in the colonised and later formally decolonised countries of the Third World.

The influence of Marxism also expanded particularly in the Soviet Union with the success of 1917 Revolution. It later spread to other socialist countries of Eastern Europe and to the Third World countries as it became an ideological ally of the anti-colonial movements. However, in spite of this, Marxism remained on the intellectual periphery and out of academic establishment of the non-socialist world.

A. Earlier Critique of Different Approaches to Social Sciences

Positivism and Marxism have been under attack mainly by two schools of thought - known as "voluntarism" (Parsons, 1949) and "relativism." While accepting the need and possibilities of an objective science of man and society, voluntarists argued that such science has to take into account new properties
which have emerged at human level and were absent at the level of natural phenomena (Parsons, 1949; Schumacher, 1978). The new properties presumably made social phenomena inconstant, indeterminate and thus less subject to laws and uniformities. Even if such uniformities could be identified through scientific methods, their knowledge enables human actors to override them (Qadir, 1986), thus making it difficult to predict human behaviour accurately.

The voluntarists further argued that in view of the emergent properties at human level, the traditional Positivist scientific methods seeking "observable facts" could not be applied to study them without modifying them, to take into account "the subjective" aspect of human behaviour. Weber called this methodology incorporating subjective aspect as Verstehen; Whitehead called it "internal understanding" in contrast to "external understanding" which positivist scientific methodology sought.

Another critique of positivist (and Marxist?) social sciences suggested that they not only seek to describe, explain and predict social behaviour but also control and manipulate it (Mills 1959: 113; Schumacher, 1978: 65-70; Matson, 1966; Ch. III). Social science knowledge is acquired not necessarily to promote the autonomy and freedom of the individual but to enable those in power to manipulate him for goals and purposes not of his own. Of course this criticism is not of the contents and methodology of social sciences, but about their use which some social scientists claim they cannot control. However, this criticism becomes valid when social scientists working in state sector and private organisations choose or are obliged to choose problems for investigation which promote the interests of their employers and their social and political perspective. This often leads to the manipulation of public behaviour to serve their interests rather than to the advance knowledge for enhancing the autonomy and welfare of those who are affected by the production of such knowledge (Mills, 1961: 177-179).

Relativists attacked both Positivism and Marxism from another position. They questioned the possibility of a universal science of human affairs - man, society and culture - arguing that each culture has its own system of knowing reality and to study such cultures in terms of any universal scientific methods distorts their understanding. Sorokin, a sociologist, raised the issue to a different level by proposing a trilogy of cultures - sensate, idealist and ideational - each having its distinct system of knowing and validating truth. He pointed out that modern science (and by implication social sciences) was the product of sensate culture and therefore inherently incapable of evaluating the truth contents of the other two types of cultures (Sorokin, 1959).

B. Contemporary Challenge to Positivism

As discussed above, Positivism did not go unchallenged even at the earlier stages of its development. Two towering figures, Marx and Weber
constructed their theoretical edifices and empirical studies on alternative epistemological foundations. Moreover, for more than one hundred years, during which social sciences developed in the West and diffused in the rest of the world, Positivism with certain modifications and variations, remained the dominant approach in social sciences. Most social scientists remained sure of the foundation on which they were building the new enterprise. They believed that there existed an agreed conception of science and a scientific methodology. Therefore, their main task was to search for uniformities, regularities or laws in society analogous to laws in natural sciences using scientific methodology rigorously.

As noted earlier, although the epistemological paradigm of Positivism, more recently known as behaviourism (with some differences), was challenged from its very inception, though on different grounds, current challenges confronting it are more serious and difficult to ignore.

Furthermore, the performance of positivist social sciences in terms of discovering universal laws during this period has not been noteworthy. They have not discovered many common "social" laws beyond tautologies and general statements such as culture, social structure, or environments influence or condition social behaviour. Even the queen of social sciences - economics - has not offered many universally applicable laws (Hayek quoted in Khan, 1985: 239). The more neurotically it pursues econometrics and quantification, the more it discovers associations and correlations denuded of causal significance and predictive value.

The political context in which the positivist social sciences were transferred from the West to the Third World was not conducive for debate or questioning of the epistemological basis of the transferred tradition. Doubters and dissenters remained minority voices until Positivist social sciences were seriously challenged in the West itself during 70s. Simultaneously the traditional political context of colonialism and to an extent neo-colonialism changed providing a new framework conducive for both political and intellectual self-assertion by some Third World social scientists (Ratnam, 1981; 118-119; Dube, 1982; 495-502).

This expanded consciousness led to a critique of Western positivist social sciences for their ethnocentrism, their exaggerated claim to universality, their exclusive focus on causes of underdevelopment of these societies on factors internal to them without assigning adequate weight to the external factors such as the role of colonialism (Alatas 1972; Inayatullah, 1975; Wiarda, 1981). They were accused of serving the political and economic interests of the West and thus perpetuating intellectual colonialism and dependence. The calls for intellectual decolonisation, liberation and self-reliance (Haq, 1975), adaptation rather than wholesale thoughtless adoption of western social sciences, and indigenisation became more frequent in international conferences on social sciences, and regional associations such as AASSEREC and others.
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(UNESCO Report, 1980). A Third World Forum with a call for intellectual self-reliance and liberation of the Third World was founded in 1974.2

Pakistani social scientists working most of the time under pro-western authoritarian regimes, without adequate academic freedom have remained on the periphery of this debate and generally followed the Positivist paradigm. Only recently a challenge to positivist social sciences has developed in the form of what is being called "Islamisation of knowledge" led by Islamic economists (Naqvi, 1980). This process, however, has not advanced enough to determine whether it provides a viable alternative epistemological foundation for constructing "Islamic Social Sciences." Besides the "Islamic social scientists," a few other Pakistani social scientists have recently engaged in a critique of Positivism (Hussain, 1983; 24-36 and Qureshi, 1983; 17-23). However, for most of the Pakistani social scientists the faith in Positivism remains unquestioned. The awareness that they are practicing only one approach, out of several possible approaches to social sciences, has not yet developed.

Defining Development of Social Sciences

A. Issues in Evaluation of Social Sciences

For evaluating the state of social sciences in Pakistan, the following tasks need to be undertaken:

1. identify the characteristics of a "developed" social science discipline or social sciences as a totality;
2. derive certain indicators of development and in their light evaluate social sciences in Pakistan.
3. determine the causes of their development or lack of it.

Performing all these tasks simultaneously increases their complexity. For instance, identification of causes or correlations must precede a relative correct assessment of the level of development of social sciences. If such assessment is not possible, because there is no agreement about what constitutes "developed" social sciences or no data is available to determine the level of such development, the identification of causes becomes difficult.3

The basic issue for evaluating the development of a social science or social sciences as a totality relates to a definition of development. Defining "development" of man, society, and mankind has proved difficult as controversies over the concept reflected in literature on the subject during the last hundred years suggest. Defining the development of scientific knowledge, even when it is related to relatively invariant natural phenomena, has also proved to be a difficult task as the existence of several contending conceptions of the nature of science described in the last section indicates. That makes the
definition of development of social sciences all the more difficult where factors of variability, indeterminacy and inconstancy of phenomena are pronounced.

There seem to be several possible ways of approaching the problem of definition of development of social sciences. One is to assume isomorphism between natural and social sciences and thus model the definition of development of social science after the natural sciences. Though model of development of natural science constitutes a worthy ideal, its limitations for determining the development of social sciences are enormous given the nature of social phenomena. Therefore, though some elements of this model will be incorporated into the definition of development and used as criteria for evaluating the development of social sciences in Pakistan it will not be fully followed.

A second approach to the definition of development of social sciences can be based on the biological evolutionary theory according to which an organism becomes more developed, as its parts or subsystems become more specialised and more integrated, to impart it greater capacity to survive in changing environments. Such a model may be useful for defining and determining the development of natural and social sciences as it emphasises that social sciences, to be truly developed, should become simultaneously specialised and integrated.

A third way of approaching this problem is the empirical and inductive one. Rather than setting up a priori model of development of social sciences, it is inductively derived from the historical process of development of scientific knowledge. As both natural and social sciences are believed to have achieved a higher level of "development" during the last several centuries in the West one can abstract from their pattern of development some elements which can serve as criteria for evaluating social sciences in the Third World.

Some of the difficulties in this approach are obvious and may not be belaboured. If the inductive process is followed it has to be assumed that development of sciences in the West was and is the only possible and correct route to their development. Such an assumption unjustifiably ignores and excludes the possibility of "missed opportunities," and alternative routes. In this way we may also exclude the possibility that social sciences in the West may themselves be mal-developed, at least in some respect. They may possibly have ideological orientations legitimising the interests of colonialism, imperialism and contemporary Western World dominance. They may be imbedded in the ethnocentric biases of European history and culture and its peculiar political, economic and cultural development. There is some evidence that while certain historical conditions in the West favoured the emergence of what may be considered universal and positive elements in social sciences, they also limited their capacity to describe and comprehend the Third World in the light of these universal criteria. If these possibilities are recognised, then one should use the Western social sciences as model of development with considerable caution.
A fourth possible approach is to build an eclectic model of development of social sciences which combines some of the elements from the above described three approaches with some additional criteria. Such a model indeed would be disjointed lacking theoretical coherence and elegance as all eclectic models tend to be. However, it may at least provide us with a some framework by which social sciences in Pakistan can be evaluated. If its utility and relevance or lack of it for evaluating social sciences in Pakistan and in identifying conditions that impede or facilitate their development is established, then it could be used for studying the social sciences in other similar conditions. This, in turn, may enable us to develop a more generalised framework for understanding the processes of development of social sciences in other societies and cultures.

The proposed model combines both inductive and deductive procedures. Instead of starting with a generalised definition of such an eclectic model, it may be useful to specify the criteria of development of social sciences.

**B. Criteria for Evaluating Social Sciences in Pakistan**

As brought out in the earlier section there is a core of principles or postulates which distinguishes scientific methods of achieving valid knowledge from other methods. This core is universally accepted by the scientific community in spite of their difference on some, and underemphasis or overemphasis on the other. Therefore, if the state of social sciences in Pakistan is to be evaluated in terms of their development, under-development and maldevelopment, one has to assess them by universal criteria and not on criteria specific to the "intellectual culture" of Pakistan. Cultural relativism as a moral philosophy may be a necessary antidote for intolerance and ethnocentrism. It may also be a good guide for empathic understanding and evaluation of cultures and societies in which a scientist is not himself enculturated or socialised. However, it is an inadequate guide for building universal social sciences. Cultural empathy is a useful cognitive guide only when it is employed for determining what is truly universal and culture-specific and not merely for appreciating individual cultures. The following warning by an anthropologist against relativism is worthy of consideration by social scientists:

"... by limiting critical assessment of human work it (relativism) disarms us, dehumanises us, leaves us unable to enter into communicative interaction; that is to say, unable to criticise cross-culturally, cross-sub-culturally; ultimately, relativism leaves no room for criticism at all (Janvie quoted in Geertz, 1984: 266)."

The above, however, does not imply, as pointed out earlier, that social sciences evolved in the West with a variety of approaches and methodologies, necessarily universalistic just because of their earlier development. Together with universal elements in them, they also reflect the impact of peculiar conditions in which they were born and evolved, and the ethnocentrism of the
Western social scientists. To a certain extent, they perform an "ideological" or legitimising function for the established world order or domination of societies in which they are produced over others.

Within the framework of a universal concept of science and following an eclectic model of development of social sciences six criteria for evaluating social sciences in Pakistan are proposed:

1. Adherence to scientific methodology leading to cumulative growth of knowledge;
2. Extent of objectivity;
3. Extent of creativity;
4. Structural integration of social scientific knowledge;
5. Extent of Institutional capability for development of social sciences;

An assessment of social scientific works produced in Pakistan or on Pakistan employing the above criteria is an uphill task requiring at least a study of the most significant works. This is beyond the capacity of a single individual particularly the present writer. Therefore, most of the evaluation will be impressionistic, illustrated here and there by citations or examples and occasionally supported by the judgements of other social scientists.  

1. Adherence to Scientific Methodology

Adherence to the canons of scientific methodology by social scientists requires that they have some acquaintance with the philosophy of science and the knowledge of various prevalent paradigms and their implications for choosing research methods and techniques. They should also be aware about the nature of theory and empiricism, relationships between logical propositions and data, and the meanings of value - neutrality of the scientist. It is important to appreciate for a practitioner of science that it is not merely a method of acquiring knowledge but "also a rigorous and highly disciplined mode of reasoning about causal relationships (Lenski, 1988: 169)." It is difficult to determine how many social scientists in Pakistan are adequately aware of these issues, but their number could not be large.

With a few exceptions, most of the social scientific literature in Pakistan is not oriented to cumulative growth of knowledge in the specific field or in social sciences as a whole. Generally it lacks theoretical orientation and theoretical frameworks. When a theoretical framework is used, it is not itself subjected to a critical assessment. Theories current in the field are usually accepted uncritically. As a result Pakistani social sciences have not made any significant contributions to the cumulative growth of social scientific knowledge.

Lacking a systematic theoretical framework social sciences in Pakistan have moved mainly in two directions; (a) superficial "speculative" analysis or
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(b) what Mills calls "abstracted empiricism" (1961: 50-75) and Waseem calls "hyperfactualism" (1989). Superficial speculative analysis is particularly manifest in the journalistic style of analysis of political events (Shafqat, 1989), of foreign policy approaches, narrative and descriptive history (Malik, undated) and other disciplines. In this mode of analysis, the causes of one set of current events are sought in another set of such events without systematically relating them to their historical context. When historical analysis is undertaken, it usually does not go beyond describing or tracing a given phenomenon in time without identifying the causes underlying it. A divorce between history and social sciences which occurred in the USA in the post second world war period has been retained in Pakistan which has done considerable damage to the nascent social sciences. Incursion of Some Pakistani historians into other disciplines, such as political science, however, have not proved productive and have imparted them a descriptive - narrative thrust (Shafqat' chapter).

There is also tendency in Pakistani social sciences to explain events by special attributes of political personalities. Charisma is frequently used as an explanation both by professional social scientists and non-professional social analysts. An explanation of political events is also sought in the degree of adherence or violation of legal-formal or constitutional norms and prescriptions. Scientific analysis (in terms of fundamental social processes) in dynamics of movements of history, interrelationship between social parts and social wholes (for instance, global context impinging on national and regional levels and regional or local levels impinging on them in turn) is less frequently undertaken. Events and social phenomena are generally treated as unique rather than placed in comparative historical and contemporary perspectives. Explanations sought are ad hoc and not systematic and without a clear theoretical framework.

While some of the speculative, historical and legal-formal analysis has come to Pakistani social sciences from its indigenous intellectual tradition, abstracted empiricism or hyperfactualism has come from a superficial understanding of western sciences, both natural and social, through training of social scientists in the West. Abstracted empiricism derives its thrust from the mistaken notion that science deals only with facts, data and concrete evidence, which as our discussion of nature of science and its methodology suggests, is only a partial or at worst a misleading truth. Facts do not speak for themselves, nor do they become meaningful unless they are mutually related and interpreted within a theoretical framework. In fact, in the diverse world of reality, the collection of facts has to be guided by some theoretical search light without which one cannot determine what facts are relevant to one's study. In Pakistani social sciences, obsession with facts is dominant particularly in economics, demography, sociology and perhaps psychology. This has now been facilitated by computers which can be fed with data to search for patterns, correlations and associations without an active intervention of a theory or theoretical imagination of a good social scientist.
The import of abstracted empiricism has been accompanied by the import of research techniques developed in social sciences in the West which are not often appropriate for gathering facts in a illiterate, predominantly rural society, lacking access to modern communication media.\textsuperscript{13} As a result, the "facts" gathered with these techniques are low on their reality contents.\textsuperscript{14}

2. Objectivity in Social Sciences

In its classical natural science paradigm, objectivity is considered to be an essential element in the "cultural ethos" of science. Objectivity in this paradigm means "disinterestedness" and detachment of the scientist from the object of his research (Merton, 1957), and ability to be aware and prevent the projection of one's biases, perceptions, perspectives and personal preferences on the subject of his study which can affect the formulation of scientific propositions and the quality of data collection to prove or falsify them. This framework is rooted in the Cartesian distinction between the observer and the observed, the observer assumed to be a solitary person reflecting on the phenomena being studied without himself being a member of social group and therefore without any personal and social biases.

While perfect realisation of such objectivity is not easy to achieve even in natural sciences, it is much more difficult to attain in social sciences. Unlike the natural scientists who generally do not have subjective reactions to the phenomenon they study and can easily abandon any preconceptions they hold about it, the social scientists are part of different social groups, communities, countries and cultures from which they inherit, derive and inculcate specific attitudes, biases, and prejudices. Burdened with this social and cultural baggage, and limited by their subjective reactions to some of the questions they study, they cannot pursue truth with the same degree of objectivity, notwithstanding the level of perfection of their methodology, as the natural scientists can do.

Obviously a social scientist biased against or favourably predisposed toward the social phenomena he is studying cannot be expected to arrive at scientific conclusions, even if he succeeds in strictly following the canons of scientific methodology. The socially acquired cultural preferences and biases and tendency to view one's own culture, society, country, race, ethnic group, class etc. possessing some special characteristics and virtues superior to other similar social categories are obverse of objectivity. They reflect what is termed as "ethnocentrism" and defined as "uncritical prejudice in favour of one's own culture and the distorted, biased criticism of alien cultures (Bidney, 1972: 456)."

In view of the above discussion, the traditional and classical concept of objectivity, which is mechanical one, needs to be expanded from just disinterestedness and detachment to include the inculcation of a set of attitudes, outlook, and moral commitment in the social scientists to be neutral and detached during their observations. This requires a moral obligation to expunge one's ethnocentric biases and one's motives to gain knowledge for material benefits, fame and power. True scientific objectivity can be achieved only if
social scientists undergo a moral transformation and develop an outlook which is not merely mechanistically objective but transcends all parochial social bondage and identities and is imbued with love for humanity. In traditional cultures mystics claim to have attained such self-purification is attained by great mystics.

The training of modern social scientists does impart them a degree of objectivity and broadens their perspective compared to traditional scholars. This is done, sometimes, through comparative analysis of societies and cultures and technical training in essentials of scientific methodology. Lacking in moral and spiritual contents, however, this training is not sufficient to eliminate social biases.

Objectivity in some intellectual circles is assumed to be synonym with value neutrality - which is an amoral stance towards implications of the knowledge one produces. This, however, is both morally and scientifically an indefensible position. The classical adage that knowledge is power has greater truth in the modern context with the availability of mass media and effective indoctrination techniques. Those who produce knowledge affect the distribution of power and the policy outcomes which in turn determine, in the words of well known social scientist Harold Lasswell, "who gets what, how and when?" in the society. Thus knowledge shapes the choices and life opportunities of people enabling some to control the actions of others. In this sense the producers of knowledge are not neutral with regards to structure of power and allocation of resources in a society.

Besides, a social scientist, consciously or unconsciously, chooses the problem he studies within a value framework. These values could be a social scientist's own or of the organisation which he works for or those of political authorities. They could be parochial and particularistic or universal and encompassing entire humanity. The values a social scientist employs in choosing the problems he studies in some way affect what values are promoted and realised in a society. In this sense the producers of knowledge are not and cannot become neutral, even if they believe otherwise, in the struggles going on in a society.

By assuming the stance of value-neutrality a social scientist does not become truly objective but only indifferent to the political and moral consequences of his work. This is just a "mechanical" and false objectivity. True objectivity requires that a social scientist specifies what values guide him in choosing the problem he studies and what type of social outcomes he expects to create by it. Once he has made these choices then he should remain neutral with regard to formulation of his hypotheses, collection and interpretation of his data. Value neutrality, if interpreted to mean abandoning the responsibility to draw social implication of one's studies based on his reasoned and considered judgement and leaving this to the vested interests to interpret them in the framework of their narrow interests, becomes a pernicious doctrine turning scholars into mandarins or intellectual mercenaries.
The doctrine of value neutrality could be used as a device to camouflage the fact of accepting the value premises of the ruling class and for serving their interests. The doctrine comforts social scientists that they are performing their professional scientific role in a neutral way and if their studies help consolidate the power of an illegitimate ruler, they cannot help it as their professional ethics demands value neutrality. The doctrine also desensitise them to problems affecting the weak and underprivileged strata, the problems of poverty, disease, exploitation, dependence, and powerlessness.

Before evaluating the level of objectivity and ethnocentrism in Pakistani social sciences one must remind oneself that Western social sciences, to some extent, also suffer from ethnocentrism. Only a few examples will be given. The 19th century British sociologist Spencer's division of "industrial and militant societies" and his characterisation that British society was industrial, that is, creating wealth by industry, and German and French societies, then traditional enemies of the British, were militant, acquiring wealth by plunder and war was very likely due to his ethnocentrism. Durkheim's claim of society as sui-generis may be due to collectivistic orientation of his religion - Catholicism. Weber's thesis of Protestant ethic and capitalism could possibly be due to his own upbringing in a Protestant family and Protestant German society. Ethnocentrism of Western orientalists toward Muslim culture, past and contemporary, has been extensively documented by the classic work of Edward Saeed, Orientalism (1979) in spite of its occasional flaws.

Above we gave a few examples of individual ethnocentrism. An example how a shared ethnocentrism of a group of social scientists affected the formulation of a theory - the theory known as "modernisation" is given below.

The theory of "modernisation" was developed by some leading social scientists from the West, particularly from the USA, sociologists like Parsons, Levy, Smelser, Eisenstadt, economists like Rostow, political scientists like Almond, Verba, Pye, Lerner, and Riggs. This theory dichotomises most contemporary societies as "developed" and "underdeveloped," putting the Western society at the top of the hierarchy of the developed ones. Lerner, without any reservations, defined modernisation or development as acquisition of behavioural characteristics associated with Anglo-Saxon culture and hailed the passing of traditional societies in a book with the same title (Lerner, 1958). He argued that traditional societies would become modern as they acquired these behavioural patterns and shed off their traditional characteristics. The modernisation theory attributed failure of the underdeveloped societies to develop to their internal characteristics and prescribed that they must give them up, adopt the western road to development with assistance from the West in the form of aid and technology to become truly modern and developed. Failure of these theorists to see the role of Western societies in "under-developing" the developing countries, through colonialism, trade, contemporary political domination and other mechanisms, their inability to critically evaluate their own societies which they offered as model for the less developed societies seems to
reflect their ethnocentrism. Some were consciously motivated such as Rostow to produce a theory which can counter the influence of a rival ideology and a theoretical system - Marxism.\textsuperscript{16}

While Western social sciences contain a certain degree of ethnocentrism, social sciences in Pakistan suffer from the twin ills of xenophobia (fancy for the new and foreign) and ethnocentrism, the former emerging from Pakistani society's cultural integration with the Anglo-Saxon intellectual and cultural tradition, the latter from its indigenous intellectual culture and special circumstances of its emergence as a separate country from India.

Ethnocentrism in Pakistani social sciences is particularly manifest in writings on Islamic history,\textsuperscript{17} history of Muslim separatism in India\textsuperscript{18} and history of Pakistan. Indeed, any objective assessment of some aspects of Islamic civilisation in some periods of its history would find it as representing highest human values and considerable cultural achievements. Its role as a medium of transferring intellectual achievements of earlier civilisations particularly those of Greece are impressive. However, writings of some historians in Pakistan dealing with Islamic history suffer from excessive exaggeration and unsubstantiated glorification of most Islamic history and fail to critically examine it. Very few, for instance, would have the courage of Iqbal to call Arab invasions of other countries during earlier period of Muslim expansion as "Arabian Imperialism" (1982: 158-159) or put the Muslim invasion of India in its objective and comparative perspective.\textsuperscript{19}

A second area where objectivity fails a large number of Pakistani social scientists particularly historians and political scientists, is history of Muslim separatism and Pakistan. The narration of events generally starts with the assumption of inevitability of Pakistan - culmination of a long historical process starting with Arab invasion of India.\textsuperscript{20} Second, there is a romantic and non-empirical attitude towards the assessment of the character of the Pakistan movement invariably characterised as a mass movement without necessary qualification that its mass character emerged only at a later stage and it remained essentially an urban phenomenon particularly in areas now comprising Pakistan. There is a lack of objectivity concerning the internal structure and method and style of decision making of the party that spearheaded the movement for Pakistan. Furthermore there is too wide a division between those who consider the movement emerging from material factors and those who attribute it to a search for an ideal Islamic state. A synthesis of operation of material and ideological factors simultaneously operating verified or falsified by empirical research does not seem to be emerging.\textsuperscript{21}

Pakistani historians also under-emphasise the role of some political and intellectual leaders in laying the ideological foundation of Pakistan movement such as Ameer Ali (Abbasi, 1981). Some Pakistani historians are engaged in distorting or ignoring the role of those non-Muslim and Muslim leaders who opposed Pakistan but protected the interest of Muslims and sometimes of Pakistan. Recently some historians have pleaded for recognition
of the role of leaders of Majlis-e- Ahl and Khaksar Tehrik in struggle for independence. Such realisation, however, has yet to be extended to an objective treatment of Khuda-i-Khidmatgars and their leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan and others who disagreed with the political course of the Muslim League but waged an anti-colonial struggle. Due to the absence of such a realisation no systematic work on these movements have yet been undertaken.

Under instructions from a government agency, allocating funds to universities, the writing of history of Pakistan is subordinated to national and ideological interests. The text book writers are required to inculcate patriotism, pride, an unshakeable belief in the longevity and stability of the country but also a belief that Pakistan's foundation lie only in religion and not in other factors (See Crush's chapter). Such an attitude does not inculcate objectivity in viewing social phenomena but creates closed and unthinking minds incapable of scientific enquiry.

There is a strong strand of thought in Pakistani social sciences which tends to explain events using "conspiracy" theory or theories and thus intentionally or unintentionally supporting the rulers in diverting the attention of the people from true causes of events. This does not mean that social scientists should preclude "conspiracy theory" from their explanations even when there is enough empirical evidence for it. However, a social scientist must keep it in mind that "conspiracy theory" is usually hobby horse of those scholars who suffer from individual or social paranoia or shun creative theoretical and painstaking empirical work substituting conspiracy theory for it.

A third area where objectivity fails a part of Pakistani social sciences is to understand social structure, political system, economic performance, military capability, foreign policy postures and interests and cultural achievements of the presumed "enemies." This particularly happens with regard to writings on India which very few Pakistani scholars have undertaken and when some do, they find it hard to achieve an adequate degree of objectivity.

Besides India, Pakistani social sciences have yet to develop an objective posture towards Western civilisation, British colonialism and neo-colonialism. A large number of Pakistani social scientists with advanced training have been trained in the West. While some of them develop a critical orientation to the knowledge they gain from the Western universities, most of them accept it as an unquestionable "scientific truth." As a consequence of acquisition of this knowledge and exposure to the life in the West they return with an uncritical attitude towards the Western system of life, political system, culture and foreign policy. Some go to the other extreme and become hypercritical of the West characterising it to be essentially a declining materialist culture lacking the spirituality of their conception. They evaluate the West against Pakistani religious ideals without subjecting the Pakistani or Muslim societies to similar evaluation by Western ideals.
The roots of ethnocentrism in Pakistani social sciences lie in the reluctance of many Pakistani social scientists to subject their own individual, group, class, regional national and cultural biases to scientific scrutiny. Scientific knowledge and scientific methodology is frequently used to strengthen this ethnocentrism. Frequently the search for ethnocentric biases in Western social sciences serves to justify and camouflage one's own ethnocentrism; one type of ethnocentrism breeding or feeding on the other.

Working within the framework of government controlled and government funded academic institutions, some of the Pakistani social scientists opt for the convenient and possibly twisted meaning of the doctrine of value neutrality and adopt the perspective and preferences of those whoever happen to be in power regardless of the nature of the rule they impose on the society and degree of their political legitimacy. This has been documented for the discipline of economics (Karamat Ali's chapter). The judgement of a historian about writings on Pakistani history is similar (Crush's chapter). It will be illuminating if this line of research could be pursued in other disciplines to test the hypothesis advanced here.

3. Creativity and Pakistani Social Sciences

Creativity is both an indicator and a condition of development of science including social sciences. Science does not develop just by mechanical application of scientific methodology to a given problem. It develops through questioning the existing paradigms and theories, the formulation of new ones, the identification of new patterns in known facts and discovery of new facts. All this occurs as a result of creativity which itself is a product of imagination, inspiration or intuition. In this sense creativity is an important condition of the development of science.

Creativity, however, is also an indicator of a developing science. There must be a reasonably continuous flow of new ideas emerging within a discipline which should vigorously and continuously challenge the prevailing paradigm, theories, propositions and facts. This creativity must manifest itself at all four levels of scientific activity, though the consequences of creativity at the paradigm level are much greater for the development of science than just discovering new facts.22

In some parts of Asia and Latin America some intellectual fermentation has developed during the last two decades accompanied by an appreciation of the need for scientific creativity. Emergence of "dependency theory" and "Participatory Action Research" are two possible indications. However, the major thrust of scientific works in the Third World remains imitative and imitative. Most of the Third World social science community, if one can use this term, predominantly remains on the intellectual periphery of the Western intellectual centres. Not many Third World Social Scientists accept creativity as an important part of their role and often they become what
Inayatullah

Professor Hussain Alatas calls the "captive minds" and "retailers of knowledge" (1972: 14).

With some rare exceptions, creativity in social sciences in Pakistan is indeed low.23 Even the relatively more developed social science in Pakistan - economics - has not shown much creativity. In the judgement of Karamat Ali "the original contribution of economists within Pakistan to the discipline has been negligible." (See his chapter). A considerable number of Pakistani social scientists are mainly concerned with gathering and compiling data without giving them creative interpretation. Whenever data is related to a theory, the latter is usually borrowed and used without its critical evaluation. Social scientific paradigms imported from the West are seldom examined critically or new one proposed.24 The discipline which can encourage debates about basic philosophical issues underlying social sciences - the philosophy of social sciences - remains virtually unknown in Pakistan even among most of the teachers and researchers. Students are hardly exposed to it.

Another indication of lack of creativity and prevalence of imitative orientation is the absence of text books of high quality for undergraduates and graduate studies for teaching social sciences and the indiscriminate use of text books produced in the West. Not that Western text books should not be used but they must be examined for their relevance to Pakistani conditions. The subjects of business and public administration represent the extreme degree of this imitative orientation. Their reliance on Western, particularly American, text books seems to be high. The situation though not exactly similar in other subjects does not significantly depart from the established patterns. Writing about the development of psychology in Pakistan, Ansari observes:

Most text books used in the country are those written in USA. At lower levels books written by local authors are also available, but by and large they are translations of Western books. At times the examples and illustration are also taken from the West. Much of the psychological literature and writing on Pakistan, though not all of it, suffers from the same problem. One finds lot of replications of researches carried out in the West, or at a higher level, validation of constructs derived from Western psychological literature(1988: 7-8).

One gets an impression that not many Pakistani social scientists accept creativity in knowledge as an essential part of their professional role.25 Working under the heavy burden of the impact of their graduate and postgraduate studies in the West, often overawed by the vast amount of social science knowledge acquired during their training there and fascinated by new and fancy research techniques and sophisticated technology, most of them find their critical and creative faculties numbed and stunted. Given this imitative orientation and disposition, continuous linkages with professional groups in the West, participation in professional meetings there and through access to professional journals and eagerness to publish in them, which otherwise should become a stimulus for professional creativity, become impediments to it.
4. Specialisation and Integration of Social Sciences in Pakistan

In the 19th century when social sciences were emerging as a distinct area of inquiry, different from philosophy and humanities, such pioneers as Comte, Spencer and Marx made a conscious attempt to build a single science of society. They saw the study of society "as a unified enterprise (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1982)." However, by the end of 19th century, this unified conception of social sciences gradually yielded to specialisation of knowledge alternatively known by various terms such as "segmentation," "fragmentation," "sectorialisation" and "polarisation" (Inayatullah, 1986; Preiswerk, 1982; 182-183; Wallerstein, 1984; 178, Galtung, 1969: 178).27

In this process of specialisation various aspects of human behaviour and social reality were split apart; analytical abstractions such as homo-economicus, homo-psychologicus, homo-sociologicus etc., were invented. Each social science carved out for itself a separate domain based on such abstraction. As these domains multiplied, with it increased the level of specialisation. This specialisation was further facilitated by the institutionalisation of specialised disciplines into proliferating departments in more and more universities and colleges, professional associations and exclusive journals in the West.

Since the victory of trend toward specialisation, social scientific knowledge has remained unaggregated and fragmented failing to provide "knowledge about totality of human beings (Preiswerk, 1982: 177). Specialisation while in some way deepened knowledge about man and society also led to the formation of a partial, microscopic and thus distorted view of social reality at the expense of total and integrated view of it. With the success of "analytical operations" in social sciences, the patient of true knowledge died. Besides, specialisation created the problem of mutual incomprehension among various disciplines - depriving them from profiting from each other's achievements. Thus, specialisation by itself without a compensating tendency toward unification of knowledge is not an indication of development of social sciences. It may reflect their maldevelopment.

One negative effect of segmentation of social scientific knowledge was the lack of formulation of an adequate concept of development, effective strategies for achieving it and evaluating its results. With greater specialisation of knowledge development came to be viewed as growth of its segments - economic, social, political, cultural and technological. Furthermore, the linkage between the development of smaller social units, such as a village, and largest social units - the humankind - were not adequately delineated and understood. Segmentation in social sciences created what Veblen called "trained incapacity" to see the mutual links between various components, their interdependence and unity.

Once man and society were split up, development was dehumanised. Concern with concrete human beings, their problems - misery, poverty,
underdevelopment, oppression etc. were replaced with focus "on abstract process and institutions" (Preiswerk, 1982: 177).

Compelled by its inner logic, segmentation of social sciences also led to what may be called "miniaturisation" of problems to be studied, that is, a concentration on minor and minute issues to the neglect of vital problems concerning mankind, nations and people seen in a holistic and broad perspective. Preiswerk had summed up the limitation and negative effects of fragmented social sciences as follows:

Fragmented social sciences could be counterproductive because they lose sight of mankind's development. They blur the pathological direction of that development and prevent the understanding of forces at work. They also make it easier for technocrats and autocrats to manipulate society with knowledge which has the blessing of the so called scientists (Ibid.).

Several efforts have been made in the West to counter the tendency toward extreme specialisation. Pursuing the task of integrating social knowledge set forth for sociology by its founding fathers, Comte and Spencer, American sociologist Parsons and his associates have made an important attempt (Parsons and others, 1962). However, their approach achieved only a limited success and made a limited impact on social sciences partly due to the high level of its abstraction which occasionally resulted in its incomprehension and lack of relevance to vital problems of man and society. The behavioural movement in the United States which gained ascendancy since the Second World War represented a second attempt. It explicitly set for itself the task of promoting inter-disciplinary cross-fertilisation (Easton, 1967: 22-25). The movement also achieved only a limited success. Probably these attempts did not comprehend the task of integrating social knowledge correctly. The integration cannot be achieved by maintaining the rigid boundaries of the various disciplines with separate paradigms, theories, concepts and definitions of vital problems but by what has been called "transdisciplinary" approach (Galtung, 1969: 281-285; Preiswerk, 1982: 182-183).

The emergence of a "world system" approach developed by some scholars from various disciplines is a third attempt in the same direction (Wallerstein, 1976: 343-352). However, being a recent development, it will be premature to evaluate its impact and achievement.

The pattern of specialisation and segmentation of social sciences as developed in the West, which was characterised as maldevelopment earlier, has been reproduced in Pakistan. Each discipline is developing in isolation both in terms of teaching and research. Interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and transdisciplinary concerns in which all disciplines develop a common theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework are absent. Application of different disciplines for developing a holistic view of Pakistani society and culture and understanding of significant problems of Pakistan is rare. There is
no visible movement towards the unification of social science knowledge. Whatever interdisciplinary interests exist are due to a scholar's own individual interest in other disciplines.

Even the awareness of the limitations of segmented social scientific knowledge and its consequences for understanding man and society has not emerged. The relatively more "developed" (in the traditional meaning of development of a social science) discipline of economics shows a high degree of technocratism and specialisation, and almost no interest in other disciplines (Karamat Ali’s chapter; Aliya Khan and Burki, 1988: 1-8). Even the interdisciplinary approach of political economy is rarely used by economists.

The uneven and segmented development of social sciences in Pakistan has made the scientific knowledge of the Pakistani society unbalanced and produced the consequence identified above by Preiswerk. Partly due to the overdevelopment of the discipline of development economics, development in Pakistan had generally come to be viewed merely as economic development resulting into a narrow and unbalanced view of development of Pakistani society. How does economic development affect social, political, cultural and technical development? What non-economic factors facilitate or limit economic development? What is the cost of economic development in terms of political, social and cultural development? What is the nature of balanced, and comprehensive development of Pakistani society? What are the various indicators of such development? These are questions which have not been seriously asked nor their answers earnestly attempted by Pakistani social scientists.

The appropriateness and relevance of indicators of development, imported from Western intellectual centres and international organisations, such as United Nations and the World Bank, has not been seriously scrutinised. An example is the concept of "social development" and its indicators which usually include the extent of literacy, life expectancy, infant mortality, availability of clean drinking water, modern medical facilities etc. These indicators do not reflect social development derived from the social development theory. True social development is reflected in the degree of social co-operation or absence of conflicts between various groups, classes, communities, in the adequate level of flexibility of social structure manifest in the extent of upward social mobility and removal of barriers against various weaker and underprivileged groups, emergence of new and differentiated groups and organisations performing specialised tasks.

5. Institutional Capability for Social Sciences

The very existence, and diffusion of contents and types of development of social sciences are a product of their institutional capability. This is shown by the number of departments, teaching and doing research at higher level, the number of research institutions undertaking social science research, the number
of journals issued and the total strength of the community of social scientists. Like creativity, institutional capability is both a condition for development of social sciences and an indicator of it. Here an attempt will be made to assess the institutional capability in terms of its impact on social sciences for their true and even development in the light of above suggested criteria of development.

At the time of its inception, (the present) Pakistan had only two universities, one in the Punjab and one in Sind, with two social science departments; economics and history. There was only one research institution, the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry. Since then with the support of state and technical and financial assistance from abroad, training opportunities in the West, particularly in United States, some institutional growth of social sciences has occurred. Nine state supported general universities have established about 50 social science departments by 1983. Eighteen percent of these departments are of economics, 16% of history, 14% of political science and the remaining 52% are of psychology, international relations, philosophy, social work and anthropology (Ahmed & others, 1983).

There are three Agricultural Universities in the country which give postgraduate training in agricultural economics, rural sociology and other related subjects. The State has also established two institutes of education and research, one in Punjab University and one in Peshawar University. These institutes promote research in education and award postgraduate degrees. A National Institute of Pakistan Studies and a National Institute of Applied Psychology affiliated to Quaid-i-Azam University have been established in Islamabad. Besides, several universities have established some institutes and social science research centres which are expected to promote social science research in the area of their competence.

The state also uses social scientists and social sciences in its various activities. A considerable number of social scientists (mostly economists) serve in Planning Commission, Ministry of Planning and Development, Ministry of Finance and other ministries at national level, and in planning boards and ministries at provincial level. An economist pool exists in the central secretariat which mostly includes professional economists and those government servants who have acquired professional degrees or competence in social sciences.

A number of research institutes supported by the state exist outside the universities, well known among them being the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad and the Institute of Foreign Affairs, Karachi. The state has also built some training institutions such as Administrative Staff College, four National Institutes of Public Administration in each Province, Pakistan Academy for Rural Development (Peshawar) and a National Centre for Rural Development (Islamabad). There are number of departmental academies and institutes for pre-service and in-service training. These institutes, are expected to promote social science research and use social sciences for training their clientele (For details see Siddiqui's chapter). A Public Administration Research Centre within the Management Services Division
exists in Islamabad. Some training institutes have come into existence in the private sector, well known among them is the Pakistan Institute of Management in Karachi. With various level of sophistication they use social sciences in their training and research.

Most of university social science departments, university affiliated research and training institutes focus their teaching and research on a single discipline. Only in area study centres, rudiments of interdisciplinary orientation exists. The higher institutions of training for public servants also have interdisciplinary orientation with large component of development economics and development administration (Siddiqui, 1988). (For total number of institutions engaged in teaching and research in social sciences and using social sciences for improving the performance of bureaucracy see Appendix II).

The number of social science journals in the country has increased considerably. Five of them are issued by university departments, a few by state sponsored research institutes, the best known among them, both nationally and internationally, is the Pakistan Development Review. The faculty of Social Sciences of Quaid-i-Azam University issues a multidisciplinary journal, the only one of its kind. The major state sponsored research and training institutions mentioned above also issue quarterly journals which contain articles making use of social science methodology with various level of rigour. Most of these journals are of uneven and indifferent quality and appear irregularly.

By the end of 1983, there were 15,644 social scientists (Ph.D., M.Phil, M.Sc, M.A) working in the country both in public and private sectors. Out of these, 30% were economists, 19% political scientists, 11% historians and 11% educationists; the remaining belonging to other categories. Most of them worked in the public sector (97%) and most of them are male (85%). Those working in public sector are mostly working with central government (41.3%) the remaining (58.7%) work with the provincial governments, the largest number working with Punjab government and the smallest number with Balochistan government.

In terms of their professional qualifications the social scientists (together with others who cannot be strictly considered in this category such as chartered accountant) 1% are Ph.d, 1% M.Phil., the remaining M.A. or its equivalent. Using a more restricted definition of social sciences there are only 108 Ph.ds accounting for a very small percentage of all the social scientists in these fields. 29

How does this level of institutional capability compare with other countries in South Asia? The question is difficult to answer with precision. If one compares this capability vis-à-vis a country like India, from which Pakistan separated in 1947, Pakistan's capability is considerably low. Besides, other factors, one reason for slower growth of such institutional capability in Pakistan vis-à-vis India is that Pakistan at the time of its inception had fewer universities and fewer social science departments to start with. Comparison with
Bangladesh and Sri Lanka may show possibly more or less the same level, with Sri Lanka having a slight edge over Pakistan. Pakistan is ahead of remaining south Asian countries such as Nepal and Maldives, but then Pakistan is also far ahead of these countries in terms of other conventional indicators of development such as per capita income, GNP, literacy ratio etc.

Development of institutional capability for social sciences in Pakistan is characterised by two significant trends. First, there is a considerable lag between the development of various disciplines, economics leading and anthropology least developed, other subjects distributed thinly over the continuum. This lag is also reflected in the share percentage of various disciplines in the total number of social scientists working in the country, economists being about 30%, political scientists 19% and historian 11%; share of the remaining disciplines being 40%. What are the consequences of this uneven development of various disciplines on the growth of social sciences as a whole and their impact on social order is not discussed here. This, however, is an interesting subject for further research.

A second trend in this capability is that it is promoted by the state. Almost all the universities, teaching social sciences, were established by the state, depend on state sector for their funds and are administratively controlled by the state. There being only a few research or training institutions in the country supported by the private sector, they do not exert any significant influence on the growth of social sciences. They are generally small scale organisations which survive on contracts from national or international agencies. The consequence of state control over the institutions producing social science knowledge will be discussed in the next section.

6. Social Utility of Social Sciences

Another important criterion of evaluating development of social sciences is their social utility and relevance. Indeed, the instrumentalism and pragmatism, the two important schools of philosophy, stress that not only knowledge should be useful but that an important criterion of its validity is its ability to solve problems. On the other hand, there is a strong strand of thought among the scientists, both natural and social, which considers the accumulation of valid knowledge the main concern of science and its utility or dis-utility either of secondary importance or of no concern to them at all. As discussed earlier, for most of the early pioneers of social sciences the scientific knowledge was to be obtained for a social purpose for restoring the disturbed equilibrium of the social order, or restructuring it on "scientific" lines. However, social sciences became less concerned directly with social problems as they became institutionalised into academic establishment, became internally fragmented and as social scientists became bureaucratically organised.

Since 70s, however, social utility or relevance of social scientific knowledge have come to be again stressed particularly in the Third World. Positivism which enshrined the doctrine of value neutrality of science and
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scientists has come under attack and social scientists are increasingly being constrained to ask themselves the question "knowledge for what?" However answer to such a question is not a simple one. The next question which inevitably follows is: "useful for whom and to serve whose interests?"

The question could be answered within the framework of two broad conceptions of society or social order. The answer would depend on which one of the two conceptions one chooses. The first conception assumes that society or social order is harmonious either due to its very nature, or due to the operation of the normative order which contains the conflict or due to some "invisible" hand which brings about harmony in it even when the acts of individual produce conflict. Within this framework ultimate interests of the rulers and the ruled, the dominant and the subordinate, the privileged and the underprivileged classes ultimately converge and harmonise even if they conflict in the short run. Given this assumption the issue of social utility of social scientific knowledge becomes simple - it should be useful for the society as a whole and should promote its common and collective interests.

A second perspective on social order assumes disharmony and conflict as basic characteristic of social order which is contained by force or manipulation of ideological symbols by the dominant groups and the rulers. The interests of the ruler and the ruled, the powerful and the weak, and the privileged and the underprivileged classes are assumed to be incompatible. Therefore social science knowledge cannot be simultaneously useful to the two opposing classes.

Adopting the first perspective of harmony of interests, most rulers in the Third World want that the scientists, both natural and social, should produce knowledge which help solves the pressing problems of underdevelopment, and accelerate the process of development of their societies. By implication, the argument is extended to promote what is called "applied research" or "policy research." They discourage "basic research" which according to this view only the rich countries can afford and on which the poor countries should not waste their scarce resources. Consequently, social scientists in the poor countries are encouraged to import and "adapt" knowledge of social sciences from the West and apply them to understand and solve their problems.

The above view of the social utility of social scientific knowledge of imported or "adapted" version of western social sciences is generally shared by the many international organisations, except possibly UNESCO, and the Western aid giving agencies and the social scientists working with them. To facilitate this process of importing or adaptation of Western social sciences a large number of social scientists from the Third World were and are being trained in the Western universities. In 60s and 70s a considerable number of Western educational experts were brought in to set up universities and departments to teach and act as advisers to government agencies needing social science knowledge. These measures gave a degree of objectivity to Third World elite and scientific basis to development planning in the Third World and raised
the technical level of the social scientists. However, it also integrated them to the Western intellectual tradition and favourably disposed them to look at their own problems and Western domination of the world from western perspective depriving them of original and creative thinking. Such integration also gave a western bias to the development process subordinating it to Western economic and political interests.

The utility of social scientific knowledge imported from the West and its adoption in the Third World countries has serious limitations. Some of them are discussed below. Two areas are chosen:

(a). The limitations of Western theories of social change;

(b). The limitations of imported development theories for accelerating the pace of an equitable and balanced development;

a. Limitations of Western Theories of Social Change

Since its emergence the traditional order of Pakistani society, like that of many other Third World societies, is changing in some respect and maintaining itself in other. This mixture of change and stability has exposed it to severe internal strains and turmoil. The forces that produced this turmoil are both internal and external to the society. The theories of social change developed in the West, in general, fail to illuminate the process of this change due to some of their inherent limitations. First, due to fragmentation and segmentation of social sciences, noted earlier, and their consequent preoccupation with minor changes in society they do not provide a holistic view of the dynamics of change and stability, connecting the change at the lowest level of social organisations to the highest level and linking changes in various dimensions of social order. They also fail to relate how internal and external forces give a certain direction to change and continuity of traditional order. Second, the "grand" theories of change, some of them cast in evolutionary framework, focus changes in civilisation or civilisations at a given point of their development to fit them into their preconceived evolutionary schemes (cf. Parsons, 1966). They usually do not identify the mechanisms and forces underlying the dynamics of change and continuity and, therefore, cannot provide the causal levers for effective and desired intervention in society and history. Finally, generally these theories have a conservative bias, as for instance structural functionalism. They frequently assume a law of social inertia, built-in self-regulating homeostatic tendencies restoring the equilibrium of a system whenever it is disturbed. Given this bias they cannot comprehend revolutionary turmoil and significant structural changes which grip the societies in the Third World. Finally, as some of these theories have emerged from the specific experience of western societies and their colonial relationship with the non-western world, they lack universality and relevance to the understanding of the non-western Third World including Pakistan.

b. Limitations of Western Theories of Development
During the last two hundred years, since the French Revolution and industrial revolution in Britain, man has consciously assumed the responsibility of intervention in history and social order to reconstruct it in accordance with a preferred vision or a set of values. This process has generally been called "development." Conscious commitment to this process received added reinforcement by Russian revolution and its success in transforming a relatively backward society into an industrially and technologically advanced one. The success of American Marshal Plan in Europe further strengthened the belief in the efficacy of human intervention in social order. Following these successes, commitment to "development" has become universal. In fact, development since the Second World War has assumed such a centrality in social thought and political action that this period can be rightly called "the era of development." This interest is common both in the decolonised Third World countries which are in a hurry to catch up with the West and the industrialised world which seems to be keen to ensure that the decolonised world followed their conceptions and patterns of development.

Social sciences in the West emerged simultaneously or subsequent to the two above mentioned important revolutions in the West (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1982: 982) and their theoretical and research interests as well as ideological stances were shaped by them (Burke III, 1984; 647). Since the Second World War, they have been much more involved in conceptualisation of development, identifying effective strategies of achieving it, particularly the social sciences in United States. Almost every traditional social science discipline has developed a sub-discipline with suffix or prefix of development, such as development economics, development politics, development administration etc. Through various mechanisms, Anglo-American social science orientation to development, particularly the American one, has been transferred to most of the Third World. These mechanisms include colonial contacts, technical assistance programme of the US government, spread of development literature produced in US and dependent intellectual contacts of the nascent community of social scientists of the Third World with American social scientists. Consequently, the transfer of development oriented social sciences has occurred quite rapidly as both the transferring and receiving countries found such transfer vital to their interests. In Pakistan, this transfer occurred at large scale and now American social science tradition, particularly development-oriented one, is well established in the universities, institutes conducting research in development and institutions for training bureaucracy.

This has significant consequences for the growth of development-oriented social sciences and the formulation of development policies in Pakistan. First, the "modernisation" theory to which many development oriented social sciences subscribed was imported into Pakistan without criticism and was used for developing policies without evaluating its relevance. The theory suggested a specific diagnosis of underdevelopment and made several policy prescriptions which emerged from or were compatible with foreign policy interests of the country of its origin (Prewitt, 1983: 761-764). Second, it overstressed the role of impediments to modernisation which were internal to the
In a young underdeveloped societies and neglected the structural impediments imposed by international system. Thus, it built a rationale for the import and transfer of Western technology, "ideology" and financial assistance to the Third World and for integrating it into world capitalistic system. This strategy was applied in Pakistan by a configuration of interests of the newly emerging industrialist class and the modernising military-bureaucratic regime of Ayub Khan firmly allied to the West. Its application also received intellectual support and urging from the Harvard Advisory Group and, besides other professional economists, by the then Chief Economist of Pakistan, Mahbub ul Haq and other professional economists. Haq advocated its applicability, in his own words, "with a youthful exuberance and conviction (Haq, 1975:1)." The result of this strategy was economic maldevelopment resulting in concentration of wealth in few hands documented in his "22 families" thesis (Ibid., 5-6) which indirectly contributed to the separation of East Pakistan.

A third important element of this theory was its stress on strengthening of the elite component of the state apparatus to direct the development of the society on "rational" and "orderly" basis and regulating or controlling the mass participation in politics. A considerable number of American political scientists analysed the political process of Pakistan from this perspective and either prescribed or supported elite directed modernisation (Waseem, 1985: 39-40). This analysis obviously could not generate knowledge about how to build a participatory democracy in Pakistan. Instead it provided an ideological legitimation and intellectual crutches to the military-bureaucratic rulers in Pakistan lacking genuine legitimacy. Thus wholesale import of Western development-oriented social sciences and their uncritical acceptance and application has not demonstratively proved useful for the country. It only served the short range interests of the rulers.

As described in the section on institutional capability quite a number of social science departments, social science research institutes and area study centres have emerged in Pakistan mostly with the assistance of the state and usually under its control. These institutions perform two types of functions:

(1) They become medium of transfer of western social sciences to Pakistan, diffusing them uncritically through teaching and research and thus promote their use for policy formulation indirectly if not directly. Some of the consequences of such transfer of knowledge have been discussed above.

(2) They produce knowledge about Pakistan, analyse its problems and occasionally make policy prescriptions. The "social utility" of this knowledge is at best limited even to the ruling elite adopting the "harmonious" perspective.

The ruling elite of the Third World usually complains that since most of the research produced is not related to government policies, it is not utilisable. They argue that the conclusions from fragmented micro-studies
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cannot help in framing general national policy. The research is over-theorised and technical. The researchers' findings are slow to come for their timely utilisation. The researchers do not appreciate the limitations of the policy makers and constraints within which they function. They offer policy recommendations which cannot be implemented within the established political framework (Atal, 1983: 367). The policy makers in Pakistan share, though do not always articulate, these complaints about social scientific research.

The social scientists in Pakistan, in turn, have their own complaints. Some of them allege that the policy makers are usually not aware of the relevant scientific research in the area in which they are making policy and therefore do not make use of it. Even when they are aware of such research, they tend to make policies on considerations other than social scientific knowledge. There is hiatus between policy makers and social scientists. This is due, in some cases, to anti-intellectual bias of policy makers. In other cases, it is owing to their belief that they already possess more knowledge than social scientists either because of the "practical knowledge" they acquired during their career or their superior intellectual versatility and competence. Finally, social scientists complain that they are not involved or consulted on major national policy issues and whenever involved their judgements are not given adequate weight.

Analysed from the second perspective of disharmonious and conflictual character of social order and incompatibility of the interest of the ruling elite and the people, the social utility of social sciences takes a different meaning. The social scientific knowledge produced in state controlled research institutions incorporate perspective or world view of the ruling elite. This knowledge is fed into the society through educational system. In Pakistan, the higher education being a preserve of the privileged class, the social scientific knowledge imparted through the educational system simultaneously integrates the educated class to the ruling elite and binds them together by imparting them the dominant intellectual and political culture. This increases the capacity of the ruling elite to rule effectively, maintain the status quo and successfully contain the impulses for transformation of the society through internal dynamics. Therefore, social scientific knowledge does not promote long term development of the society but tend to ossify it.

As literacy in Pakistan is low and higher education inaccessible to the common man, whatever social science knowledge is produced do not percolate downward to him. Moreover, this knowledge is written in technical language which makes it unintelligible to the common man. Given the fact that this knowledge incorporates the ruling class perspective and promote their interest, social utility of this knowledge to the common man is negligible even if it reaches him. It cannot help him to develop a social scientific outlook, understand the social forces that shape his social consciousness and impart him knowledge, organisational strategies and skills to liberate himself from the constraints of present development retarding social order. Such a knowledge is not even of limited use for understanding his more concrete and specific problems.
Social utility of current social scientific knowledge would remain low for the common man as long as the conditions which prevent their access to him exist. They include the integration of producers of social scientific knowledge to the existing elite structure. Such knowledge is not based on direct observations of reality incorporating the common man's perspective. The social scientists present their findings in technical terms not intelligible to the people and communication and class barriers divide the social scientists and the common man.

c. Indigenisation - Response to Imported Social Sciences

One response to lack of social relevance and utility of imported knowledge among some of the Third World social scientists is to bring about what is usually called "indigenisation" of social sciences. Atal has identified several meanings of the concept. They include the use of national language in teaching and research, dispensing with the foreign consultants and greater use of national experts, focussing research on national problems and substantive and methodological reorientation. The last includes "self awareness and rejection of borrowed consciousness ... desirability of alternative human perspective on human societies ... attention to historical and cultural specificities..." opposition to "false universalism" without adopting "false nationalism," and "narcissism" (Atal, 1981: 192-193). Kumar has identified three elements of indigenisation; structural, substantive and theoretical. The first refers to building of institutional capability, second to reorientation of research on one's own society. The third refers to the participation of national social scientists in "...constructing distinctive conceptual frameworks and metatheories which reflect the world views, social cultural experience and perceived goals (1979, 104-105)."

The process of indigenisation has unfolded in Pakistan in some respect. The country has become considerably self-reliant in social science expertise and skills and has built an adequate institutional capability as our previous discussion has indicated although it is difficult to determine whether such capability is commensurate with national needs and requirements. Unlike 50s and 60s when large number of social scientists were imported as teachers, advisors and consultants, in 80s there are very few foreign social scientists working in Pakistan. The increased level of self-reliance, however, has not increased the social utility of social sciences as local social scientists produce social sciences not much different from those produced abroad.

The issue of use of national language in teaching and doing research in social sciences and for that matter making it a medium of instruction for higher level of education continues to be debated in Pakistan and has not yet satisfactorily been resolved. For enhancing its social utility it is essential that social scientific knowledge is written in a language that most of the people of the country can easily understand and absorb it. This can give their thinking a
scientific bias and free them from unscientific beliefs and superstitions as well as participate in national and local political process intelligently.

In the present conditions, however, the use of national language - which is Urdu - cannot enhance the utility of social sciences due to high level of illiteracy and low level of education in the country. Mass media and local languages can be used to diffuse social science knowledge but then literacy in local language is not high either. Diffusion of social science knowledge through mass media occurs only to a limited extent.

The most important component of indigenisation of social sciences is what has above been called their reorientation to accommodate different cultural perspectives, to build them on alternative assumptions about man and society, and relate them to specific context and problems of a society. The demand for such indigenisation, however, now emerging from the Third World social scientists at this particular historical juncture is not a unique phenomenon. The German historical school in economics made such a demand in 18th century to counter what the school regarded as false universalism of classical school in economics. The "relativists" in various other disciplines also claimed that social sciences embedded in predominantly western philosophical assumptions about social life and values cannot comprehend non-western societies without undergoing significant reorientation.

To remain true to their cultural ethos and their scientific methodology the social sciences must remain open to self-criticism and accept alternative assumptions about man and society if there is compelling logic and empirical evidence for it. They should also be well-disposed towards the critique that the social sciences developed in the West could be one of the several possible approaches to study of man and society and should not exclude the possibility of building other type of social and human sciences based on other assumptions about social phenomena. On the other hand, the advocates of indigenisation of social sciences must articulate the criteria against which their new ventures should be judged. They should establish that these ventures reflect the main elements of science, that is, rationality, objectivity and determination of cause and effect relationship on the basis of some universal laws. Finally, they should commit themselves to creation of universal social sciences incorporating specificities of various social groups, societies and cultures.

Most Pakistani social scientists have remained indifferent to the basic issues involved in indigenisation of social sciences. However, most of them would accept the need of greater self-reliance in social sciences and enhancing their social utility by engaging in research on problems of national importance such as development and national integration. However, only a very small number has seriously accepted this challenge. As far as the more basic and important task of undertaking the critique of paradigms, assumptions and methodology of western social sciences and offering viable alternatives is concerned, very few have moved in this direction.
d. Islamisation of Knowledge in Pakistan

With greater assertion of revivalist movements in the Muslim world leading to questioning of intellectual foundation of modern knowledge, external financial support from some Middle Eastern countries and introduction of "Islamisation" in Pakistan during the rule of General Zia-ul-Haq, a certain number of social scientists led by "Islamic economists" are trying to "Islamise" social sciences. Several disciplines have been given the prefix of "Islamic" and known as Islamic economics, Islamic anthropology, Islamic sociology, etc.

In some respect the enterprise is indeed challenging and worthy one and part of the indigenisation process unfolding in the Third World. Both natural and social scientists would be acting against their own claims of remaining open to new ideas and seeking alternative paradigms if they reject indigenisation and Islamisation of social sciences just because they reject the dominant paradigms of contemporary social sciences. Particularly they should examine the claim of some of the Islamic social scientists that they can unify human knowledge and create a holistic perspective on man and society (International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1987: 15-16). If such a claim could be established by creative scientific work reflecting Islamic perspective, this could enrich the social sciences and rectify certain maldevelopment and imbalances created by excessive specialisation and "academisation" of social sciences.

As with the uneven development of social sciences, the process of "Islamisation" of knowledge in Pakistan is also uneven. Unlike Islamic Economics, which has at least proliferated quantitatively, Islamic Anthropology, Islamic Sociology and other social science disciplines have not gone beyond putting Islamic labels on the dominant Western social science orientation. This comes out from the definition of Islamic Anthropology given in a well publicised book by a Pakistani anthropologist which according to him is:

...(T)he study of Muslim groups by scholars committed to the universalistic principles of Islam - humanity, knowledge, tolerance - relating micro village tribal studies in particular to the larger historical and ideological frames of Islam. Islam is here understood not as theology but sociology. The definition does not preclude non-Muslims (Ahmed, 1987: 56).

All the four elements of the definition of Islamic Anthropology are present in the anthropology originating in the West. It studies "Muslim groups" as other cultural, religious and ethnic groups. All the three "universalistic principles of Islam - humanity, (pursuit of valid) knowledge and tolerance" are essential elements in the standard and frequently proclaimed normative professional culture of anthropologists as they are of other social scientists. In practice they may depart from these norms which is not peculiar to social scientists but all human groups. Although traditional anthropologists had an
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obsession with study of tribes and villages without relating them to larger environments, this trend is increasingly weakening in anthropology as it is happening in other social sciences. Finally, the profession of anthropology does not differentiate or discriminate between members of the profession on religious grounds as the proposed discipline of Islamic anthropology plans also not to do by not excluding the non-Muslims from practicing the proposed discipline. This naturally raises the question: What is new and original in Islamic Anthropology?33

Moved by their religious commitments, and the "effective" demand generated by the state during the period of General Zia-ul-Haq, a significant number of Pakistani scholars particularly economists have produced considerable literature on Islamisation of knowledge. The proponents of Islamisation of social sciences, however, have yet to resolve some of the basic issues. First, can Islamisation of social sciences generate an alternative paradigm?34 Although there is some indication that some scholars are making serious efforts in this direction, there is no evidence from the literature so far produced that this has actually happened.35 Second, the Islamic social sciences have so far remained prescriptive and normative. By itself it does not reflect a flaw in the worthy venture. However, any normative prescription which is not rooted in the scientific explanation of the "is" cannot produce the appropriate "ought." In this respect the Islamic social sciences face a great challenge of offering alternative paradigms, theories, and research methods and provide alternative explanations of existing social realities. For instance there is need to indicate in what ways the contemporary social sciences, whether capitalist or socialist, fail to explain the social, cultural, economic, and political phenomena or why Western nations have assumed a hegemonic position over the rest of the World particularly the Muslim world. Generally when Islamic social scientists are faced with these issues they define and describe them more in emotional than scientific way and fall back on the prevailing "materialist" theories in contemporary social sciences, or on "conspiracy theories" for their explanation.36 One frequent explanation of decline of Muslims is considered to be their indifferent attitude to their religion which is not an explanation and further begs the question why have they become so.

The most basic issue which Islamic social scientists need to resolve is the apparent incompatibility between scientific and religious outlooks, one grounded in unquestioned faith in religious scriptures, the other in questioning of established dogmas and beliefs. Given this incompatibility, the scope of efforts and activities of Islamic social scientists is limited to sometimes incorrect critique of the Western social sciences imputing that they hold a materialist view of man and society and ignoring their internal critique by scholars such as Maslow, Eric Fromm and others. By the very nature of the task they have undertaken the intellectual efforts of Islamic social scientists are limited to verifying and confirming what they already believe to be true due to their religious convictions, interpreting Muslim history subjectively, or establishing claims that at least some of the social sciences were originated by Muslims which may indeed be true in some cases.37

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Subordination of social sciences to religious beliefs is not going to benefit either religion or science. It will only provide weak intellectual crutches to religion which a truly religious man secure in his convictions, does not need. It can possibly dry up the springs of scientific creativity at the cost of enrichment of intellectual culture needed for the advancement of society and grappling with concrete social problems. A young "committed" Muslim scholar's judgement, that mixing religion and science is a futile exercise and would not serve the either, may be worth examining by the proponents of Islamisation of knowledge (see Zaman, 1984).

Islamisation of knowledge has not yet been subjected to a serious critique. Whatever limited critique it has received is of two types; the first, as noted above suggesting that religious prescriptions cannot be wedded to the positivistic Western social sciences (ibid.) and second, that in fact what is called Islamic economics is essentially Western, capitalist economics with marginal changes and adaptations (Haque, 1986).

If Islamisation of knowledge means simply that social sciences should serve a higher moral purpose, abandon their amoral stance, be guided by universal moral considerations when pursuing knowledge, should not base themselves on a single "mechanomorphic" view of man, and accept alternative assumptions and perspectives, then obviously such a pursuit can contribute to the enrichment of social sciences. However, if it means that every religious community and a nation should have separate social sciences based on its religious beliefs or national culture then this trend is likely to create an intellectual anarchy and may become a serious obstacle to the realisation of the goal of universal social sciences. Ansari, a Pakistani psychologist, has put the problem in a proper perspective:

There is a movement to develop new concepts based on traditional Muslim thinking to replace or add to the concepts coming from the West. This should be welcomed and supported as it is necessary for making a break with the present situation when all our knowledge is borrowed from alien soil. However, knowledge cannot be divided into geographical and religious boundaries. True indigenisation involves freedom, self-awareness and development of the ability to perceive and evaluate alternate models. Therefore the present state should not be confused with parochialism or revivalism (1988: 8, emphasis added).

Causes of Underdevelopment of Social Sciences in Pakistan

Several issues about nature of science, competing approaches to it, the scientific status of social sciences, nature of development of social sciences and indicators reflecting such development have been discussed above. Some of the major characteristics of social sciences in Pakistan have been identified. They include their low level of objectivity, indifferent adherence to canons of
scientific methodology, patterns of their growth and uneven patterns of their
imitative and imitative rather than creative thrust. Their incapacity to develop
an autonomous character, their inability to offer a critique of the existing social
order, failure to contribute to formulation and evaluation of policies of
development, national security and national integration have also been noted.
This leads to the logical question what explains the present state of social
sciences in Pakistan.

Any attempt to find the causes of development of social sciences in the
matrix of society and culture runs counter to a long and well established belief
among a large number of both natural and social scientists that scientific
knowledge grows by its internal dynamics alone, independent of historical
development and social environments. To put it simply, it is part of scientists’
belief that the text of science is independent of the context of science (Nandy,
1983: 323). Therefore, the causes of development of science should be sought
in its internal growth rather than in the characteristics of society. Recent
developments in the sociology of sciences have considerably undermined this
belief. As a result social scientists have lost the blissful state of ignorance about
their lack of autonomy from environments and part of their cherished belief. It
is now being increasingly accepted that sciences grow not merely by their own
internal dynamics and critique but also by favourable societal environments.
This realisation, however, has not penetrated the deeper recesses of individual
and collective intellectual consciousness of scientists. Some of them continue to
cling to their cherished belief that at the time they engage in their professional
work they become socially disembodied persons, untainted by their personal,
cultural and class biases.

A second problem in discussing this issue is the absence of an
adequate theoretical framework. While German - born sociology of science and
knowledge has raised the issue concerning the development of natural sciences,
it has given little attention to the conditions affecting the development of social
sciences. Therefore, there is no systematic sociological theory of development
of social sciences and not much theoretical and empirical research. Some
limited attempts have been made recently by a small number of scholars whose
findings and theoretical formulations will be taken into account in discussing
some of the issues involved.

In view of the absence of well developed sociology of social sciences,
one is constrained to take help from the sociology of natural science on the
assumption that both are similar in their approach, if not in their substance.
However, such an assumption should be made with caution as discussion in
previous section of this paper indicates that there are serious debates and
controversies on this issue. Moreover, social scientists are conditioned by the
subject of their study that is social environments as compared to the natural
scientists.

The Western, particularly German-born, sociology of science and
knowledge influenced by the ideas of Weber, Marx and Mannheim challenged
the traditional Cartesian view of the "solitary" scientific observer reflecting on the social reality like an astronomer looking at a distant star. It raised significant questions about the conditions most favourable for the emergence and development of science. More or less parallel to the three epistemological schools about nature of science, Lengermann has identified three approaches in sociology of science called:

1. "developmental";
2. Kuhnian;

For the present purpose the significant point which the three approaches make is concerning the factors or forces that bring about changes in scientific knowledge. The "developmental" approach locates these causes in the process of differentiation of scientific community (its specialisation), internal growth of objective knowledge through greater theoretical refinements and empirical enrichment. The Kuhnian approach attributes changes in scientific paradigms of science "... to anomalies (tension between theories and observation), theoretical innovations, intro-community conflicts and power struggles (ibid.)." The critical-conflict approach attributes such changes to structural transformation of society and intra-professional power shifts.

The first approach, the developmentalist, originated with the Weberian thesis of Protestant ethic and capitalism which set the direction of the inquiry. It was further developed by well known American sociologist Merton in 30s. Merton's research by adding other factors such as social mobility and religious pluralism somewhat weakened Weber's original argument linking rise and development of science to Protestant ethic. It, however, also strengthened its broad thrust by confirming that "...the emergence of modern science requires a basic change in general social outlook in which rational understanding and mastery of environment and human affairs replaces tradition as supreme criterion of conduct...(Ben-David, 1970)."

Merton's own contribution to this approach was his concept of "cultural ethos" of science incorporating a certain set of values including "organised skepticism, "disinterestedness," "universalism" and "Communism" (Merton, 1957: 550-554). As this cultural ethos was presumably fostered by social and cultural environment present in the West, it was natural that major scientific breakthroughs should have occurred there.

Marxist approach placed production of knowledge in the framework of relations of production, the latter influencing the former." As pointed out above by Lengermann it attributed changes and development in science to structural changes in a society and intra-professional power shifts. Social sciences were part of the superstructures or "ideologies" not having any autonomous status and not growing by their internal dynamics.
For understanding the causes of present state of social sciences in Pakistan what needs to be stressed is that the two approaches have become less and less mutually exclusive and divergent as they have evolved. "Developmentalist" approach while assigning greater significance to internal dynamics in development of science, recognises the role of values and ideas and the development of normative culture of science and a professional community which upholds and inculcates this culture in new generation of scientists. Marxists, while emphasising the role of external factors, claim that at least their own theories are autonomous from their social context and grow from internal critique and interaction with data about social reality.

Both these occasionally competing, occasionally complementary, approaches have been further developed. However, the approach developed under Weber's influence has been pursued more vigorously particularly in USA than the Marxist approach. Latter approach only limited the interest outside the academic establishment in Socialist countries (Ake, 1984).

Any viable attempt to explain the level of development of social sciences in Third World countries must incorporate and synthesise the two approaches. Both structural and cultural factors need to be taken into account to understand why social sciences are not developing adequately there. As noted above, the two approaches have influenced each other and apparently a new synthesis is emerging. Barber's summary in the following quotation, though somewhat tilted towards the salience of values or cultural factors, identifies the major factors affecting the development of sciences:

The high value the modern world puts on rationality as against traditionalism, on this-worldly activities as against other-worldly activities, on libertarianism against authoritarianism, an active striving as against passive, equality as against inequality - all these values support the development of the several components of science. Sometimes the support is direct, as in the case of the value of rationality and this-worldly interest, the values which are especially powerful in combination, as they are in the modern world. Libertarianism is essential for academic freedom, which is one kind of important foundation for scientific progress. Sometimes the support from the values is indirect as when the value of equality increases the amount of social mobility and thus help to select better talent for scientific roles (Barber, 1972; 94. Emphasis added).

Indeed the above enumerated values play a significant role in the development of science. They, however, cannot exercise their influence if they are only verbally articulated. They affect the development of science only if social, economic, political and religious structures and institutions in a society are based on them, uphold them and supplant the structures which are antagonistic to social sciences. For instance emergence of "rationality" in a society can occur only when the structures and institutions which uphold traditionalism get weakened and new social structures which promote these
values attain viability. The same is the case with the value of equality and liberty. These values remain ineffective in promoting development of science unless there develop structures, institutions and classes which are committed to, or, benefit from the development of sciences. Moreover, the role of class structure cannot be ignored in the development of social sciences. Development of sciences in 19th century West is as much product of the values enumerated above as the emergence of capitalist class which found science as its ally in rationalising the contemporary society and maximising profit using new technologies promoted by science (Ake, 1984: 615-616).

What probably retards the growth of sciences and particularly social sciences in the Third World is that in spite of verbal commitment to these values, they are not institutionalised. Various structures and institutions such as state, social structure, universities, research institutes and a community of social scientists needed to uphold these values and support the development of sciences either or not committed to these values, are weak or some of them have not emerged. On the other hand, some of the values antagonistic to development of science are strongly institutionalised and these institutions enjoy considerable power impeding the growth of social sciences.

As social sciences in Pakistan have essentially developed in the state sector with assistance from the US, the causes of their development or otherwise must be sought in the nature of Pakistani state and its relationship with US. Besides, the role of religious authorities in determining the limits within which the scientific enquiries could be pursued and the effect of prevalent intellectual culture within which social sciences have to develop also need to be considered. These two crucial factors, one structural - the nature of Pakistani state, and one cultural - the cultural outlook of the religious authorities considerably shape the character and pattern of development of social sciences in Pakistan. This does not, however, mean that other factors are not relevant but that they do not have as much explanatory value and can be subsumed under them.

1. State and Development of Social Sciences in Pakistan

(a) State and Social Scientific Knowledge

For understanding the role of state in promoting or limiting the development of social sciences one needs to understand the role of scientific knowledge vis-à-vis the stability and continuity of the state and need of those who control the state apparatus or rulers to manage the process of reproduction of the existing social order. All knowledge tends to have some power and the social scientific knowledge has greater power as it has gained certain degree of credibility and respectability in contemporary societies even when they are less developed. Such knowledge can be used to legitimise and enhance the power of the rulers, and provide scientific veneer to their policies. Alternatively, it could be used for generating a critical outlook and a higher level of political and social consciousness among the ruled. As these effects of scientific knowledge
are not incompatible, the rulers cannot remain indifferent to its production. They tend to regulate it. Such regulation is achieved through various means including exercising control over individuals and institutions which produce and diffuse knowledge. Such control can be exercised by placing them within the state sector and by making them bureaucratic and hierarchically organised or creating ".. client institutions which are formally outside the governments but largely controlled by them (Ake, 1984: 618)." The "nationalisation" and bureaucratisation of the production of social sciences enables the state to control these institutions through allocation of resources, appointment of their heads and by rewarding the conformist and penalising the nonconformist social scientists. This in turn enables it to control and regulate the contents, character, and direction of development of social sciences. As a result only the social science approaches which serve the basic interests of the rulers or are essentially technical and innocuous come to prevail in these institutions and those which can be a source of structural transformation of the state and society are discouraged or suppressed.

While there is a basic and inherent contradiction in the production of critical and autonomous social sciences and maintenance and stability of state structures as such, the extent of this contradiction varies with different types of states. The states differ with regard to the nature of material and ideological interests of those who control them, the extent to which they penetrate the society particularly the knowledge producing institutions, quality and rigidity of social structure and the level of economic development of the society on which their edifice rests.

Given the cultural ethos of science, Merton has argued that it flourishes "in liberal structures" where opposition to it is weak compared to centralised, totalitarian systems and dictatorships in which freedom of enquiry and expression are fragile and right to dissent on significant issues is considerably curtailed. The thesis applies more rigorously to social sciences which study issues closely related to existing distribution of power and wealth, nature of political system and legitimacy of both than the natural sciences whose findings affect the social order only indirectly and in the long run.

Historical evidence about the development of social sciences considerably supports the above thesis. The social sciences developed in 19th century when state structure permitted a certain degree of autonomy to the social scientists. The state needed their services to understand and regulate social conflict and socio-economic problems created by the effect of industrial revolution (Ake, 1984). Since then social sciences have continued to grow, at least in quantitative terms, in America and Europe under liberal pluralistic regimes but have remained retarded under Fascist regimes and constrained in Socialist countries where scientific community has been absorbed into the bureaucratic establishment.

Most states in the Third World tend to extensively regulate the production of knowledge due to their authoritarian character and fragility of
their national cohesion. Such regulation is helped by several other factors. These states are the major employers of the social scientists and alternative job opportunities for social scientists are few. The autonomy of academic institutions is weak and community of social scientists as a distinct and cohesive group has not developed to protect its rights, safeguard its freedom to choose problems for research and publish the results of its research.

How far is this framework useful in understanding the development of social sciences in Pakistan? Unfortunately in view of total absence of the disciplines of sociology and political economy of social sciences in Pakistan, one cannot answer these questions with certainty and precision. However, some tentative observations which need to be further checked against data are presented below to initiate a discussion on the subject.

(b). Pakistani State and Social Sciences in Pakistan

Four characteristics of Pakistani state which have shaped its policies toward production of knowledge in general and social sciences in particular are:

1. It is and has remained, since its inception, essentially a bureaucratic state. Being bureaucratic and lacking political participative institutions, it has also become an authoritarian state.

2. It is an insecure state due partly to its external environments and partly to endemic political instability.

3. It is a modernising state in the sense that it sought and continue to seek legitimacy in "modernisation" of the society through marginal and symbolical changes in it without attempting to restructure social and power structure.

4. It is a dependent state as it depends on external sources not only for economic and military assistance but also for science and technology.

These characteristics of Pakistani state have provided the basic framework and an unarticulated policy towards production of social scientific knowledge. This policy has produced social sciences which are essentially technocratic and tame, hyperfactual and empiricist, not asking basic questions about the legitimacy of the power of the state and its nature. This knowledge fortifies the existing structure of the state. The Social scientists were and are barred from studying objectively many problems such as regionalism and ethnicity, role of military, bureaucracy and religion in politics, make a dispassionate and objective study of Pakistan movement, and issues such as Kashmir and relations with India.
Since its inception Pakistan has remained essentially a bureaucratic state, even when it had governments elected from the civilian sector. By virtue of being a bureaucratic state frequently under the armed wing of bureaucracy - the military - it also became a highly authoritarian state - a trait which sharpened with recurrent martial laws. Both these characteristics constrained it to place narrow limits on freedom of enquiry, expression and dissent. Reviewing the limits on social research in Pakistan until mid sixties, Professor Braibanti, the only scholar who did research on the subject, writes that "(t)he conduct of scholarship and the limits on scholarship are determined by government, not by scholar (1966: 231)." These constraints particularly affected the universities and research institutions which were deprived of institutional autonomy particularly after military coup of 1958 (Braibanti, 1966: 40-44). This autonomy was further reduced under later military regimes until universities virtually became part of the bureaucratic structure of the state and the teachers and researchers became practically the civil servants subject to government efficiency, discipline and transfer rules. Several "semi-autonomous" institutions created for research and training of bureaucracy by Ayub regime became an appendage to the ministries under which they were placed as their governing boards were manned by the career civil servants (Inayatullah, 1988).

During the Bhutto period (1972-77), though the nature of regime did somewhat change, the bureaucratic and authoritarian structure of the state did not. One of its consequences was that the new legislation introduced by this regime granting universities a certain degree of institutional autonomy and greater participation of teachers in university affairs, more or less, remained unimplemented. This was due to the traditional control of bureaucratic machinery of federal ministry of education and provincial education bureaucracies and politicisation of the teachers and students. Furthermore, the power of the administration within the university vis-à-vis teachers changed only marginally (Inayatullah, 1972). In this highly bureaucratic and stifling environments of universities with their hierarchical structure, only a few teachers and researchers could develop or retain their intellectual commitment and their creativity.

The civilian regime of Z.A. Bhutto did not promote autonomous social sciences partly because of the continuity of the structure of state which remained essentially modernising bureaucratic under Bhutto and partly because he added two contradictory dimensions to it - the populist and the feudal, the later gradually weakening the former. The bureaucracy, as noted earlier, retained its traditional control over the academic and research institutions during Bhutto period. In spite of his conscious effort to break with the Ayub regime and offer an alternative conception of state and society, Bhutto could not overcome the conditioning influence of working in Ayub regime. He also could not transcend the limits imposed on him by his feudal background, the bureaucratic polity, and increasing penetration of feudal class of his party and political apparatus through which he governed (Burki, 1980). Therefore, the
state he ran was essential authoritarian and intolerant of dissent and debate, and unconducive for the development of social sciences in spite of his being an intellectual of high calibre.

The combined impact of the martial laws and bureaucratic polity was the emasculation of the autonomous and critical orientation in social sciences and consolidation of positivistic and value neutral "applied" research, which if it performed any function, helped the rulers to strengthen their power. In fact this knowledge fortified the existing structure of the state. In general, the critical tradition of social sciences has either been neglected or discouraged. To quote Professor Braibanti again; "a distinction must be made between the attitude towards research carried on within bureaucratically regulated context and the freedom to probe and criticise public issues (ibid.: 339)" suggesting that Pakistani governments were permissive towards the former and restrictive towards the latter.

Bureaucratic state also has affected the social sciences by influencing the social values and the social structure. High status, prestige, power, and privileges are attached to positions in military and civil bureaucracy as a result of which these institutions suck some of the talent which otherwise could be available for intellectual pursuits. Very few among the civil servants have the time and still fewer the motivation to pursue intellectual work. Consequently this talent is wasted. Even those who pursue such work choose problems and issues for study which are essentially technocratic or take an ideological posture which consolidate the existing state structure and the social structure undergirding it.

By assigning low value to intellectual work and low position to intellectuals, the Pakistani state does not provide incentive for such work. Occupying a powerful position in the administrative state of Pakistan, convinced of its superior intellectual status, and highly oriented to pragmatism and action, higher bureaucracy in Pakistan does not have, in the words of Braibanti "deep residual respect for extra bureaucratic intellectual endeavour (1966: 15)." The status of the university scholars in the government hierarchy and in the society as compared to bureaucracy being low, few talented people are attracted to intellectual career in universities. Most of those who join universities are the one who cannot get into powerful government bureaucracy and throughout their career look for opportunities for joining it.

Modelled after bureaucratic state structure the universities have evolved an inflexible status system which rewards mediocrity rather than excellence. Instead of operating like an egalitarian community of scholars, they function like traditional bureaucratic organisations in which rank rather than competence, claim to have produced scholarly work in the past rather than ability to be creative in the present are the bases for allocating rewards, prestige, power and privilege. The senior teachers who occupy positions of authority run the institutes and departments like bureaucratic organisations. Such a status system does not attract scholars with creative abilities and talents and drives
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

those out who join them. Their intellectual performance cannot exceed their weak intellectual commitment. Besides, the perception of low social status in the society militates against the emergence of a pride in social science profession and devotion and commitment to intellectual work.

Such an unconducive environment also drives out many talented scholars to the West where besides adequate infrastructure for research and material gains they are free to write on subjects on which they cannot write in Pakistan. No wonder that some of the best work by Pakistani scholars has been produced by those living in the West.

Except for economics, there is a general lack of appreciation of the contributions the other social sciences can make toward imparting scientific outlook to the citizen, promote scientific understanding of national problems and make positive contributions to formulation and evaluation of public policies. This is reflected in low budgetary allocations from the national budgets for the social sciences. This is in sharp contrast to natural sciences, which receive higher allocations because of their perceived contributions to defence and to some extent development. Status differential and negative perception of social sciences creates a hiatus between social scientists and the bureaucracy. Such a hiatus militates against seeking advice from the former on important policy matters and using their research output or expertise or trusting them to have access to the so called classified documents which in the absence of a law on the subject never get declassified.

Finally, the bureaucratic state of Pakistan affects the formation and development of a cohesive community of social scientists which in turn affects the development of social sciences. Bureaucratic state does not encourage and, in its worst form, smothers the development of autonomous organisations which have potentiality of undermining its bureaucratic character. Formation of autonomous organisations of intellectuals and professional scientists is barely tolerated. Organisation of association of teachers is frowned upon and kept under strict administrative control and vigilance. As a result there is no common national organisation of social scientists, and it will not be an easy task to create and sustain it even if one is created. The single discipline associations are either inactive or moribund and meet infrequently. They do not exert much influence on their members to develop professional competence and excellence. Nor they consequently promote a positive image of social sciences and exert pressure on public institutions to support their development.

Working in an authoritarian environment which narrowly defines the scope of freedom of enquiry, crippled by traditional bureaucratic structure which prohibits autonomous action, the academic community in Pakistan has not become a creative force. Its inability to define such a role for itself, its failure to conceive intellectual and scientific activity to be intrinsically rewarding, and its lack of internal cohesion has further contributed to this incapacity.
(ii) Insecurity of state

Pakistani state and society suffer from a sense of insecurity. Such a sense of insecurity is product of intense political conflict preceding and accompanying its inception, persistent fear (perceived or real) of reabsorption by its larger neighbour, traumatic experience of separation of East Pakistan, and persistence and occasional aggravation of ethnic conflicts. Most rulers of Pakistan have met this insecurity with excessive use of nationalistic and religious symbols and appeals. As their effect wears out they resort to suppression of dissent and freedom of expression.

Such a sense of persistent insecurity, together with bureaucratic and authoritarian nature of the state, has made many subjects and issues "sensitive" and barred from rational scientific enquiry. These subjects include regionalism and ethnicity, the role of military and bureaucracy in politics, defence expenditures, a dispassionate and objective history of Pakistan movement, role of religion in Pakistani politics and issues such as Kashmir and relations with India.37

The excessive use of nationalistic and religious symbols and appeals makes a significant social stratum in urban Pakistan intolerant of freedom of expression and dissent on above referred "sensitive issues." Being themselves part of this stratum Pakistani scholars are acutely aware of the expected reactions of this stratum on several of these issues and therefore either share their perspective on them or do not express views diverging from it. Ethnocentrism in Pakistani social sciences, particularly on these issues, thus springs from the nature of state and intolerance of urban middle class.

This persistent sense of insecurity in state and society provides a rationale, though obviously a false one, to the rulers to deny indigenous scholars access to unpublished and classified documents for research in the name of state interest and state security. This implies that the "state secrets" are better protected by the supposedly more patriotic rulers than presumably the less patriotic scholars.

Dependent status of the Pakistani state (discussed subsequently) is revealed in the fact that it is unwilling to provide data to the Pakistani social scientists that it liberally furnishes to the foreign scholars particularly American scholars. The well known Pakistani journalist Mushahid Hussain's comments are quite revealing:

Various governments have had no hesitation in "importing" a host of Western, primarily American, journalists and scholars who have been entrusted with vital information on various matters, including access to classified information. Following the 1965 War, the British journalist Neville Maxwell was commissioned to write a book on the war and he was given all official files and documents relating to the conflict, including intelligence files. Strangely enough he never wrote the book!
During the middle 70s, the American writer Selig Herrison was also provided access to classified files for his study on Balochistan. In the late 70s Prof. Stephen Cohen, who was undertaking a study on Pakistan Army on a grant provided by the US State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, was provided a Brigadier for an escort and he travelled to various military formations of Pakistan Army meeting and interviewing Corps Commanders. Such facilities have never been granted to any Pakistani writer or journalist (Hussain, 1989).

(iii) Modernising State

In its ideological orientation Pakistani state has gone through two major phases; first, the modernising phase which reached its climax during Ayub period and its "Islamisation" phase which flourished during general Zia-ul-Haq's period. As a modernising state it sought legitimacy in "modernisation" of the society through marginal and symbolic changes in it without attempting to restructure social and power structure. This ideological orientation of the state influenced the character, quality and direction of development of social sciences. The process of modernisation (as opposed to genuine development) requires what may be called "bureaucratic rationality" for its planning, execution and monitoring. It needs organisations which mobilise people and diffuse the modernisation goals as well as personnel which possess certain type of attitudes, skills and knowledge. As value neutral and technocratic social sciences facilitate this process by imparting the needed "rationality," knowledge, skills and attitudes, hence the need for promoting such social sciences. As the social sciences developed in the West are predominantly status quo oriented - an orientation they developed at the stage of their infancy in the West (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1982: 982; Burke III, 1984: 647), they were imported to meet this need.

Since the Second World War, as the US has become involved in shaping the character and direction of development in the Third World, the social sciences produced there have also been involved in the conceptualisation of development, and identifying effective strategies of achieving it. As development has generally been equated with modernisation in this literature, it has retained its original conservative thrust. With training of considerable number of Pakistani teachers and some civil servants facilitated by technical assistance and cultural exchange programmes, the transfer of these conservative social sciences has occurred quite rapidly as both the transferring and receiving regimes found such transfer beneficial to their interests.

The above discussion explains why there was greater development of technocratic, apolitical and value neutral social sciences during the regime of Ayub Khan, being the most modernising among all the Pakistani regimes. They provided the regime with knowledge for achieving its goals without enquiring into the nature of the social and political orders on which the power of the regime rested.
In the “Islamisation” phase, the basic structure of the state became more authoritarian and bureaucratic. Therefore, there was continuity of the social science tradition of the modernising phase. However, this phase promoted what has been earlier discussed as the process of “Islamisation of knowledge” which added a new dimension to the social sciences in Pakistan. The impact of this process on the development of social sciences has been discussed earlier.

(iv)  Dependent State

Pakistan is and has been in the past a dependent state in the sense that it receives considerable material aid and imports science and technology from Western capitalist societies particularly the US. Social sciences in Pakistan have also come from the US as part of the aid packages and cultural exchange programmes and have somewhat reinforced its colonial social scientific legacy. They are not an indigenous product growing out from traditional scholarship. The hold of American social sciences continues to be strengthened through training of a considerable number of social scientists and senior civil and military officers in the US and large scale use of American text books.

It is unlikely that social sciences in Pakistan would have achieved their present level of development on their own and without these contacts and assistance. However, nature of the context in which they have been transferred has affected their character making them subordinate to the interest of Pakistani state which in some area was and is subordinate to the Western powers. Consequently, the imported social sciences provided an intellectual legitimacy to the military-bureaucratic state of Pakistan and underpinnings to its alliances with the West.

The overintegration with and exclusive exposure to Anglo-Saxon social scientific tradition has deeply affected the character, the pattern of growth and style of development of social sciences in Pakistan. This overintegration to one intellectual tradition conditions social sciences in Pakistan to uncritically accept paradigms, theories, conceptual frameworks, definition of significant problems from Anglo-Saxon social sciences. Reviewing the social science literature produced by American scholars on Pakistan, Waseem has brought out that this literature reflects the elite perspective which American scholars in general share with Pakistani rulers (1985). Naturally intellectual dependence produces intellectual sterility. Segmentation of social sciences and their uneven development is also considerably the result of this dependence.

2. Cultural Outlook of Religious Authorities and Social Sciences

The role of religion in the promotion or retardation of science has been a much debated issue. Comte's division of thought into religious, metaphysical, and positivistic categories placed religious and metaphysical thought belonging to pre-scientific era. He also suggested that with penetration of positivistic
scientific outlook in social thought the earlier mode of thinking would be superseded. This implied an inherent incompatibility and conflict between the religious and metaphysical thought on the one hand and scientific approach to knowledge on the other.

The history of development of natural sciences records a long and continued battle between science and religious thought. It was represented by scientists struggling to achieve academic freedom and the Christian clergy attempting first to suppress the new mode of thinking failing which they sought to regulate it. The conflict continued for several centuries and diminished only in twentieth century, when "the locus of social power shifted to economic and political institutions (Merton, 1957: 548)."

It is sometime argued that such conflict was specific to the western history due to its peculiar dogma and the hierarchically organised religious authority particularly the Catholic Christianity. The thesis of inherent conflict, therefore, cannot be extended to all religions regardless of the nature of their dogma and religious organisations. However, this explanation can be sustained only if it can be demonstrated that science in its contemporary form did not develop in societies with other religious traditions due to reasons unconnected with their religious tradition. This is yet to be established by systematic scientific studies.

Furthermore, absence of manifest conflict between science and religion in other cultures and societies in modern history by itself can be no indication that potentiality of such conflict does not exist there. Dogmatic opposition to some of the theories of modern science produced in the West by religious authorities and scholars in societies with other religious traditions points to this potentiality.

Furthermore, conflict between science and religion could have crystallised in non-western societies only if any significant scientific theory challenging the basic premises of religious thought had developed as it happened in the West. Without such scientific development, mere absence of conflict cannot indicate that other religious traditions are equally supportive of development of science.

Relationship between religion and social sciences has not yet received much systematic scientific attention. There is no systematic theorising and adequate empirical research in this field. Given this it will be essentially a dogmatic assertion to posit antagonistic relationship between the two on the assumption that such conflict existed between natural sciences and religion in the West. Moreover for any scientific discussion for determining the level of compatibility or conflict between religion and social science one should not compare a set of ideas derived from scriptural sources and ideal prescriptions. The conflict and compatibility should be sought in mode of thought, behavioural patterns of religious authorities and scientists, their perception of religion and science and in the institutional manifestations of the two.
Therefore, in all discussion below compatibility and conflict between religion and science is not sought in their ideal normative patterns but in their behavioural and institutional manifestations.

Seen in this framework, there are some potential sources of conflict between the two. First is the institutionalisation of what is called "organised skepticism" among the scientists. It means that scientists as an organised professional community tend to doubt any assertion unless there is enough reason and empirical proof to believe otherwise. Authority by itself is no proof of validity of a proposition. Religious authorities on the other hand tend to demand from their followers an affirmative commitment to its social outlook, its basic beliefs and religious tenets and unquestioned loyalty or subordination to the institutions they represent. This dichotomy is obviously overdrawn by scientists and conforms with the image the scientists want to project of themselves and that of religious authorities. The actual behaviour of the scientists and the way they function as a community is not always strictly consistent with such an image. Only a small number of scientists tends to challenge the established theories in their field and a large number of them rely upon authority to lend weight to their propositions. Similarly, not all religious scholars base their argument in support of religion on faith. However, the inherent conflict of approach cannot be ignored.

A second source of potential conflict are the assumptions shared by most of the social scientists that "..social phenomena behave in predictable (or at least analysable) ways, and are therefore subject to intervention and manipulation (Wallerstein, 1984: 174); that social events do not occur randomly and without causation and that there are regularities and uniformities in the social universe. A corollary to these assumptions is that social phenomena or events are not supernaturally determined or regulated. These assumptions, of course, have been questioned on the ground that predictability, determinacy and inconstancy present at the level of natural phenomena do not exist at human level as new properties of self-awareness, will, choice and freedom emerge at this level (Schumacher, 1977; 31-35; Matson, 1966). Also it is contended that the assumption that causation is limited only to material and social factors goes against the commonly held belief known to exist until recently throughout human history (Schumacher, 1977: 35)."

The social scientific community in the West for the last two centuries has generally worked with the above set of assumptions and any social scientific research which proceeds on these assumptions has the potentiality of coming into conflict with the cultural outlook of religious authorities. However, in certain societies such conflict may not precipitate depending upon the institutional strength of the scientists and religious authorities. Where institutional strength of religious authorities is greater than those of the scientists such conflict may be suppressed as pressure of internalised values, fear of ostracism and excommunication for nonconformity may prevent scientists to limit their social scientific inquiries to areas which do not involve conflict with religious authorities and social disapproval from the public.
Within such an environment some social scientists may even opt for proving the validity of religious beliefs in the hope of worldly and other-worldly rewards even when they may otherwise find themselves predisposed to question some of the elements of cultural outlook of the religious authorities.

It will be illogical to assume that the degree of conflict between social sciences and religion, manifest or potential, is constant for all religions. It seems to vary with specific characteristics of cultural outlook of religious authorities in different societies. These include the extent of traditionalism (dogmatism) of their belief system, extent of pervasiveness of their specification, prescription and proscription and nature of the structure of their organisation.

In case of Pakistan, the potential of conflict between the emerging social sciences and religious authorities, in some ways, seems to be high and in other ways low. First, some of the religious specialists emphatically suggest that Islam is a "total system" governing all aspects of life and thus extensively regulating the conduct and behaviour of the individual and institutions in the society. In other words, it is believed to extensively specify, prescribe, proscribe and prohibit what an individual can think and do. This interpretation and perception of Islam though frequently articulated from the pulpit, does not pervade the behavioural and institutional spheres of Pakistani society in spite of the process of "Islamisation" under General Zia-ul-Haq. However, if this interpretation becomes pervasive as a result of religious orthodoxy or revivalist groups capturing state power, it can narrowly restrict the area of individual and social life which can be subjected to social scientific enquiry.

Actual and manifest conflict between religious authorities and social scientists in Pakistan, however, has not been high. There are several reasons for such latent conflict not becoming manifest. First, there is no centralised religious authority in Pakistan similar to the organisation of clergy in Catholic Christianity or Iran to scrutinise intellectual products for their heresy. But effect of this mitigating factor is reduced by the presence of militant political organisations of the religious orthodoxy and revivalist movements which assume for themselves the role of watch dogs of detecting what they consider "heresy" and use various pressures for correcting it.

Another factor which has reduced this potential conflict from becoming manifest is the lack of access of the religious authorities or Ulema to contemporary social sciences due to inadequacy of their knowledge of languages in which social scientific works are generally published and technical competence needed to comprehend them. Some of them who has access to this knowledge tend to coopt the theories and methods of social sciences to support their beliefs.
Conclusions

This study has attempted to evaluate the quality of social sciences in Pakistan on the basis of six criteria concluding that social sciences in the country remain underdeveloped both in terms of quantity and quality. Awareness and knowledge of basic issues arising out of contending epistemological approaches to social sciences remain inadequate leading to misconception about the nature of social sciences and canons of scientific methodology. The nature of relationship between theory and data is frequently misconceived. Accumulation of data by itself is often considered to be proper pursuit of science. In several crucial areas of social studies the level of objectivity remains low and that of ethnocentrism high.

The importance of creativity in social sciences in Pakistan is not fully appreciated, which leads to borrowing of theories and methodologies from Anglo-Saxon social science tradition, increasing intellectual dependence and consequent intellectual sterility. This exclusive dependence on one tradition imparts imitative orientation to social sciences in Pakistan.

Like social sciences in the West, Pakistani social sciences also remain highly fragmented leading to inadequate and partial view of social reality. When such knowledge is applied to solve social problems it frequently fails to produce desired results as policies or solutions based on one social science discipline cannot manage the complex social reality which any one discipline cannot adequately deal with. Most of the teaching and research in social sciences in Pakistan remains single discipline oriented. There are no interdisciplinary courses offered at graduate level. Few researchers use insights from other social science disciplines to understand a social problem.

Relevance and use of social sciences produced in Pakistan for understanding and development of Pakistani society is low. The social science knowledge produced is primarily for the use by state agencies and only marginally for creating social awareness of societal problems among the people most of whom being illiterate cannot understand and benefit from it. The textbooks used for undergraduate and graduate studies are mostly imported. Lacking relevance to the local context they do not illuminate local problems.

Institutional capability for development of social sciences is inadequate in many respects. Though a considerable number of social science teaching departments and research institutes have been created during last forty years, they do not provide a very conducive environments for creative research and teaching. Besides lacking necessary infrastructure such as libraries and physical environment, they also suffer from a limitation of inadequately motivated and trained staff. There are not many journals of high quality where the young social scientists could publish and not many forums where social scientific works could be professionally evaluated providing a stimulus for improving quality of work. Of course, the situation varies with different disciplines, economics being in much favourable position than other disciplines.
Most social scientific literature produced in the institutions located in state sector lacks autonomous and critical orientation and therefore unable to delve deep into the social processes that determine the structure of social order and offer a scientific critique of it. In the absence of such literature national development policies are based on conjectures or without much help from social sciences and scientists.

There are many causes of underdevelopment of social sciences in Pakistan. The two most crucial are the structure of state and the cultural outlook of the religious authorities. Pakistani state being essentially bureaucratic, authoritarian, modernising and dependent does not place high value on the production of autonomous and critical social sciences. It regulates their production in a way that they become an intellectual vehicle for reinforcing the status quo rather than a mean of transforming the social order and creating a better society.

Effectiveness of state to allow only apolitical, technocratic and supposedly value neutral social sciences lies in the fact that most institutions producing social science knowledge are located in the state sector. This enables, indirectly and sometime even directly, the state to determine what type of knowledge is produced rather than letting the scholars choose their own research agenda and freely express their professional judgement on vital national issues. The private research institutions are a rarity in Pakistan.

Pakistani state places a narrow limit on number of important issues that can be discussed openly even with scholarly detachment. Many important documents needed for research remain confidential and secret without any time limit. There is a general lack of trust between the scholar and the state officials who make many official documents classified and inaccessible to scholars for research.

Unlike the state, the cultural outlook of religious authorities affects the production of social scientific knowledge indirectly and subtly. Socially acquired religious beliefs, fear of being dubbed heretical by religious authorities for studying problems protected from scientific enquiry, and social need to avoid public controversy and disapproval prevents many a social scientists from choosing their subjects on the basis of their scientific and social significance.

The constraints on social scientists to pursue their vocation are aptly summarised by Pakistani historian Qureshi: "In Pakistan today we have neither the freedom of inquiry nor the freedom of dissent. The cultural tradition, social structure and political system do not permit any deviations from the established path (Qureshi, 1989: 148).

Socio - political constraints within which the social scientists work, over-dependence on knowledge borrowed from the West and lack of critical orientation toward indigenous intellectual heritage has resulted in cultural
stercility in Pakistan. If cultural renaissance and intellectual fermentation is to be achieved by Pakistani intellectuals particularly social scientists, they must face the following challenges adequately.

1. While critically examining the Western social sciences for their cultural and historical specificities, ethnocentrism, and their possible subordination to the political goals of the societies in which they developed and are developing, they must not withdraw into themselves. They should remain committed to the challenge of universalisation of social sciences.

2. While identifying ethnocentrism of Western social sciences, they must subject their own outlook, ethnocentrism and biases to critical scrutiny. Use of the scientific methods and quantitative technique useful as they are does not by themselves free a scientist from his social and cultural conditioning. This conditioning can be overcome by mustering the courage to face the reality as it exists, by broadening one's loyalties to whole human race and owning both man's failures and achievement in whatever societal and historical context they occur. This indeed is an enormous challenge.

3. Freedom of expression and dissent which is a necessary condition for creativity in social sciences is significantly limited by the state and the cultural outlook of a significant part of the society. Such freedom is not going to come easily. It will be achieved by a concerted and united struggle of social scientists and as a result of achieving professional excellence in unfavourable academic environments and producing work that serves the overall interests of Pakistani society.
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Qureshi, I.H., The Muslim Community of Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent, Hague, 1962.


Inayatullah


### APPENDIX - I

**DIFFERENTIATING CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR EPISTEMOLOGICAL SCHOOLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVISM</th>
<th>REALISM</th>
<th>CONVENTIONALISM</th>
<th>INSTRUMENTALISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Subscribes to belief in the possibility of rationality and objectivity.</td>
<td>Shares with positivism the possibility of rationality and objectivity based on universal standards of obtaining valid knowledge; differs with positivism with regard to: a. why of regularities and discovery of causal mechanisms. b. Theoretical entities may not be observable and still may exist e.g. virus, subatomic structure.</td>
<td>No universal criteria of establishing valid knowledge.</td>
<td>Knowledge of science to be pursued primarily for its social utility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Validation of theory based on observable phenomena.</td>
<td>No objective knowledge possible.</td>
<td>It's validity could be tested if it could solve certain problems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Discovery of regularities and uniformities which are succession of events in time.</td>
<td>Interparadigmatic comparison not possible - every theory has its own criteria of validation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Indifference to why things happen; interested in how things happen.</td>
<td>No objective facts without theory contaminated by personal and shared perspectives of scientists.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX - II

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS ENGAGED IN SOCIAL SCIENCES: TEACHING OR RESEARCH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Government, Semi-autonomous Institutes</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. University Semi-autonomous Institutes</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. University Affiliated Centres and Institutes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. University Social Service Teaching Dept.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Private Institutions engaged in Social Sciences teaching and research.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The list does not include the research done by research centres and commissions established by Ministries and Departments of the Federal Government and Provincial Governments.
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

NOTES

1 By proposing an integral approach for knowing truth combining elements of the three approaches, Sorokin recognised the need for a broader and universal approach and thus undermined his own argument for relativism.

2 Unfortunately the Forum has not adequately mobilised the Third World social scientists to become creative and work on problems afflicting the Third World. It is virtually moribund.

3 Identification of causes involves a difficult methodological procedure. A true cause preexists in time and antecedent to the effect. Conversely, where a presumed cause is absent, the phenomenon in question should also be absent. Thus identification of causes can be based on historical comparative analysis involving more than one units of study. As presently we have chosen to study development of social sciences in Pakistan alone and ignore the studies evaluating social sciences in other societies, uncertainty about causes of development of social sciences would remain even if we succeed in identifying them for social sciences in Pakistan.

4 Few Pakistani scholars have attempted to write systematically about the history, trends and characteristics of their disciplines. An earlier pioneer in the field of psychology was Hafeez Zaidi. See his (1958, 1959, 1975). Some Pakistani historians also have shown an interest in evaluating their discipline. See Dani (1974). For evaluating Pakistani social sciences as a whole, two recent notable attempts were made by National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University which held a workshop in 1988 to evaluate social science writings by Pakistani writers on Pakistan and Social Science Faculty of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad which organised a seminar on "The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan" on 24-26 May, 1988. The present book includes most of the papers presented in this seminar.

5 Most of the papers presented to the three annual meetings held in 1985, 1986, 1987 of the Society of Development Economists illustrate this point. See judgement of Sabeeha Hafeez in her chapter in this book concerning sociological research in Pakistan.

6 See the judgement of Karamat Ali on economics in his chapter.

7 Commenting on history of freedom movement and implicitly pointing out its deficiencies, Dr.N.A. Baloch notes; "Competent scholarship is no doubt called for to transcend the traditional approach to writing of history as a mere chronological narrative of events, and to unfold history as the totality of nation's march on all fronts of life with its success and failure taking place in the context of causes and consequences (1974: 136."

8 Some historians have made useful contributions to political science in Pakistan. One outstanding example is the work of Professor Rafiq Afzal on Political parties in Pakistan (1987,1987). However, this otherwise useful work illustrates the gap between history and and social science theory and parochialism in history as a discipline.

9 Professor Rashid's comments on this tendency in historical writings "to glorify certain individuals or debunk lesser luminaries" made in 60s seems to hold true even in 80s (1974; 4).
According to Saeed "Little or no effort has been made to incorporate the study of societal factors, (i.e. social class, ethnicity, culture, ideology, economic development etc.)" in studying politics - a judgement which accurately portrays the level of development of political science in Pakistan. See his chapter.

According to a survey conducted by Talent Pool Department of Manpower Division, out of 108 Ph.ds working in Pakistan (1983) a significant percentage was trained in the West particularly in USA.

Here one may point out a false dichotomy of inductive and deductive reasoning, the former associated with science, the latter with philosophy. A truly scientific approach uses both these methods.

For a discussion of inappropriate and obsessive use of these techniques in economics see Karamat Ali's chapter.

The author has used these techniques in rural areas of Pakistan without encouraging results. See Inayatullah (1964).

For a greater elaboration of this concept see Maslow (1966: 49-51, 120-121).

For a critique of modernisation theory and its ethnocentric biases see Inayatullah, 1975, Tipps, 1973: 199-226. For acknowledgement by some contributors to modernisation theory that it was being developed to counter the spread of Marxism see Wiarda, 1983: 449.

In a discussion with this writer Professor A.H. Dani pointed out that Pakistani historian have not written much on Islamic history. Therefore, these remarks may not be quite correct.

For a judgement on the literature produced by the Muslims committed to the cause of Pakistan during 40s see Sharif-al-Mujahid (1974: 175).

For a radical departure from conventional writings on Indo-Pak history see some of the works of professor Mubarak Ali particularly (1986).

For example see the works of late Professor I. H. Qureshi particularly 1962.

For a brief survey of the controversy on this subject see Ghazanvi (1974).

It is important to note that scientific creativity flourishes only in a given set of social-structural and cultural environments. It seems to be directly related to the presence of what has been earlier called "cultural ethos" of science, that is, organized skepticism, freedom to doubt and dissent and critical and objective appraisal of scientific works.
This is in sharp contrast to humanities in which Pakistani poets such as Faiz and short story writers such as Manto have shown considerable degree of creativity. May be the conditions necessary for creativity in humanities and social sciences are different.

For an uncritical use of the dominant paradigm in agricultural research in Pakistan see Khan (1981).

For a similar judgement on economics see Karamat Ali's chapter.

In a personal discussion a leading Pakistani economist argued against "creativity" in Pakistani social sciences pleading for what he called "creative application of Western social sciences."

For a detailed discussion of problems in integration of social science knowledge see Sherif and Sherif (1969).

This is because it developed earlier in the sub-continent and received the support and encouragement of the state. One indication of this is that thirty percent of all the social scientists working in the country are economists and almost all are working in the state sector.

All the above data about the number of social scientists is taken from the Department of Talent Pool of Manpower Division, Government of Pakistan with the courtesy of its Director General, Mr. Abdul Sattar Gill.

Recall Marx's view of static Indian society and the progressive role, he believed, the British had to play in changing it.

Reviewing the state of social sciences in the US Prewitt notes; " In short, scholarship (in United States) is part of the intellectual and organisational apparatus of foreign policy (1983: 764). For a detailed discussion about relations between growth of social sciences in the US and the foreign policy and security interests of the US see Gendzier (1985).

The judgement of Professor Anis Ahmad, one of the leading advocates of islamisation of social sciences in Pakistan, is somewhat similar on this issue (1988). However, a careful study of the only case he cites (Ahmed, 1984) "as a preliminary effort toward true Islamisation of social sciences" reveals considerable degree of intellectual ambiguity and ambivalence toward Islamisation of anthropology. Akbar S. Ahmed, the author of this work takes several contradictory positions including the desirability of synthesizing the left and right intellectual stances under the umbrella of Islamic Anthropology and declares the work of Gellner, Gaborieau and Nakamura as Islamic Anthropology notwithstanding their being non-Muslim.

This definition of Islamic Anthropology also contains an enigmatic statement that "Islam is here understood not as theology but sociology." Does it mean that Islam is a social science discipline of sociology investigating nature and structure of social relations, engaging in comparative study of development and functioning of social groups and societies? Or does it mean that Islamic Anthropology is meant to be a sociological study of Muslim societies and Muslim history? If the second meaning is
accepted then why call Islamic anthropology "sociology." Is there no difference between the two disciplines? If so, then why to bother about anthropology at all!

34 This is the task which advocates of Islamisation has set for themselves. According to a pamphlet produced by International Institute of Islamic Thought: "As disciplines, the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences must be reconceived and rebuilt, given a new Islamic base, and assigned new purposes consistent with Islam. Every discipline must be recast so as to embody the principles of Islam in its methodology, in its strategy, in what it regards as its data, its problems, its objectives and its aspirations (1987: viii & ix)."

35 Reviewing the literature produced on Islamic Economics in Iran and some other Muslim countries, Hosseini concludes, "Thus at best the totality of these contributions should be viewed as a special case of social economics, and not a new alternative to the neoclassical and Marxian paradigms (Hosseini, 1988: 44)."

36 One statement on Islamisation of knowledge puts the contemporary predicament of the Muslim World in the following words: "The world-ummah of Islam stands presently at the lowest rung of the ladder of nations. In this century, no other nation has been subjected to comparable defeat or humiliation. Muslims were defeated, massacred, robbed of their land and wealth, of their life and hope. They were double-crossed, colonised and exploited; proselytized and forcefully or by means of bribes converted to other faiths. They were, moreover, secularised, Westernised and de-Islamised by internal and external agents of their enemies. All this happened in practically every country and corner of the Muslim World. Victims of injustice and aggression on every count, the Muslim were nonetheless vilified and denigrated in the representations of all nations." Such a statement is poor specimen of Islamic social sciences, lacking a comparative view of the effects of colonialism and suggesting as if Muslims were specially chosen for the treatment described in the above quotation ignoring other groups subjected to similar treatment. Besides, the statement reflects more self-pity and anger than a scientific analysis and insights.

37 Advocates of Islamisation of knowledge differ on this issue. While some deny that contributions of Muslim scholars such as Ibn-e-Khuldun to social sciences do not make them necessarily "Islamic" (Anis Ahmad, 1988), other stake out claims such as that the first anthropologist of the world was a Muslim - Alberuni (Ahmed, 1984: 3). Staking out such claims without adequate research, common with many societies and religious groups, indeed, imbibes a sense of pride and greatness strengthening social cohesion of a group lacking them both. But it does not necessarily advance objectivity in social sciences or make creative contributions to them.

38 For an interesting sample of this debate see the two articles, one by Arshad Zaman (November 14, 1984) and the other by Faiz Mohammad (March 20, 1983?).

39 For an insightful discussion of Islamisation of knowledge based on an alternative conception of man see Khurshid Ahmad (1976) and Dar and Ansari (1988).

40 For a detailed discussion of the subject see Restivo and Vanderpool (1974) and Hirsch (1974).
One major reason for lack of development of sociology of social sciences is that for long, social scientists, particularly sociologists, have trained their guns on identifying the social structural and cultural conditions which help understand or explain phenomena mostly external to them, their vocation and their professional community. They have not as yet vigorously pursued the question very much involving themselves, that is, what are the social, cultural, political and economic conditions which impede or facilitate the emergence and development of social sciences. Not asking or pursuing this question vigorously is by itself significant. The social scientists may be afraid, as noted above, that if it was found that social sciences were the product of or influenced by their environments and socio-economic conditions in which they are produced, and the social background, the social position, and personal attitudes and values of the social scientists affect their professional work, it could shatter their dearly cherished belief of being objective, detached seekers of truth and observers of reality.

Marx, however, is believed to assign more independence to natural sciences, than "ideas about the social world" which he considered part of the superstructure performing the function of "ideology." Paradoxically, Marx assigned explicit scientific status to his own theories of historical materialism and scientific socialism (Barber, 1959; Merton, 1958, 468-469) even though they were being produced within the then established framework of capitalist relations of production - an inconsistency Marx never seemed to have resolved.

Galtung has further refined Merton's thesis. He has attempted to relate different components of social sciences to the type of political regimes in a society. According to him the repressive regimes are not scared of pure theory builders or pure data gatherers. In his own words:"What repressive regimes are afraid of would be the person who does both, collects data and tries to give meaning to them in the light of some theory; produces theory and tries to test them by means of some data (1981: 845)." This hypothesis cannot be tested for development of social sciences in Pakistan, as argued latter, due to continuity of the character of state, it being essentially a military-bureaucratic one.

That all states have a structural tendency to regulate the production of science and they differ only in degree of their control over its production is illustrated by witch hunting of US scientists during McCarthy era. It is also shown by the compulsion of a group of social scientists seeking federal funding for their proposals to support social sciences to coin the term "behavioral science" lest someone in the government may "confound social science with socialism." How the US government sponsored a group of social scientists to develop social theories which promoted its foreign policy interests see Gendzier (1985) and Prewitt (1983).

Only significant attempt in this field was made by Professor Ralph Braibanti during 60s (1966). Though predominantly concerned with research on bureaucracy in Pakistan, taking a limited view of the role of social sciences, and overemphasising the contributions of British colonialism, American aid, Pakistani elite bureaucracy, and Ayub Khan's Martial law in promoting social science research in Pakistan (pp. 330-343), the study is a valuable one in understanding the social and political factors which conditioned the development of social science research in Pakistan.

As during Ayub period, social sciences did grow quantitatively during Z. A. Bhutto period also. The faculty of social sciences in Quaid-i-Azam University was expanded.
Several departments of Pakistan studies and area study centers were started. An institute of History and Culture was opened. This quantitative growth was not accompanied by qualitative growth. Neither social sciences attained an autonomous character.

Some of the East Pakistani social scientists indeed chose to write on some of these issues particularly on regional problems affecting East Pakistan. Such studies were generally discouraged by the state. When East Pakistan broke away, some of the Pakistani bureaucratic rulers attributed its separation partly to these studies thus further strengthening bias against studying these issues by social scientists. A few notable studies on these subjects include Rizvi, 1976, Tahir Amin, 1988, and Waseem, 1989.

It may be significant to note that Professor Cohen had written a book on Indian Army before he was invited to write on Pakistan army. Normally this fact should have weakened rather than enhanced the credentials of Cohen to write on the subject.

For details about the efforts of the Ayub regime to promote social sciences in Pakistan see Braibanti (1966: 338-339). Under Ayub there occurred greater quantitative growth of social sciences, as his regime encouraged the establishment of training and research institutes for social scientific research and opened new universities under whose aegis more social science faculties were opened. It may also be noted that Ayub regime also established a large number of commissions and committees to prepare reports on various aspects of the society. However, most of these commissions and committees were manned by civil servants and supporters of the regime which generally made recommendations which they anticipated the regime would accept. Only two reports deviated from this pattern, the report on administrative reforms and the report on constitution. The first was not implemented at all. The second was accepted to the extent it did not restrict the power of Ayub Khan and mode of his election.

Writing about sociology in Pakistan Sabeha Hafeez states: "Only American sociological theory is known to exist in Pakistan. Little or no awareness exists on the part of Pakistani sociologists about the development of sociological theory in the socialist countries, European countries and the Third World countries." See her chapter in this book.

For a detailed discussion of this thesis see Galtung (1981).

The first argument simply implies that level of determinacy and predictability differs in natural and social sciences and that universality of laws about natural phenomena is greater than those about social phenomena. It cannot, however, be extended to deny that human societies emerge, function, change and develop according to certain patterns. Second, the argument is a mere statement about how man thought about causation at earlier stages in human history which could be true. However, such an argument is not a proof of itself. Humans have held beliefs about natural and social phenomena in the past some of which, under scientific scrutiny, have proved to be untrue.
This paper looks into the causes of underdevelopment of social sciences in Pakistan. There is an apparent consensus that there is something terribly wrong with higher education in this country. The government, the opposition, the academics and the various social groups have condemned the prevalent crisis in education at one point or another. Indicators of this state of affairs include a low ratio of expenditure on education, a mere 7% on an average, a low literacy rate, and a low enrolment rate of students. In the course of the following discussion I plan to develop a set of variables which, while seeking to explain the underdevelopment of social sciences in Pakistan, will verify the general consensus about the present crisis in education. I shall argue for a symbiotic relationship between the lack of quality on top of our social sciences programme and the narrow base of mass literacy.

My argument runs into two sections: in Section I, I will raise issues related to definitional problems of higher education in Pakistan. In the second section, I would shift the emphasis to conceptual and methodological problems of social sciences proper and the way Pakistan has failed to grapple with them, this will also deal with the question: how to rectify the present situation and develop a strong tradition of social science research and teaching in Pakistan.

I

Social Sciences and Higher Education

Let us start with problems of higher education and explore their relevance for social sciences. The following are some of the prevalent observations on the present state of education in Pakistan.

The educational standards in Pakistan are constantly declining.
Politics on the campus is responsible for a lack of concentration among students, which shows in their waywardness, factional battles and poor performance in examinations and careers. The teaching staff lacks research orientation.

There is a persistent lack of policy orientation in whatever research is conducted, thereby nullifying the whole purpose of education as a great contributing factor in development.

Both teaching and research in history, politics and other social sciences suffer from a lack of direction in terms of nationalist aspirations, especially in their ideological manifestation.

Pakistan's educational system blindly follows the Western norms and ideals; it, therefore, produces men and women given to emulation of Western standards, instead of original contribution to knowledge.

The following discussion will reveal that the observations about general educational decline and the staff's research orientation are only partially true, while other observations are false. I shall try to prove that the real issue lies not at the level of students and teachers but at the level of policy making about the content of education, administration of educational institutions and development of rational faculties among the articulate sections in general. In other words, most of our educational problems have their roots outside the institutions of higher learning and not inside them. I shall also try to prove that continued ignorance of the need to move the direction of the present educational system away from ethnocentric goals towards academic universalism is undermining the professional quality of our future bureaucrats, public careerists, professional experts as well as academics.

Take the consensus about decline in educational standards. It is interesting both for showing the alertness of responsible people at various levels of policy making to educational decline and for manifesting their rampant cynicism about all things relating to educational community. For example, it has been variously pointed out that graduate students in general and those taking the competitive examinations for entry into the services in particular lack originality of approach and tend to reproduce the crammed stuff. \(^5\) Indeed, the Federal Public Service Commission deplored the fact that "not a single candidate seems to have made any effort to form independent judgement." \(^6\) Lack of originality points us directly to the absence of speculative thinking amongst our students, who are seldom exposed to legitimate reasoning for or against a moral, aesthetic or political standpoint.

While these studies are a clear manifestation of the nation-wide consciousness about educational decline, they generally miss out on noticing the levels of excellence reached in some selected institutions and university departments. The educational scene of Pakistan has undergone many changes, and all of them are not in the wrong direction. For example, new departments of...
public and business administration, anthropology, international relations, defence and strategic studies and various area study centres have been established in universities across the country. New institutions such as Open University have come up. Education and journalism have emerged as full fledged departments. The number of those educated abroad has gone up considerably. As a university teacher, my impression is that the best students of today are far more knowledgeable than the best students of two decades back. It can therefore be claimed that the decline of educational standards is not universal, that the general thrust of education has expanded and not contracted during the last four decades, and that in some specialised fields Pakistan has benefited from those educated abroad who are now variously engaged in university teaching, economic planning and training various types of administrators. Although far from satisfactory, the educational standards have made a steady progress at least in some cases. That means that as far as infra-structural base of our educational system is concerned, it has a tremendous scope for absorption of newer and more sophisticated branches of knowledge. The real problem lies on the operational side, which is related to setting the curricula, gradation standards, and scientific values. Especially in those subjects which directly relate to political and cultural aspects of life in Pakistan, qualitative progress has been not only static but even declining. In a transitional society such as Pakistan there is conflict between traditional ways of understanding and patterning one's action on it and the modern ways of conceiving one's role and pursuing action accordingly. Our educational system, just like military organisation, civil administration and judicial system, was structured on the pattern of its parent system in Britain, with an underlying belief in the universality of knowledge. While we share this modern educational heritage with many Commonwealth countries of the Third world, it has been increasingly in conflict with the emergent forces of tradition in the post-independence period. As the power structure of this society is constantly absorbing traditional elements in larger numbers, its educational outlook is increasingly under pressure from culture-specific goals, thereby pushing the universalism of modern knowledge into the background. While the general thrust of later-day educational policies tends to confirm this Doomsday scenario, various institutional links with the West in our modern sector continue exerting counter-pressure to keep it from sliding backwards. While, thus, the administrative institutions of the state, are entirely dependent on universities for recruitment of officers, they are inherently biased in favour of modern education, especially in the fields of administrative sciences, economics, journalism, commerce and rural sociology.

The university campus is thus a target of mistrust of the traditional sector for its modernist aspirations and relatively this-worldly approach. To make matters worse, even the modernist sector from outside the campus has its own reservations about what goes on in the educational campuses. This is part of the state bureaucracy's continued general intolerance of public activity anywhere in the country. It has a puritanical attitude towards education, which
is conceived strictly as a classroom relationship between students and teachers. If some students organise themselves around certain ideological standpoints or social causes, they are considered cancer of the student body and are condemned in the strongest terms. In the words of 'An Educationalist.'

A very important cause for this mental stagnation among the students is that they have become too much political minded. The political parties patronise particularly the delinquents amongst the students who spread the germs of lawlessness with the natural consequence that the students are more after their self-styled demands than after their studies.

These words smack of ignorance about the situation in campuses because a) it is usually the more enterprising students, and not the delinquents, who are active in politics, b) there is no mental stagnation among students; on the contrary they are dynamic in their approach to cultural or political issues of the country even while there is mental repression exerted from outside by those who disfavour independent thinking and consider all extra-curricular activities as a form of lawlessness, and c) the reason the students are not interested in their studies at least as much as would be ideally required, is not their so-called 'self-styled' demands, but a lack of incentive for study. Most careers do not depend on academic achievement, but on draft, family links or political pressure. There is therefore no demand on students' time, energy and attention. If all creditable jobs are filled strictly on merit basis instead of ascriptive criteria, then pursuit of excellence in education will be taken more seriously by a larger section of student population than at present. For that purpose, the rational faculties of students would require proper channelling into research activities and public performance in classes and seminars.

And yet, can we seriously demand research from students, while a majority of their teachers, especially in the postgraduate departments of colleges, have themselves had a poor research training and produce almost nothing by way of academic scholarship? It is frequently complained that teachers do not produce quality research. Naturally, no research can be considered worthwhile if it does not fulfil the demands of a developing country. For example, if the economic policy-making is monopolised by the bureaucrats from economic ministries and all non-bureaucratic research continues being distrusted or at least ignored, then the latter's chances of survival, not to talk of advancement, are pretty slim. It is to be expected that under these circumstances research will tend to be less policy-oriented than is required by the policy-makers; that talent will shy away from research and move to power-holding institutions; that research will be guided by career requirements rather than social needs; and the general level of speculative thinking will decline. It can therefore, be maintained that a lack of research orientation, where ever it exists, is due to structural constraints and can be rectified only by absorbing the potential researchers into the policy-making processes.
There is a general complaint that research in social science departments lacks a national vision and it blindly follows the Western ideals and norms. This complaint is based on the newly expanding consciousness about the need for all education to take roots in the indigenous culture. Such views are direct manifestations of the rising force of traditionalist elements within the power structure of Pakistan. Such traditionalism thrives on narrow mindedness, egocentrism and ignorance of comparative achievements in education in other societies, albeit all in the name of nationalism. The temptation to throw aside all rationality and logic and call the contrary views treacherous is in abundance among such elements. In this way, all Western social thought is widely distrusted and publicly condemned. The critics of Western influence over Pakistan's educational system unimaginatively blame foreign interference for decline in education and mental breakdown of our nation. Following this line of reasoning a process of shift from English to Urdu as medium of instruction for higher learning is underway in various universities of Pakistan. In other words, the means of acquiring higher education are being cut off from the international exchange of scholarly opinion in various social sciences as well as humanities. While exploring the causes for deterioration of the performance of candidates in the CSS examinations, a professor of literary history bemoaned the dearth of quality books in Urdu:

Even in the Humanities there are few books of the M.A. level. In History, Geography, Philosophy, Psychology, there is no book of this level. In the Social sciences, Physical sciences, Biological sciences there are even less book in Urdu abound but mostly of an unscientific nature.

It is surprising to note that this process of changing the linguistic base of higher education from English to Urdu is in sharp contrast to the comparable process of expanding the linguistic base of higher education by including English in many countries such as Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Libya and the Gulf States in general. Pakistan has inherited an English-language base for higher education from colonial days and on that basis clearly dominated the market in professional careers in the Gulf countries during the 1970s and 1980s. It is this educational heritage which is slowly eroding under the political pressure from certain sub-elite groups from the traditional sector. A direct consequence of this process of educational indigenisation is the flight of students abroad; as many as 8000 undergraduate students were studying in USA alone in 1986. In other words, the continued predominance of Western educated individuals over services and professions is perceived as a foregone conclusion. The Western education brings in its fold a higher level of rationality than is now being provided by our own institutions of higher learning. The irony of the situation is that while a vehement process of ideologisation of the whole process of education is going on within Pakistan, those filling the higher positions in various sectors of the state and society are typically the product of secular, non-ideological and universalist systems of education in the West. Even while civil
and military services recruit heavily from amongst those educated at home, their post-recruitment training usually takes place either in academies staffed or visited by the Western-educated scholars or in public administration institutes or universities of the West. Indeed, the protagonists of bureaucratic hegemony claim that the aggregate rational will represented by a small minority of Western-educated officers far outweighs the accumulated wisdom of the majority of population which is not educated at such high levels within or outside the country.11

Indeed, both have and have-nots in terms of education are acutely conscious that it is the higher learning based on English language which is the key to social power and economic prosperity. That may be the reason why we find opposition to such projects as mosque schools among certain underprivileged groups:

The establishment of mosque schools itself perpetuates discrimination against the rural areas and less affluent sections of society. No village parent is satisfied with a mulla school. A villager's aspirations for his child is for him to learn English and to join the 20th century. Not to recognise this [is] to create division and sow seeds of disintegration of our society.12

While thus, the articulate classes as well as the public at large share the craving for Western based education, how come the framers of our educational policy have been singularly unaware of the general consensus on this issue? It is clear that certain groups of people crossing the boundaries of lower middle class/mofussil towns stand to gain from raising the bogey of corrupting influence of the West, thus diluting the educational standards down to their own level. While equal opportunities for all citizens must be the aim of an educational policy, it should not be at the cost of the quality of instruction and scholarly research. This phenomenon can be a product of preferences of successive regimes in Pakistan. Under Ayub, for example, higher education had an implicit elite orientation with a relatively secular approach to knowledge and development of private sector in education; the management of educational institutions was however tightly controlled.13 Subsequently, Noor Khan's educational policy recommended decentralization of educational management and curricula; this policy was taken over and implemented by Bhutto who added a distributive factor in the form of mass education. Under President Zia, there has been a move back to private sector as well as centralised administrative control, although the wheel is not turned back to Ayub's modernistic vision.14 These observations point to the fact that our educational system has failed to develop its own dynamics and is still controlled and manipulated by the politico-administrative authority from outside the campus. Our universities lack institutional autonomy which is responsible for inconsistency in the means and goals of higher education, gross violation of the process of approximation of truth by the traditional attitudes to knowledge, as well as erosion of unencumbered scientific enquiry.
Indeed, the bureaucratic control over education has been singularly responsible for misplacing the nation's energies and misleading its youth. The bureaucracy has looked at educational institutions in the light of its self-characterisation as guardians of the society which is a colonial heritage par excellence. It has always prided over its own leadership role and considered universities to be the places responsible for creating leaders. Ayub Khan's Education Commission, for example, understood the role of institutions of higher learning as the 'training of leaders in government and the professions'. It considered a country's administrative and intellectual achievements and advancement of agriculture and industry, science and technology, art and culture as 'measures of the quality of the leaders it produces. The new planning', therefore, aimed at promoting 'the qualities of leadership and scholarship'. No doubt, this obsession with producing leadership rather than cultivating productive work and scientific imagination clearly manifests a basic malady of our educational system, namely, the concept of education as a method of training the rulers. This concept is state-centred in its nature and reactionary in its orientation. Neither development of individual faculties nor organisation of society along the most productive lines seems to be on top of our educational planners' agenda.

The unreflective and mechanical growthmanship of these planners can be held directly responsible for educational decline. Budget after budget, the stress is laid on technology as the real foundation of development. Science proper, scientific method and scientific research are considered wasteful or at least something reserved for laboratories. It should be clear to the policy makers that technology in the sense of scientifically conceived method of producing industrial goods cannot flourish unless science in the sense of understanding the logical relationship between research input and production output can be universally applied. That in turn points to the need for cultivating scientific imagination along with its essential characteristics such as objectivity, inductive/deductive logic and an all-operative spirit of realism. This scientific imagination is a social phenomenon, not a laboratory product. This is a state of mind, rather than simply a method of doing things, as is so often conceived by those who equate science with technology. Social sciences are not only the social correlative of natural sciences; rather each scientific revolution pushes the organisation of social thought to higher levels of rationality, paving the way for newer achievements in science proper, followed by technology. Social sciences are therefore directly responsible for social organisation along more and more productive lines.

Our observations in this section clearly show that higher education in Pakistan suffers from infra-structural, conceptual and behavioural constraints, which directly impinge on the growth pattern of social sciences in the country. We observed that Pakistan's educational system has infra-structural advantages in the sense of generations-old contacts with the global academic activity, institutional proliferation and Western educated staff. In other words, we do
have a base from where we can operate in the scientific community. But there are other factors, which grossly hamper the growth of scientific spirit in the country, especially the rise of the traditional sector after independence, compounded by the modernist sector's intolerance of academic community. The former has consistently spread xenophobia and has thus struggled to misrepresent scienticity as a tool of Western domination, thereby weakening the rational faculties as well as productive capacity of individuals and institutions in Pakistan. The latter, as policy makers at the highest level, are responsible for disallowing institutional autonomy to universities and research institutes and thus for stunting the growth of independent thinking among students. What is most disturbing is the fact that policy-makers tend to ignore the demands of a healthy growth of social sciences even while they legislate over it. In the following section, we shall take up the question of the basic character of social sciences, their role in development of an educated citizenry and some of the underlying issues of epistemology.

II

Conceptual and Methodological Problems in Social Sciences

Social sciences were introduced in our part of the world shortly before independence. Till then, the administrative and professional elite among the Muslims largely took to humanities, which were identified with status and social ascendancy. This obsession with achieving a privileged status through education is the colonial heritage of Pakistan just like "the problem of useless training is most severe in India and Indonesia, where following European and local traditions higher education is still regarded as a means of access to the privileged classes rather than as training for productive work." In the days of British India, Law and History heralded the movement towards Western education, closely followed by English literature. Philosophy, political science, economics and psychology were understood as 'arts'-- later 'humanities'--to distinguish them from science. It is not surprising therefore that the first generation of educational policy makers in Pakistan were trained to deal with these subjects at the level of arts, not science. In the absence of continuity of academic exchange with the West in the immediate post-independence years, they were inherently prone to reproduce educational policies of a previous era. Their views have largely survived to this day, at least among the majority of our planners and political bosses. Only economics enjoyed autonomy of status as a discipline, especially because the British Indian, and later Pakistani, bureaucracy took intensive training in economic management during the immediate post-recruitment years. Economics was considered a method of doing things, and thus a form of 'practical arts'. All other social sciences were tackled at the level of speculative and deliberative, instead of analytical, thought.

This current of subjective thought was compounded by the fact that the policy planners and the younger generation of teachers and professors matured
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among the minds of students in the name of de-colonisation of mind. If the power of knowledge was used by the colonialists to subjugate other societies, that does not prove that knowledge itself is immoral, or that knowledge can be divided into good and bad by whoever comes into power. All knowledge is inherently powerful. Only those individuals, organisations and societies which uphold the truth as the supreme value can enjoy moral and material superiority over others. It will be unwise to dismiss organisational and scientific achievements of our past in the defence sector, or public administration or school or college education simply on the basis of their colonial origins.

The prevalent non-scientific attitudes in Pakistan apparently have their roots in the fact that the growth of social sciences was not preceded by natural sciences as in the West. Instead, it was a product of three currents of thought co-habiting and influencing each other during the last two hundred years: i) the so-called oriental classics in philosophy and literature ii) the Western thought which came via the public school-oriented colonial administrators, missionaries and orientalists. and iii) some stirrings of controversies in natural and social sciences, which by the time they reached the colonial societies often became obsolete and redundant. In Pakistan, a typical manifestation of this amalgamation is the projection of subjectively held traditional values and ideas in the garb of neo-scientific terminology, often 'enriched' by quotations from Western philosophers. The widely practised exercise in approximation of standards of precision and value-neutrality set by natural sciences in the West is largely absent in Pakistan. In other words, social sciences in Pakistan are encumbered with extra scientific practices which cause a massive distortion of their methodology. Social sciences in Pakistan have been unbalanced by gross enlargement of the first factor at the expense of the other two. Social sciences are conceived in pre-scientific terms, which may be the reason for misapplication of policies about them in this country. Or shall we say that, while teaching social sciences, we have missed a fundamental thing about them, that is an enquiry into their meaning, their nature, their role in human knowledge? We have missed teaching philosophy of the social sciences or even the theory of knowledge in general. Of course, we shall face a great difficulty justifying instruction in abstract thought, especially in a country like Pakistan where 'development' is conceived essentially as economic growth via application of technology. In fact that is precisely what the editor of a book of readings on philosophy of social sciences apprehended:

A forthright listing of difficulties might help:

1. Is it really possible for a college senior majority, let us say, in economics who has had but an introductory course in the field of philosophy to master the history of philosophy while he is studying the problems of philosophy and methodology of the social sciences in one semester or one year?
2. How can the reader grasp the problems of theory understood as Weltanschauung if he comes to that term without an appreciation of the history of ideas?

3. What difference does the relationship between particulars and universals make to the student of business administration who is simply trying to prepare for a job in management? And is it safe to tell a prospective employer in the course of an interview that you are concerned about nihilism?

4. Why isn't it more sensible to face methodological questions as they turn up in the course of actual study, in as reasonable a way as possible, instead of projecting vast conceptual schemes and employing the mysterious categories of philosophy?

5. What practical good results from the kind of study we are introducing here? Will it really make the student a better sociologist or historian or anthropologist?

6. Finally, assuming these questions are answered in a satisfactory way and the student is interested in making a start, where and how exactly shall he begin? Where is the door that leads into the fabulous mansion?

In other words, where do we move ahead from methodology understood as 'method' of doing things, such as 'the latest techniques of setting up glassware in the chemistry laboratory'? Social sciences are concerned more with understanding than doing things. They provide analytical tools for understanding men in society, their past or present behaviour in economic, political psychological, cultural, religious, legal, tribal, ethnic, criminal, sexual and other aspects of everyday life. Social sciences are different from natural sciences in that the former study the patterns of human will as operative in various forms of individual or collective action while the latter analyse the apparently unwilled action in nature, men or animals. Both seek to discover regular patterns of action or laws of behaviour. In the case of social sciences, however, this process is much more difficult because it involves understanding intentional patterns of action.

Historically, as well as in the case of individual growth patterns, action based on instinct has enjoyed a priori position as both stimulant and rationalisation of social action. On the other hand, the action based on calculation of specific consequences tends to overtake and dominate the former. The discovery of relationship between cause and effect then leads to emergence of a set of rules channelling human volition. As experience accumulates and tools of understanding multiply, the scope of reason expands over wider areas of human activity. The former has usually been identified with intuition, initiative, and creativity while the latter is based on criticism, reason, argument, evidence and consequential logic. It is therefore possible to see sometimes humanities flourishing while the social fabric and political authority go down
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The essentially reflective non-developmental nature of humanities differentiates it from social sciences which are far more productive. On the other hand, social sciences manifest the intellectual level of a society at a specific time in history which is contingent upon the current human understanding of man in nature. In this sense, natural sciences continue to feed the social sciences which then provide the critical perspective for creative activity in the realm of humanities. However, Pakistan has a different pattern of thought-organisation, which undermines the growth of social sciences almost as a structural necessity. Here, social sciences themselves operate at the level of humanities, projecting subjective opinions, prescribing individual modes of conduct and relying on authoritative statements of both present and past stalwarts from various walks of life.

Philosophy of Science

It is interesting to note that most of the Pakistani universities do not include a course on philosophy of social sciences or even history of ideas as one of the requirements for the Bachelor's or even Master's degree. Continuing debate over comparisons and contrasts between natural and social sciences is just not a part of the student's analytical vision. Even the more knowledgeable students and teachers do not fully appreciate the epistemological problems of their respective disciplines, even though they might have spent a life-time in teaching or doing research. The controversy about the secondary status of social sciences vis-à-vis natural sciences in terms of precision of data, predictability of events and clarity of description is hardly understood by our students of social sciences. For example, following may be some of the grounds on which social sciences are often relegated to a status inferior to natural sciences:

1. Invariability of observations
2. Objectivity of observations and explanations
3. Verifiability of hypotheses
4. Exactness of findings
5. Measurability of phenomena
6. Constancy of numerical relationships
7. Predictability of future events
8. Distance from every-day experience
9. Standards of admission and requirements.

The discussion of these issues has progressively moved from dichotomous conceptualization of natural and social sciences to placing them along a single continuum of scienticity or scientific method. The predominant influence of positivism has led the practitioners of social sciences to believe that, as compared to a relatively small number of reproducible facts, "A much larger number of facts some of them probably unique historical events, will be
found relevant in an explanation of or prediction of economic or other social events." But the facts, so value-laden as they are, must be analysed as objectively as possible. That leads us to Weberian conception of social sciences in terms of "constructing relationships which our imagination accepts as plausibly motivated and hence as "objectively possible" and which appear as adequate from the nomological standpoint." The whole approach of this so-called 'naturalistic' school, thus, finds the difference between natural and social sciences as one of degree and not of kind.

As against them, the phenomenologists represent the secondary current of sociological thought, which finds this difference to be of a fundamental nature. The conscious motive of social action and thus the subjective biases and prejudices, according to them, differentiate social from natural science; the former are 'self-inspecting' in the sense that they bank on criteria which are inner-born, constantly given to self-criticism and evaluation of new standards of understanding. Phenomenology represents a philosophical challenge to positivism as does Marxist social thought and the analysis based on anatomy of language as the most reflective cultural activity. In Pakistan, however, not only that the philosophical problems of definition, subject matter, methodology and epistemology are totally ignored but the whole current of social thought is moving away from these issues. Non-inclusion of the philosophical study of social sciences has resulted in cultivating one specific type of sociological imagination among our educated sections which takes things for granted, and does not appreciate the process of evolution of theories and ideologies. This lack of historical consciousness, i.e. the capacity to see the presence of the past in the present is responsible for shallowness and smugness of our intelligentsia. Be they economists, political scientists, sociologists anthropologists or those belonging to sub-disciplines of these and other social sciences, most of them share a lack of consciousness about the fundamental rules of game of this business which evolved during the last three centuries. They are prone to undermine the very platform on which they are standing and are thus growing theoretically barren and intellectually insecure. That leads to a general tendency of relying on non-academic methods of survival in the academic world such as patronage-seeking through cultivating personal relations with political authorities. They stick to an interpretation of education, especially social sciences, which provides security of tenure to a few but at the same time promotes a tradition of neglect of reason and cultivation of irrationality at large. That is why we find the obverse of historical consciousness, i.e., anachronism, operative through all aspects of our academic activity. Most significantly, we tend to analyse the world situations with the use of those categories which would have made sense a few hundreds years back, but which cannot but be considered primitive, eccentric or at least squinted at the present moment.

This lack of theory in our social science teaching and research is responsible for the so-called hyper-factualism. Thus scientific method is equated with fact-finding exercise within an overall empirical approach. On the contrary, social sciences in the West have been drifting towards theoretical sophistication while pure empiricism is on the decline. It is necessary therefore
that we understand the basic character of all contemporary scientific discourse.
Each discipline has accumulated a vast number of generalisations or laws of
behaviour whereby it seeks to explain the phenomena falling in its own orbit. It
is these generalisations based on relationships between an assorted number of
facts, and not the facts themselves, which indicate the true source of the theory
of social sciences. For example, a generalisation from political science would be
like this: 'Every society has had rules, written or unwritten by which social
control over the people's conduct is maintained.'
A generalisation from history would say: 'the constants of history are change and continuity.'
Generalisations have universal application; they have a thesis to project and
they are arrived at through inductive reasoning.
There can be substantive generalisations which 'like all abstractions, have degrees of complexity and
completeness and thus can be formulated into an appropriate degree of
abstraction for any student without loss of the essence of the principle.' Likewise, sub-generalisations have a reference to a particularistic reality such as:
'Pakistan can be expected to supplement its efforts at building a credible
defence posture with diplomatic initiatives aimed at fostering preventive rather
than remedial measures.'
What social sciences do is discover regular patterns
of social action, make abstractions out of them and formulate generalisations on
that basis. The underlying principle remains the quest for a logical cause-and-
effect relationship between the perceived facts. The social sciences as well as
'social studies' as their distillation, train the minds to use the available facts to
arrive at the right decisions, both:

At the level of deciding what a group of descriptive data means, how
these data may be summarised or generalised, what principles they
suggest; and also decision making at the level of policy determination,
which requires a synthesis of facts and values usually not all found on
one side of any question.

The use of generalisations of different types in historical writings takes
diverse forms of semantic aspects, for example, groupings of statements such as
'conclusions' of historical episodes, and schematisation according to subject
matter or time frame as well as metahistory.
There has been a fruitful contact
between history and the hard core social sciences. For example, the post-
Weberian social theorists have defined the spirit of specified historical stages of
various societies in terms of psychoanalytical dimensions or socio-economic
factors. Even at the risk of reductionism, historians and social scientists in
general have ambitiously sought to study generalisations related to unwarranted
belief. This overwhelming spirit of enquiry into opinions, cultural expressions
and belief systems is what made the extraordinary expanse of generalisations
possible through history and brought about logical structures and analytical
models for understanding human societies, thereby pushing back the frontiers of
time and space.
Unfortunately Pakistan's educational system has yet to grow out of its prescriptive and moralistic approach to knowledge, which clearly manifests complete distrust of human faculty for rational decision making. Instead, it relies heavily on regulating students' decisions by providing them select generalisations based on outmoded moral attitudes and authoritative norms. By the time our students enter the universities, their analytical power is badly damaged as they seldom have to make decisions about which opinions to hold, which intellectual movements to follow and which careers to adopt. Their generalisation-making faculties are thus underdeveloped in this country.

Not only that our educational system represents in-built prejudices against scienticity, it has been particularly critical of its Western origin. There has emerged a large mass of literature condemning the 'Western' social sciences. The general implication is that men from different regions of the world have different basic characteristics and therefore, they cannot be studied by social scientists trained in universality of knowledge. The subjective and unreasoned statements are issued about educational crisis in the Muslim world, and a spirit of self-pity is created. One author, for example, bemoans 'the current degeneration, decadence and backwardness of the 'Ummah', then finds the crisis of knowledge as 'the sole cause of the state of decadence' and condemns 'the distracted and diseased forces of the metropolitan cities of the Muslim world which represent the impotence of the Ummah'\textsuperscript{34}. This approach to 'Western' social sciences smacks of our denial of universality of knowledge. Instead of entering into scholarly debate with the Western accumulated intellect, which of course draws on its contact with various cultures, including the medieval Islamic civilisation, the protagonists of this cause have largely failed to understand the prejudices of the Western scholarship because they look at them through the opaque glass of their own prejudices. That is why we find such condemnatory statements as 'a kind of lame rationalism, this Greek philosophising,'\textsuperscript{35} or 'whenever we send our sons and daughters to study in the West, we send them unknowingly to learn militant atheism'.\textsuperscript{36} It is very interesting to look at the way this queer perspective on social sciences grapples with Western positivism:

The postulates of this positivism are three:

1. Every scientific truth, being an exact and definitive copy of natural reality, precludes that any of the fundamental notions of science be subject to doubt. Progress of knowledge is hence an accumulation of these truths.

2. Every reality, whether natural or human, is susceptible to be studied by one and the same method, of which physics and mathematics are the ideal paradigm'.

3. It follows that all problems, including those of morality, politics and society can indeed be solved by the same method.\textsuperscript{37}
This statement carries a huge burden of lies and half-truths, out of both dishonesty and ignorance. For example, i) scientific notions are always subject to doubt. In fact, verifiability and falsification of scientific theories is a compulsory component of scientific training. Indeed, all scientific thought has advanced through mutational changes, whereby the prevalent commitments of the scientific community are threatened, and in many cases replaced by the new ones. The scientific revolutions are thus the transformations of paradigms. ii) There is a vehement debate going on for at least a hundred years about the correct methodology to be followed in social science research. As noted earlier, the naturalist school has been widely challenged and alternative strategies have been presented and followed in various researches such as phenomenology and Marxist social thought. It is wrong to say that one and the same method is applied in all social sciences. iii) Social sciences do not offer a method of solving problems. They are sophisticated channels of approximating the truth about individuals and their meaningful relationship with other individuals, nature and God.

All this clearly shows that we are getting increasingly estranged from the mainstream thought of social sciences. We are becoming unable to dig out the underlying biases and prejudices of the Western social thought because of our own deep inhibitions. Our heavily subjective attitude to men and matters bars the way to understanding the subjective leanings hidden in the works of both the Western and our own scholars. Social sciences owe their tremendous progress during the last few decades to generations of critics who took the scientists to task for not meeting the standards of objectivity and for projecting unproven, wishful statements as social facts. Our criticism, on the other hand, tends to blast the Western social scientists without proving or disproving anything. In fact, the newly emerging intellectual environment in Pakistan tends to discard all modern knowledge in the name of anti-imperialism and follow a retrogressive path of compulsive revival of tradition. In fact, it takes pride in rejecting innovation as a Western value.

We are now in a position to integrate our diverse observations on the nature of social sciences as they developed in our part of the world. Here, the classical tradition of humanities has dominated the scene far too long. The Western pattern of emergence of natural sciences followed by social sciences has been reversed in Pakistan, as elsewhere in the Third World, where social sciences emerged without a model before them in the form of natural sciences. The exigencies of colonial rule further distorted their growth pattern, by promoting 'arts' as a symbol of social privilege and treating social sciences as secondary to humanities. It is natural, therefore, to see an overall pre-scientific approach reigning supreme over the educational scene in Pakistan.

As the college graduates entering universities normally bear a decade-long burden of exposure to a type of education which disfavours independent opinion-holding, all higher learning is bound to suffer. Such activities as
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gathering facts and locating the cause-and-effect relationship between them, are generally not a part of educational training at the school or college level. Making generalisations about a given set of variables is a practice largely unknown to students. When they take up research, they tend to deal with facts at one-dimensional level, which finds expression in the form of hyper-factualism or abstracted empiricism. The consciousness about the underlying order of things or what is called theoretical implications, is generally absent. When an alternative mode of thinking threatens to dislodge them from their ivory tower, they perceive a challenge to their integrity and belief system and react unimaginatively and even violently. In other words, theory is misunderstood as ideology. This approach violates a basic principle of scientific enquiry, namely the falsifiability of theory.

That leads us to generalised ignorance about the philosophy of social sciences. Our universities understress the need for training their students in principles and norms of their respective disciplines. The students' grasp over the basic character of a large mass of accumulated knowledge to which they are selectively exposed is distorted. They look at history as chronology, and not as repository of knowledge. Such an attitude thrives on ethnocentrism bred on culture-specific models of development, xenophobia and cynicism. It is dangerous in the sense that it misses out not only on delineation of the real biases and prejudices of scholarship, Western or otherwise, but also on understanding of one's own predilections. Pakistan's academics and intellectuals share this attitude with their counterparts from many other Third World countries and unfortunately share their fate as well. They are trying to orient themselves in three directions: in their relationships with the West, with their own past and with the people at large. It is not uncommon to see the simultaneous influence of xenophobia and xenophilia working on a typical intellectual from these societies, while he is torn apart by the rival forces of archaism and futurism. In the same way he looks up to 'the people' and down on 'the masses'. A scientific attitude would need to exorcise the ghosts of the West, the past and the people, and eliminate the compounds of projective systems based on them. Our students must start with a new type of mind, the social planning mind which was brought forth in the West by the Enlightenment two centuries back. Instead of closing themselves in a shell, they should increasingly participate in the world communication system and utilise the services of such agencies as UNESCO in getting acquainted with educational movements elsewhere in the world. Even if its claims may be exaggerated, 'while fostering basic progress in the social sciences, UNESCO has encouraged the multidisciplinary approach to complex problems such as peace, human rights, racism, apartheid, development, the status of women, population, and the development of analytical instruments whereby these problems could be more effectively perceived. It is hoped that Pakistan's policy planners as well as students and teachers can gain tremendously by participating in the global currents of thought in the realm of social sciences.
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NOTES

1 Tariq Husain, 'Education, Growth and Equity', Viewpoint, Lahore, April 14, 1983, p.11.

2 In 1981, it was estimated at 26.5% while for rural women it stood at mere 5%. Salim Mehmud, 'Education in Pakistan: A Perspective-I', Muslim, Islamabad, 7-8-1984.

3 In 1981, the total enrollment rate for Pakistan was estimated at 56% as against 94% on an average for other low-income countries. S.H. Burki, 'Education and Development-III', Muslim, Islamabad, 5-4-1985. This dismal state of affairs is rooted, according to Burki, in the low market value of education as compared to economic return of unskilled labour, excluding the factor of emigrant labour, as well as cultural conservatism which disallows female education. S.H. Burki, 'Education and Development-I', Muslim, Islamabad, 2-4-1985.

4 Only 8% of 88 million people of Pakistan can be considered having passed through primary education successfully, 2.8% through high school, 0.3% through college and only 0.6% through the university. With such a small educational base, it is not surprising to see the dearth of high-quality students in the university. S. Mehmud, op. cit.


6 Ibid. p.6.


12 Dr. Hamida Khuhro, 'Education and National Building-II' Muslim, Islamabad, 20-6-1984.


14 Ibid., p. 255.


17 Ibid., p.34.

18 Ibid., p.35.


21 Ibid., p. 25.

22 Fritz Machlup, "Are the Social Sciences Really Inferior?" n ibid., p. 159.

23 Ibid., p. 160.


27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p.2

29 Ibid., p.7


33 Ibid., p.93

34 Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman, 'Islamization of Knowledge with Special Reference to Political Science', Islamic Social Sciences, Dec.1985, p.263-264.
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35 Roger Garaudy, 'The Balance Sheet of Western Philosophy in this Century', in ibid., p.171.

36 Ibid., p.173

37 Ibid., p.172


39 For a detailed discussion of the current practice of cultivating anti-scientific spirit in the country, see Parvez A. Hoodbhoy, Pakistan's Backwardness in the Field of Science: Social and Ideological Reasons, (Lahore, n.d.) p.11-18. (Urdu text)

40 Ibid., p.12

41 Khun, op.cit., p.2


43 Ibid., p.262


Ch. 3

SOME METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN ISLAMISATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Anis Ahmad

We are living, perhaps, in what might be the most rapid period of changes in the history of mankind. The technological revolution, since its inception, about two hundred years ago, has brought to light new dimensions in human action and behaviour. The micro-chip revolution has changed the shape of industrial development. Today, such laborious jobs as rolling of steel, machine engine blocks, printing of books, newspapers and journals, making textile, running oil refineries and sorting out bank's cheques is done by computers and micro-computers instead of junior executives or labour supervisors.

In the field of education, close circuit T.V., to a great extent, has substituted the traditional teacher. In the field of security and defence, remote control devices have minimised the risk of loosing skilled hands. This gives an impression that the realm of physical and natural sciences has surpassed the area of social sciences which have a greater concern with the ultimate questions.

However, with all advancement in technology human factor is the king pin. Although the excellence and supremacy of physical sciences gives an impression, that traditional values have been substituted by a technology of human behaviour (B.F. Skinner, 1971). The Behaviourists as well as those who have their obvious apprehensions about scientism and development of a techno-culture (Theodore Raszak, 1969) as well as social scientists proclaiming decline of the west (Floyd W. Matson, 1966) do not hide their pessimism about the contemporary situation in the social sciences in the west (Calhoun, 1971).

The Muslim Scientist is faced with several other problems. First and foremost is the problem of neo-colonial and cultural colonialism. Those influenced by it can hardly see and feel a need for Islamisation of social sciences. The whole talk about Islamisation is no more than a jargon for them.

Those who are influenced by the material progress of the west proclaim that technological and scientific progress is the key to a better future. Therefore,
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even without any professional knowledge about modern science they advocate introduction of sciences and technology as the only step for progress.

There are, however, some Muslim social scientists who with full professional responsibility talk about Islamisation of knowledge (Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, 1982) but they try to cover such a vast span of knowledge which dilutes the impact of the effort.

However, the issuance of the American Journal of the Islamic Social Sciences (Spring, 1984) is an indication of serious, scientific, and co-ordinated effort of concerned Muslim professionals about Islamisation of Social Sciences. Some of the recent works also support our view (Ahmed, 1986; Bagader, 1983).

In this research paper, an effort is made to identify some methodological problems in Islamisation of social sciences. The treatment has been divided into two parts. Firstly, we try to find out the major problems contemporary social scientists are facing. Second, we try to understand what Islam can do to salvage contemporary crisis in the social sciences. Lastly, the paper will make an attempt to show how a new Islamic framework or a general system theory can be developed.

I

A careful review of basic issues in social sciences will show that contemporary thought has been greatly influenced by three ideological contributions made in the western capitalist world. The materialism of Karl Marx left an imprint not only on economic thought but also on history, political science, and morality. Those who took matter as the ultimate also liberated themselves from religious and moral institutions.

In the field of Sociology and Psychology the post Freudian behaviourists (B.F. Skinner, 1953) and the neo-behaviourists (Eric Fromm, 1941) influenced not only the western theory of human behaviour, motivation, and personality, it posed serious philosophical problems at methodological level (Braybrooke, 1965).

The influence of theories of biological origin of man was also huge. The vision of man thus developed regarded him mostly as a bundle of desires and drives. He was supposed to behave like a rat in a maze or like a developed ape.

Methodological Problems

The above discussion leads us to three major methodological problems. First, since social science deals with social behaviour of man, we need to understand the meaning of human behaviour. Human behaviour has been understood by some social and physical scientists in terms of robot behaviour. Whatever is fed in the memory of the robot leads to an expected out-put. There are others who believe that not only human behaviour but even behaviour of a common fly is so complex
that to calculate orbit of its movement is next to impossible. (Braybrooke, 1965, p.24). The behaviourists who occupy an influential place in modern social sciences maintain that a "technology of human behaviour" can be developed in which predictions can be made about human response and action. This brings the ideological gap between the capitalists and the Marxists, practically, to zero. The Marxist Sociology claims that it is the material factor in a given society which produces human behaviour, therefore, material needs take the shape of human desires. The behaviourist school led by Skinner, claims, precisely, that atmospheric changes will lead to substantial change in human behaviour. Both, to a great extent, over-look the role of personal ethical factor. Whether dealing with analytical approach, descriptive approach, causal-explanatory approach, or evaluative approach in ethics (Edel, 1961), it is presumed that the individual as well as the group will respond to a change in atmosphere. Therefore, it is pre-supposed that the traditional ethics and morality (religious belief, ideology, personal commitment) will be taken over by a change in atmosphere. The seemingly "religious man" will respond like an "economic man" if both are exposed to a given stimulus.

This pre-supposition of modern economic, psychological, sociological, and socio-psychological approach may be shared in the western and Marxist social sciences. However, with reference to the Islamic approach the pre-supposition has to be completely different.

This brings us to first major methodological problem in Islamisation of social sciences. Values and not the psychological maze is the basis for expected response irrespective of the stimulus. This may appear out of place to a person who has been brought up in a western social sciences framework, but modern researches indicate that values do play a foundational role in determining behaviour of man (Kluckhohn, 1956).

Social Sciences: Their Presumption about Human Behaviour

Most of western social sciences pre-judge man as a bundle of drives and desires. The point of departure for Islamic social sciences is not only an axiological approach but a view of man as an ethically conscious and responsible being. Therefore, in any given situation human response is not confined to stimulus response but has an added dimension (Birkhofer, Jr, 1969, p.27-45).

In an Islamic framework, this intermediary analytical step can be termed Birr (virtue). To take a crude example we may say that economic behaviour of an oil producing agent will be determined in an Islamic framework not by the benefit drawn by the individual himself or the seven major Oil Corporations, but shall have to be decided on the basis of Adl (justice) and Birr. If an act or response is based on Adle or Birr even individual loss shall have to be faced because trade or hira' presumes both the aspects of profit and loss. The above approach is also
visualised by some western scholars who are dis-satisfied with the traditional behaviourist approach and who recognise presence of human factor besides the animal behaviour in man (Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr, as above).

Weber was interested in a type of social science which was "empirical science of concrete reality (Wirklichkeitswissenschaft") (Weber, 1949). Recognising the place of values (which he equates with culture) in a social system he tried to understand the objective role of empirical realities and "cultural significance of a phenomenon" (ibid.). He, nevertheless vigorously pleaded for a value free social science.

There are others who have taken a critical approach and suggest a value orientation (Ernest Nagel, 1961) and (Karl Mannheim, 1936). Confused as it is the western thought, thanks to its concern for empiricism is more inclined to recognise the subjective role of pre-supposition in the mind of the social scientists. However, it would like to see the social scientist as much objective in his judgement as possible.

Not disagreeing much with the above concern, we must make Islamic position very clear. That man is essentially an ethical being, required to use his judgement between virtue and evil excludes possibility of a value free social science. This, however, does not mean that the social scientists will follow a "subjective" approach. Islam requires even in matters which involve near relatives to act ethically and not emotionally. Therefore, to be ethical presumes an objective empirical approach in conduct of inquiry. However, the object and purpose of social science is not simply quantification.

The quantitative methods do make social science research more exact and empirical. There are, however, areas where a qualitative and not a quantitative approach will be more rational, scientific, and objective.

To follow the methodology of empirical sciences in the social sciences will only add to the confusion. The subject matter of social science, human behaviour, requires a different kind of methodology.

**Socio-Cultural Context**

While dealing with human behaviour in a society, western social science builds its arguments on an understanding of human culture in which culture has mostly an agro basis. Cross-cultural studies are based on a pre-supposition that ethnicity, race, language, colour, economic, and educational level, geo-political setting and historic origin of a people has foundational role in development of their culture. The roots of their cultural tree go deep into agro-history. At the same time, cultures of people are categorised as primitive, pre-scientific, and modern. This categorisation is not based on pure spatial considerations. It is usually done at a relative level. The criterion in general is the cultural norm of the western social scientist.
Functionalist social scientists, impressed by the analogy between biological organisations and human societies talk about viability of social function, (T. Parsons, 1965, p.16 ff and Lersnoff, 1969). Myrdal even suggests a functionalist approach in solving the problem of discrimination against the blacks in America (Myrdal, 1958, p.188). The pioneering functionalist Radcliffe Brown interpreted even religious phenomenon as a social function (Brown, 1952, p. 178).

However, a careful study of these approaches will show that even a functionalist analysis is founded on a pre-supposition which makes it value loaded and not value free.

Historical and cross-cultural research in social sciences presents an interesting situation. With all possible claims of objectivity several important works indicate the cultural or religious bias of the social scientists. For example, while dealing with the phenomenon of migration of the Prophet sulalahu alayhe wassalim, Toynbee fails in hiding his basic Christian approach in his study of history. He says "Islam had thus been placed in jeopardy not only by its founder's successors but by Muhammad himself, where he had migrated from Makka to Medina and had become a brilliantly successful statesman instead of remaining a conspicuously unsuccessful Prophet (Toynbee, 1957, p.42)."

Does Islamisation of social sciences mean using a value judgement similar to what Toynbee has done above?

Islamic view will not allow such a dogmatic approach. On the contrary, history and culture when written from an Islamic perspective will look into the universal forces and the particular factors in a given situation. Indeed, Islam, stands for social justice and, therefore, writing history or cultural history, Muslim historian shall have to refer to the role of ‘adl (social justice) and taghut (counter social justice forces) in development of a given culture. The social justice, Islam wants to realise cannot be translated as equality or collective good. On the contrary, it stands for fulfilment of individual as well as collective needs at an ethical and moral basis.

The ethical and moral basis in Islam is not relative, although, their exists a hierarchy within the ethical behaviour. Addle envelopes this hierarchy and provides a workable relationship in human societies.

**General System's Approach**

Islamisation of social sciences shall have to be worked out on the basis of a general system's approach. Ideological, as it is, Islamic approach in social sciences cannot subscribe to any reductionist philosophy. Islam means total
involvement of human personality, therefore, Islamic social sciences shall have to consider total man and not partial aspects of human personality.

Islamisation of social sciences will also require methodological steps to be taken in understanding nature of human behaviour and action, basis of Islamic personality, basis of culture, and cultural dynamics, similarly, understanding constructive role of universal values in a given situation.

Islamisation of social sciences cannot take place simply by adding certain Islamic prefixes in an already secular-materialist social science. For example, we cannot Islamise Sociology by adding that Ibn Khaldoon was the founder of modern Sociology. It cannot be done by prefixing some Qur'anic ayat in a treatment based on western materialistic theories of society, culture, and man. This "gestaltic" view may emerge, in which social sciences may develop an integrative approach suitable to deal with the complexities in human behaviour. This poses a methodological challenge to the Muslim social scientists. Only a preliminary step has been taken by some contemporary Muslim thinkers (Ahmad, 1980). More elaborate and specialised research is needed to establish a general Islamic system's theory on which re-structuring of not only Islamic Economics but social sciences in general may take place.

It must be said very clearly that Islamisation of social sciences is not an enterprise whose beneficiaries are simply Muslims. Islamisation of social sciences has a much wider application for humanity. Thanks to the universal application and concern of Islam, it has greater relevance for modern social scientists because such an approach can provide a more logical foundations for contemporary man.

At a methodological level Bertalanffy (1968, 1962) suggests a system's approach in order to understand the complexity of human behaviour. I believe we need to develop a similar approach in building a general system theory for Islamic social sciences.
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

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Anis Ahmad


Ch. 4

DEVELOPMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY IN PAKISTAN¹

Z. A. Ansari

Psychology in Pakistan emerged from philosophical background. In this way Pakistani psychology was inheritor of the Indian tradition of philosophy. In many cases the departments of psychology grew out of the departments of philosophy. The earliest teachers of psychology were philosophy teachers who became interested in psychology and switched over to it. An equally remarkable phenomenon was a complete lack of people from other disciplines - physics, chemistry, biology, sociology, religion etc., switching over to psychology. In this way, the development of Pakistani psychology was very different from the way it developed in Western countries, where a number of specialists in other disciplines turned to psychology and contributed enormously to its development by bringing with them new approaches.

Apart from philosophical orientation, the other major influence under which Pakistani psychology developed was that of Analytical school of psychology. The teachings of early analytical psychologists - Freud, Jung and Adler - created a great deal of interest among Indian and later Pakistani psychologists. To a certain extent even now, psychology, at least in the minds of educated people, is associated with the teachings of these psychologists.

During the last 40 years, Pakistani psychology has undergone many changes. Starting with a philosophical and analytical orientation, it tried a shift towards a more behaviourist, quantitative orientation. In recent years there have been a number of developments in a very short period of time, and the dust has yet to settle. However, several trends are visible. The gains that Pakistani psychology has made in becoming an objective, empirical and quantitative science will probably be retained. At the same time psychologists are increasingly accepting a more humanistic point of view. There is a growing

¹ This article is largely based on author's more detailed paper, 'Teaching and Research in Psychology in Pakistan', prepared for UNESCO, Bangkok, under contract No: 381.070.6(86184)(86).
acceptance of emphasis on indigenous constructs in Pakistani psychology. These constructs are expected to be analysed theoretically and tested empirically. Some young researchers are already doing it and this view is expected to gain more strength and emerge as a school within Pakistani psychology.

Major Landmarks

In 1947, Pakistan inherited two major teaching institutions in Psychology: Government College, Lahore, and Foreman Christian College, Lahore. The Psychology Department of F.C. College closed down shortly after independence, but the Government College department flourished and became a model for other psychological establishments.

The institutional expansion of psychology came in two phases. The first one was between 1954-65 and the other between 1976-1986. During the first phase, departments of psychology were established in Karachi, Sind, Punjab and Peshawar Universities. It was during this phase that the Federal Public Service Commission established and strengthened its psychological wing and the first research journal of psychology made its appearance.

The other phase of expansion in psychological institutions was between 1976-1986. During this phase, National Institute of Psychology was established. New post-graduate departments came up at Lahore, Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Jhang. Two institutes of clinical psychology were established. Major developments in research took place. This period also saw the publication of a series of research monographs in psychology, the first research journal with blind-reviewing system, introduction of computers in psychological research and development of better training facilities for psychologists within the country.

Teaching of Psychology

Under-graduate Teaching

Teaching of Psychology as a discipline starts from grade 11 onwards. It is available as an optional subjects to the students studying humanities and sciences. The curriculum contents differ from on Board to another, but they usually include a course in general psychology and another on experimental, social or developmental psychology. Elementary experiments on learning, memory and perception are also included along with some statistics.

Psychology is one of the popular subjects at undergraduate level, particularly so among girls. This may be because of the human interest aspect of psychology, specially clinical psychology. Most text books of psychology for grades 11-14 are available in Urdu, the national language.
University and Post-graduate Teaching

When Pakistan came into being in 1947, M. A. level teaching was already established in Lahore. Soon, other departments of psychology started coming up. Karachi University established a department in 1954, which was the first department of psychology which was established independently of philosophy. Another department came up in Sind University in 1956. Department of applied psychology was established in Punjab University in 1962 and department of psychology came up in Pehawar University in 1964. In 1976, the Federal Education Ministry decided to establish a National Institute of Psychology which was primarily a research institution but later developed into a higher level teaching department as well. More departments of psychology were established in the subsequent years in Lahore College for Women, Government Murray College Sialkot, Women's College Gujranwala, Women's College Rawalpindi and Government College Jhang. The department of psychology, Karachi University and department of applied psychology in Punjab University developed independent institutes of clinical psychology recently. Both these institutes offer post-graduate diploma programmes in clinical psychology.

Higher Education

The opportunities for higher education in the country are limited, although now they seem to be increasing. Most people who have obtained a Ph. D., have done so from universities in UK or USA. Till late sixties most of the students used to go to British Universities but there is an increasing tendency now to go to USA. The total number of psychologists with a Ph.d is not more than 40 (UK 15, USA 12, Pakistan 8, others 5).

Some Pakistani Universities have M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes but they are still not very productive. Peshawar University was the first to organise a regular programme for Ph.D. students. Ph.D. programme is now being offered by the Universities of Punjab, Karachi and Peshawar as well as the National Institute of Psychology in Islamabad. M. Phil programme is being organised by some of the above institutions as well as the University of Sind. However the resources of these institutions, including human resources are very limited. During the last 40 years only 9 persons were awarded Ph.D. from Pakistani Universities. The opportunities for training abroad are similarly restricted. During the last 40 years not more than 15 persons were awarded scholarships for higher studies in Psychology.

Teaching of Psychology in Professional Courses

Psychology is at present being taught in the professional courses in pedagogy, management, home economics, medicine and technical education. It is one of the subjects included at all levels of Pedagogy- from Primary Teacher
Certificate to Master of Education. The courses taught at the lower level include those of educational psychology and guidance, while at the higher levels they include measurement and counselling. Some pedagogical centres, like Institute of Education and Research Lahore, have become important centres of psychological research. At the lower levels however the curricula are quite out-dated and do not include many of the recent developments in psychology. Management courses also include some psychology, particularly courses in communication, personnel selection and human relations. Home Economics, from grade 11 to 16, includes courses in developmental psychology, as well as some practical work like observation of children's behaviour. Some psychology is taught as a part of psychiatry for the students of medicine. This however is extremely inadequate and hardly provides any insight into the psychological problems of patients.

Psychology is totally missing from the main degree programmes of engineering. However there is a course in psychology for diploma students of newly established polytechnics. Similarly professional programmes in agriculture, forestry and nursing include no psychology in their curricula.

In general, the psychology courses available to students of management, home economics and technical education include recent material while those available to students of pedagogy and medicine need up-dating. This is probably because the former three disciplines have been introduced more recently, while the latter are old and well-established disciplines and their faculty is more conservative.

Psychological Research

During late forties or even early fifties there was very little psychological research in Pakistan. Foreman Christian College and Government College, Lahore were two major teaching institutions of the country and as mentioned above, they were both philosophically and analytically oriented. However, F.C. College, Lahore used to receive services of teachers from abroad. Some of these teachers, mainly from USA, were keenly interested in psychological testing, an area developing very rapidly in the USA during that period. C. H. Rice was an early pioneer of research in testing in this part of the world. In 1922 he published a Hindustani Binet Scale, which was in fact one of the earliest translations of this scale (Rouck, 1966). This test remained in use for quite sometime. Much later (during late forties and early fifties) another American psychologist, Sailer came to work in F. C. College. Among other things, he did a lot to lay the foundations of psychological assessment of candidates for the civil services of Pakistan.

While there was little psychological research in the country at that time, psychologist however did write and present their views whenever they got an opportunity to do so. Not having an association of their own they utilised the platforms of philosophical association or science associations, both of which
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had a section on education and psychology. Journals of philosophy and at times science journals also, published articles by psychologists. Two themes seem to dominate the writings of psychologists at that time: usefulness of psychology in various areas of national life and social problems of the country. The main concern appears to be recognition of psychologists as professionals who could contribute to the development of the new nation in industry, education, armed forces, in promoting a better understanding of social problems, and in solving them. The decade starting from mid-fifties saw the first rapid expansion of psychological institutions in Pakistan, as described earlier.

The basic infrastructure was developed during this period. This infrastructure was not completely satisfactory. In terms of library facilities, particularly journals, the departments were very poorly equipped. Some departments had teaching laboratories but there were no research laboratories. Funds were meagre. However, some research did start.

Early researches were usually replications of British/American research, except that they were on smaller samples. Tests of intelligence, personality or attitude were given to highly selected populations of University or College students and correlations reported. Sometimes the tests were translated into Urdu but many a times they were used as such. Many researchers replicated their Ph.D. researches in Pakistan. Experimental studies, usually conducted in class rooms were also reported.

1976-86 was the second phase of expansion of psychological institutions. National Institute of Psychology was created for the purpose of carrying out researches. New graduate departments of Psychology were established. Institutes of Clinical Psychology were established in Lahore and Karachi. The resources also improved, including libraries and funds for research.

Major Areas of Research

A few years back, a sample of the articles published in Pakistani journals during 1965-80 was analysed (Ansari, 1982). It was found that 50 percent of the articles were of a purely theoretical nature, seven percent were case studies, while only 43 percent were empirical. The non-empirical articles were on testing or educational problems. The empirical articles were typically based on small samples (N less than 30) of college or university students using experimental method or test administration. The statistical analysis was usually quite elementary: about 40 percent reported only rank orders of subjects or frequencies and percentage. About a quarter of these studies reported product-moment correlation. Use of inferential statistics was rather limited.
A more recent survey of the content areas of researches published in Pakistan during 1947-86 shows some interesting trends (see table below). During the early periods (1947-69) psychological research was mainly dominated by three fields: Social, clinical and testing. Areas like developmental or educational psychology did not attract the attention of many psychologists. Research on social psychological problems occupied a much more dominant position during 1970-79 period. During the same period interest in experimental research (particularly animal learning) became quite prominent. During both the periods theoretical and philosophical treatment of psychological problems continued to occupy a prominent place, but declined sharply during 1980-86. During this last phase there was a marked increase in research on developmental and educational problems.

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<td>Developmental</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<td>Social</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>19.2</td>
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<td>Testing</td>
<td>22.9</td>
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<td>Clinical</td>
<td>19.9</td>
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<td>Educational</td>
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Psychology as a Profession

Occupations

At present the major occupations available to psychologists are undergraduate teaching, graduate teaching, assessment and clinical work. The exact figures regarding number of psychologists presently occupied in various professions is not available. The Directory of Psychologists published by PPA is under revision, the earlier edition being about ten years old. However, the approximate number of psychologists engaged in psychological professions would be around 600.

By far the largest number of these psychologists is engaged in undergraduate teaching in colleges. Psychology is a popular subject at undergraduate level, particularly among girls. Therefore, most of the women colleges have a departments of psychology. Universities are the second largest employers. At present there are ten department of psychology which offer M.A/M.Sc. programmes. The armed forces and the Federal and Provincial Public Service Commissions carry out assessment and selection work in public sector. These organisations also develop tests and carry out researches in...
accordance with their requirement. They offer good employment opportunities for psychologists. Clinical work is a field which is rapidly expanding at present. With the establishment of two institutes of clinical psychology many psychologists are getting training and later on employment in government hospitals. Some clinical psychologists are also practicing privately. A fifth field in which some psychologists are employed is research. At present the National Institute of Psychology is the only organisation which has been created specifically for research. However, many other organisations have psychologists as researchers. Some other areas in which psychologists have been employed in small numbers are: special education, police and jails.

An approximate distribution of psychologists in various occupations is as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Undergraduate Teaching</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Graduate Teaching</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assessment and Selection</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clinical Work</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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There are three major problems related to occupations available to psychologists. First, the job opportunities are limited. At present the ten departments of psychology are producing approximately 175 M.A/MSc's every year. The number of new jobs including those created due to retirement is not more than 20 each year. While many of those who obtain a graduate degree do not look for a job, particularly girls, many of whom prefer the career of homemakers, still all those who seek a job are not likely to get one. Second, the type of jobs available are limited. As will be seen from the table above, three-fourth of psychologists are employed in teaching. The non-teaching jobs are quite few, and except for clinical work, their numbers are not increasing rapidly enough. Many fields like industry, media and marketing have yet to be opened up for psychology. A third problem is shortage of high level trained manpower. As mentioned earlier, the present number of Ph.ds is not more than 40. Fifteen years back, their number was 31 (Zaidi, 1975). Since the number of psychological institutions has increased manifolds, the available trained manpower has become too thinly dispersed with adverse results not only for teaching and research, but also for occupational leadership.

**Professional Organisations**

There is only one national level organisation of psychologists: Pakistan Psychological Association. The association held its first meeting in Dhaka in 1968 (Ali, 1968). It has held six such conventions, usually after every two or
three years. Some proceedings of the conventions have also been published (see for instance Ansari et al., 1986, Rashid, 1979). The conventions have been extremely useful in developing contacts between psychologists in the country and enhancing the level of research activities. The conventions have also highlighted the activities of psychologists and their potentials for contribution in various areas.

Other activities of PPA include, publication of a directory of Pakistani psychologists and publication of a Newsletter, which although appearing rather irregularly, has been a source of contact between psychologists of the country. PPA has been trying to organise itself as an effective academic organisation concerned with promotion of the discipline. In recent years, it has organised seminars and workshops throughout the country to focus attention on certain selected issues. It is also trying to develop standards for practicing psychotherapy and guidelines for test administration and interpretation in Pakistan.

**Journal and Publication**

There were no professional journals of psychology in Pakistan till 1965. Psychologists published their researches in journals of education or philosophy. Some science journals also published psychological papers. In 1965 the first professional journal Pakistan Journal of Psychology appeared. This journal has been appearing more or less regularly since. Department of Psychology, Government College, Lahore, publishes Psychology Quarterly and Department of Psychology, Peshawar University has started the publication of Pakistan Psychological Studies. However, both the journals have not appeared regularly. Recently National Institute of Psychology has started publishing Pakistan Journal of Psychological Research which appears twice a year.

Shortage of funds is one major problem of these journals. Another problem is that of insufficient supply of good research papers. Two of the four journals appear at irregular intervals. Most of the articles published in these journals, at least between 1965-80, were theoretical rather than research based (Ansari, 1982). Since editors did not have sufficient time or resources for technical editing, many papers that could have improved with re-writing, have gone as such. The newly appearing Pakistan Journal of Psychological Research has for the first time introduced the system of blind reviewing in Pakistan. It is expected that this would lead to an improvement in the quality of research in Pakistan.

**Practice of Psychology**

Psychological services available at present are limited, and mostly located in the public sector. The main psychological services available are in the field of clinical psychology. Apart from public institutions including hospitals, some psychologists also practice psychotherapy. Psychologists working in
government hospitals usually work under a psychiatrist. Those in a psychological establishment practice independently. Guidance and counselling services are extremely inadequate. Only a few institutions offer diagnostic services, and they are meant for retarded persons.

There are no official or formal requirements for practice of psychotherapy or for other services. Many people who offer such services are not even qualified psychologists. The result is that, at times, people claiming to provide psychotherapy are also dealing with occult, palmistry, and exorcism. At the same time some private psychological institutions make exaggerated claims regarding the effectiveness of psychotherapy.

The Pakistan Psychological Association took notice of this situation and appointed a Committee for developing standards for practicing psychotherapy. The report of this Committee has recently been published (PPA, 1987). The Committee has tried to set the minimum qualification and clinical experience which would make a person eligible to practice psychotherapy. The recommendations do not have any legal standing at present but are likely to serve as guidelines.

Use of psychological tests in Pakistan is not very widespread as yet. However, it seems that many tests are being abused. People who are not qualified to use or interpret tests are administering or interpreting them. Many tests for which there is no evidence of validity in Pakistan are being interpreted to the clients as valid tests. Similarly the possibility and extent of error in psychological tests is not being fully conveyed to the client. The PPA has decided to appoint a committee to look into the ethical and professional aspect of this problem in Pakistan. The report of the Committee is expected to come out shortly.

Problems, Issues & Prospects

During the last 40 years, psychology has come a long way. In 1947, there were only two graduate departments of psychology. Now there are ten departments for graduate or post-graduate education, two institutes of clinical psychology and a National Institute of Psychology. The armed forces had a psychological wing since World War II. This has grown quite a bit. Federal Public Service Commission has developed a psychological section of its own and recently the Public Service Commissions of various provinces have developed their own psychological assessment sections. Services for disabled have increased and many psychologists have played a major role in shaping these services and in their implementation.

Yet many problems remain to be solved. The recent expansion in psychological institutions has resulted in dispersion of resources so thinly
across the institutions that there is a real danger of decline in academic standards. Out of ten departments imparting M.A./M.Sc. level education, five have no staff member with Ph.D. Availability of recent books and journals is another problem. Till quite recently the National Institute of Psychology was the only institution which subscribed to research journals. Now two more departments have started getting the journals. The NIP has also started an innovative service called NIPSCAN through which the list of journal articles available in NIP library are circulated to all psychological institutions and photocopies of articles are made available to them on request.

Similar problems beset research. While the research output of Pakistani psychologists has improved in quality and quantity both, the paucity of institutional resources has become a major limiting factor. The establishment of National Institute of Psychology as a research institution has been a step in the right direction. However, there is a need to activate all teaching departments for research. This can be done by providing enough resources for this purpose. During the last 15 years the government has taken a number of steps to encourage teachers to carry out researches and obtain higher degrees, and the impact of these policies is being felt, although rather slowly.

In spite of these encouraging developments, the central problem of status of psychology within the national life remains. Psychology continues to be an alien discipline without much relevance to the realities of life around. Most text books used in the country are those written in USA. At lower levels, books written by local authors are also available, but by and large they are translations of Western books. At times the examples and illustrations are also taken from the West. Much of the psychological research in Pakistan, though not all of it, suffers from the same problem. One finds a lot of replications of researches carried out in the West, or at a higher level, validation of constructs derived from Western psychological literature. Again, many of these researches bear no relevance to the realities of Pakistani life.

This brings us to the problem of indigenisation of psychology in Pakistan. Indigenisation has a variety of meanings and interpretation. Atal (1981) has tried to synthesise some of the interpretations. According to him indigenisation has been pursued along four fronts in Asia. They are: (a) teaching in the national language and use of local materials; (b) research by insiders; (c) determination of research priorities; and (d) theoretical and methodological reorientation.

Some progress has been made in terms of use of national language, and a growing number of Pakistani institutions and individuals are engaged in research. There is a movement to develop new concepts based on traditional Muslim thinking to replace or add to the concepts coming from the West. This should be welcomed and supported as it is necessary for making a break with the present situation when all our knowledge is borrowed from alien soil. However, knowledge cannot be divided into geographical or religious boundaries. True indigenisation involves freedom, self-awareness and
development of the ability to perceive and evaluate alternate models. Therefore the present state should not be confused with parochialism or revivalism.

It should also be noted that the process of indigenisation cannot develop in a vacuum. Unless psychology is used and applied extensively, there is little hope for the development of an indigenous psychology. At present the application of psychology is limited to the fields of assessment and psychotherapy, where the test and therapeutic processes imported from the West are being applied with very little change. Both these fields are relatively obscured from public view - one cloaked in the secrecy of public assessment agencies like the Inter-Services Selection Board and the Federal Public Service Commission and the other shrouded in the mysterious interiors of the therapists consulting rooms. Even ordinary working psychologists know very little about them.

Psychology can never be indigenous to Pakistan unless it is relevant and, what Moghaddam and Taylor (1986) call, appropriate. It has to be tailored in accordance with the Pakistani requirements both in terms of its methods and contents. Teaching of Psychology is at present so much under the influence of West - particularly United States - that one hardly comes across anything which is relevant to Pakistan. The major problems that Pakistan faces, along with many other Third World countries: the problems of national integration, poverty, illiteracy, population explosion, corruption, etc., find no mention in our text books and therefore, have no place in our teaching. While psychological research is not so completely out of touch with the realities of national life, it has yet to reorganise its priorities and align them with the requirements of the country.

Psychological services are extremely limited at present. The assessment services provided by Inter-Services Selection Board and Federal Public Service Commission are limited to selection of personnel for the armed forces and civil service of the country. The psychological services related to mental health have expanded in recent years. However, they have remained severely limited, largely being urban, elitist and curative rather than rural, egalitarian and preventive. The services developed for handicapped and the very limited services available for guidance and counselling are in fact much better in this respect.

Ultimately the future psychology in Pakistan would depend on whether it remains confined to the academic and research institutions or reaches out to the people and tries to meet the real needs of the country.
REFERENCES


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WHITHER HISTORY? THE STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE IN PAKISTAN

M. Naeem Qureshi

History in its totality is a movement of human soul. Human soul has no specific environment. The whole world is its environment.... To treat it as belonging to a particular nationality is to demonstrate narrow-mindedness. —Iqbal

I

History is one discipline on which even the uninitiated do not hesitate to express themselves. Believing perhaps as Carlyle did that in a certain sense all men are historians, they feel justified in expressing their views whether or not they make any sense. Granted that history is not the preserve of the professional historian, no one has the license to play with the facts either, the lay and the ordained included. One cannot minimise the unique and essential role of history in any society. It fosters the ability to communicate, to evaluate evidence and to formulate balanced arguments. But when it comes to defining it, one is reminded of Charles Firth's assertion that "History is not easy to define."¹ There are as many definitions of history as there are historians and writers, all of them disagreeing with one another. But these varieties only point out the vastness of the discipline and the flexible nature of its boundaries which tend to encompass almost everything that happened in the past. In a broader sense history comprises the totality of human behaviour in the days gone by. Though it would be instructive to see how historians have approached the subject from their specific points of view, it is not the place to indulge in such a discussion. The purpose here is to concern ourselves with the nature of the discipline and to determine its scope as it exists in Pakistan.

In fostering a discussion on the subject, a reference to E. H. Carr and his remarkable work What is History? seems unavoidable. Even after twenty seven years of its first edition in 1961, the book is immensely popular.² It is popular because of its lucidity, literary approach and the appeal of the subject itself. Carr's central theme is a cluster of ideas wrapped round relativism of historical knowledge and judgements, of the political and cultural influences which exert upon the historian and of the crucial evolution of historical work
over time.\textsuperscript{3} Within this paradigm Carr sees history as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts," a sort of "an unending dialogue between the present and the past."\textsuperscript{4}\textsuperscript{4} He thus comes closer to Marc Bloch who suggests that history is the combination of the past and the present but moves away from Butterfield's conviction that the study of the past with reference to the present is "the source of all sins."\textsuperscript{5}\textsuperscript{5} Carr also does not agree with Oakeshott that history is the "historian's experience"\textsuperscript{6}\textsuperscript{6} or with Collingwood that it is merely a mental "re-enactment" of the past.\textsuperscript{7}\textsuperscript{7} To him history is not a synthesis between fact and imagination but rather an expansion of reason over time - an expansion in all directions, including the critical self-awareness of the historian in the interpretation of history.\textsuperscript{8}\textsuperscript{8} Like Huizinga\textsuperscript{9}\textsuperscript{9} and Burckhardt,\textsuperscript{10}\textsuperscript{10} he prescribes making an acquaintance with the past but in a different way. Unfortunately, however, Carr does not perceive accurately the impact of the socio-economic and institutional forces. This not withstanding, his contribution to the theoretical debate on history remains valuable.

Since the days of Carr and his contemporaries, new approaches have exploded the restricted conception of history and today new vistas into the past are opening up with the help of a more securely based methodology. These new approaches and lines of enquiry are not just the outcome of technical innovations within the profession but rather the result of an academic and socio-political commitment of all kinds of historians.\textsuperscript{11}\textsuperscript{11} Today, the variety and diversity of the historical material is limitless. Written records, of course, take the precedence but the auxiliary sciences, oral history and history of groups and classes are now also being employed in interpreting the past with revealing results. This has transformed the whole conception of the socio-economic and political change in the past. No less important is the increasing reliance of history on other social sciences because the dynamics of historical experience are basically inter-disciplinary in character. This does not mean a formal integration of diverse disciplines but rather an integrated study within the matrix of the historical craft. The social sciences furnish history with concepts and generalisations in an analytical mould and history integrates them into a balanced composition. Gustavson, for instance, has shown how to correlate the modern sociological approaches with the theories of historical change and continuity.\textsuperscript{12}\textsuperscript{12} Thus the historian, unruffled by those who dismiss history as "an auxiliary" of the social sciences,\textsuperscript{13}\textsuperscript{13} goes on to seek an understanding of the human past in an effort to comprehend more fully an ever-changing present and to provide worthwhile guidelines for the future. But he does this at an elevated level, measuring values not in relation to individuals but as relative to societies and nations. Echoing Carr, one might say that

Scientists, social scientists and historians are all engaged in different branches of the same study: the study of man and his environment, of the effects of man on his environment and of his environment on man. The object of the study is the same: to increase man's understanding of, and mastery over, his environment.\textsuperscript{14}\textsuperscript{14}
Thus described, history has a deep relationship with the social phenomena around us. Historical knowledge and judgements are essentially relative and the influences which work upon the historian are socio-economic apart from being political. Similarly, when the social scientists turn to the past for evidence, they emulate the methods of the historians. Therefore, the interdependence is remarkable and cannot be overlooked. But unlike the social scientists of the 1950s who worked for a common conceptualization and terminology, Johan Galtung advocates building bridges between different realms of scientific discourses for the purpose of greater interaction and interdependence just as between nation states. One major problem that faces the social scientists, however, is ethnocentrism which afflicts the bulk of the literature. Most of the findings and models are based on West European and American experiences and as such have little practical validity or relevance for the rest of the world. Such a unilinear approach has stultified the growth of knowledge preventing an understanding between the developed and the developing worlds. Ethnocentrism has given rise to pressing calls for indigenisation but problems remain in the way, especially because there is no consensus yet on the meaning and desirability of indigenisation and the levels of social science development are not the same everywhere. There is also a possibility that indigenisation, instead of hampering ethnocentrism, may even strengthen it, inhibiting the growth of a global perspective.

But one cannot deny that ethnocentrism, of whatever hue, is a malady from which knowledge must be freed. A captive mind, especially in historical studies, would mean tendentiousness. For Muslim scholars the problem, however, is that in spite of some serious efforts no scientifically based expressly Islamic methodology of social sciences has been evolved. Those who have attempted, try to interpret the social dynamics of change in terms of initiations from the inner being of man and not from any substantive conditions. As such they place too much reliance on an ethical and moral basis of human behaviour which would take the social enquiry into the realm of the ideational. Indeed, with the exception of Ibn Khaldun’s work, no clear and concise definition of history is discernible from the writings of Muslim historians. Even the semantic association between the terms “tarikh” and “history,” however arrived, would not connote the philosophical implications of the western concepts which are based on modern historicism with those of the Islamic historical traditions coming from a world apart. The gap between the two systems could not be bridged in earlier times; it remains so even today. Ibn Khuldun was one Muslim intellectual who, in the fourteenth century, consciously integrated traditional philosophy with the scientific study of history and society. Remarkably modern in his thinking, Ibn Khuldun defined history in terms of a continuous forward cyclical motion which concerned the whole of the human past, including its social, economic and cultural aspects. No other Muslim historian seems to have been free from the traditional analytic style of historiography. It was in the nineteenth century and after, especially in the wake of the political developments unleashed by World War II, that Muslims began to acquire Western concepts and methods of history and historiography. But the trend to glorify the Muslim past in order to boost national morale and to strengthen
nationalist aspirations, still remained a passion with most of them. More recently, however, Muslim historians have produced historical works of exceptional quality though instead of following Islamic historical traditions they have displayed the nuances of Western methodological training.

In such a situation, the impact of the West, though disruptive, is seen as a continuing phenomenon. History has reached where it is today from the time of Herodotus through a variety of concepts and philosophies - Vico's cyclical movement, Ranke's realism, Hegel's idealism, Marx's dialectical materialism, Spengler's organism, Comte's positivist experience, Toynbee's challenge and response and Oakeshott's particularism - each one enriching this dynamic and vibrant discipline. Thanks to these erudite historians, history has outgrown its cliche-ridden narrow interpretations. It is today a much more rewarding experience wherein the objective events ("res gestae") and their subjective comprehension ("Historia rerum gestarum") converge to make an intelligible whole. History is now an analytical record of a sustained human activity as reflected in the development of that particular society. It is an all-embracing scientific discipline, constructing events as they really were - "wie es eigentlich gewesen ist," as Ranke put it - in a reliable conceptual framework and in accordance with a well-articulated methodology. The underlying idea is investigation, research and persistent pursuit of truth. The net result is the blossoming of a more meaningful experience, kaleidoscopic but real.

Over the past few decades, history has developed many new fields and sub-fields within the discipline, such as political history, economic history, social history, religious history and so on. They are not "prefixes" and "labels" of some artificial categories indicating angles of vision of particular historians as has been claimed, but are rather veracious spheres of enquiry in themselves. The important thing, however, is that the forces which create historical movement, whether political, socio-economic, cultural or psychological, cannot be divorced from one another. And, it is around this dynamic interaction that the modern study of history revolves. The divisions continue to exist and the historians feel pretty serious about them: political history, instead of being merely "past politics," includes "almost anything you can think"; social history, once the "Cinderella" of historical studies, now touches major issues of public debate; economic history, from being "economics in action," has started to raise "economic questions"; and history of science, instead of fighting endlessly with obscurantism, "relates science to the society of the day." The relationship between history and science brings us to J. B. Bury's famous utterance that "history is a sciences, no less and no more." When Bury made this statement at the turn of the century, he was talking in terms of the scientific and intellectual developments of his own Victorian times and rightly perceived that history, too, was becoming scientific. Scientists may disagree but the fact is that etymologically, "any branch of knowledge...characterised by close observation, experimentation, classification of data, and the establishment of verifiable principles" cannot be but science. History in this sense has to be scientific or nothing at all. According to Collingwood, "Science is finding things out: and in that sense history is a science." A historian gathers facts

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(data), organises them and draws conclusions from them. In the process, it not only offers a theory but, like other social sciences, makes scientific activity relative to paradigms. This is what the scientists do. History demands a precision and an accuracy of detail no less exacting than mathematics or natural sciences. It resembles criminal and scientific investigation in its use of hypothesis. The historian constantly generalises to test his evidence. And though like a meteorologist he may not be able to make specific predictions, he can provide general guidelines for the future.

The scope of history, "a science ('ilm) among the sciences ('ulum)," is very wide indeed. It now covers areas which were once considered the exclusive domain of other social sciences. From war and politics it extends to economics, sociology, geography, religion, philosophy, literature and art. The sweep of history has steadily broadened till it has come to include every significant aspect of the life of the humanity. According to G. P. Gooch:

The growth of nations, the achievements of men of action, the rise and fall of parties remain among the most engrossing themes of the historian; but he now casts his net wider and embraces the whole record of civilisation. The influence of nature, the pressure of economic factors, the origin and transformation of ideas, the contribution of science and art, religion and philosophy, literature and law, the material conditions of life, the fortunes of the masses - such problems now claim his attention in no less degree. He must see life steadily and see it whole.

The result is a more comprehensive and a more intelligible understanding of human behaviour in the past. And, since the past and the present are inter-related, we can see ourselves in time and space. With this improved insight we are presumably better placed to learn, despite Hegel's pessimism that "nobody ever learns anything from history," not to repeat the same mistakes over and over again.

II

So far as the state of history as an academic discipline in Pakistan is concerned, we cannot analyse its development or non-development without looking into its British colonial connection. At home, the British were brought up in the tradition of what Geoffrey Elton has called "a continuous national history." This linear approach had the obvious advantage of offering "a unified subject matter, consecutive narrative, familiar landmarks, well-marked periods and a sequence of causes and effects." In Britain, therefore, history owed its emergence to "a rising concept of nationality, to a concern with national origins and, later, with national institutions and law." A 1909 Historical Association leaflet advised the teachers of history that they "should interpret the national character, the national ideals and educate their pupils in the ethos of their own race." The idea of a continuous national history has though since been undermined by the post-war socio-cultural and intellectual
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change, the patriotic note and the relentless ethnocentrism has remained untouched to this day. Here and there writers may feel ashamed of their history and may even challenge or subvert the myth of unchanging national identity, those at the helm of the affairs are still in favour of the essential role of patriotism in historical studies. The political advantage of holding on to such appeals has an obvious attraction.

The pattern of the system implanted in South Asia by the British rulers echoed the same characteristics and goals. The thrust was on the exaltation of their own role at the expense of the Muslim rule which they had supplanted. Most of the British writers who supervised the rewriting of history were in the civil or military service and as such were not in a position to take a detached view of the events and occurrences of their own times or even of the past. Z. H. Zaidi and K. K. Aziz have given scores of instances where deliberate or unconscious misinterpretations of facts occurred. The British writings were steeped in that typical tradition which Edward Said has castigated as "Orientalism." Perhaps the British historians were acting on Stubb's remark that history could not be written without certain spite. But such a partisan history pandering to national vanity and its pretensions only dehumanises and deanimates history. All through the British rule in India, history teaching and research revolved round the British political and constitutional developments with little or no mention of the socio-economic condition of the Indo-Muslim millions.

With the rise of the nationalist movement in India, new challenges were thrown up for historians who were called upon to redefine and give expression to the national ideals in terms of educational aims, objectives of patriotic veneration, national heroes, religious and social institutions and aspirations. But emotions of national history stood in the way of objectivity and both the Muslim and Hindu historians fell victims to patriotic emotions. The Hindu writers reverted to the worship of their heroes and painted the Muslims as villains. The Muslim writers busied themselves to defend the Muslim rule from British and Hindu interpretations and projected the two-nation theory, the socio-political homogeneity of the Indian Muslims and the economic viability of a separate homeland. But in schools, colleges and universities under the British control the emphasis continued to be on the achievements of the British government in its full glory.

After the establishment of Pakistan, historical studies assumed a new importance. But at the time of partition in August 1947, we inherited, along with myriad of problems, a disoriented education system. Apart from some schools and a few colleges we had only two universities - Punjab in Lahore and Dacca at Dhaka. The charter for Sind at Karachi had been given but it came into being later and was soon shifted to Hyderabad and Karachi became a separate University. Then in the fifties and the sixties Peshawar, Rajshahi and Chittagong appeared in succession. Such being the case the state of higher education in Pakistan in general and historical studies in particular began on a dismal note. It was in 1949, that Fazlur Rehman, the then Education Minister,
established a Board of Historians under the chairmanship of Mahmud Husain and including I. H. Qureshi, A. B. A. Halim, A. Halim and Moinul Haq, to produce a short history of Pakistan for secondary and higher secondary institutions. The same Board with some additional members was asked to write an "authentic" history of the freedom movement from 1707 to 1947. The Pakistan Historical Society was born in 1950 which performed the onerous task of fostering interest in historical research and spotlighting problems of historiography.

But still, the curricula in educational institutions saw no major change. Even a cursory glance at the textbooks of the period and the question papers set for various examinations would indicate the continuation of the British experience with a little change of emphasis here and there. Then gradually, the momentum picked up and in the 1960s topics like the rise of Muslim nationalism and the Movement for Pakistan began to replace the study of the British in India whose "illustrious" Governors-General had adorned the pages of our history books for such a long time. But at the primary stage, teaching of history was merged with social studies where it stands even today. The History of Pakistan and Pakistan Studies are the phenomena of the 1970s. Pakistan Studies programmes were launched in the wake of the 1971 crisis and the ultimate break-up of the East and West Pakistan. During the period, a number of books appeared evaluating the political and constitutional developments along with an emphasis on Islamic socialism and Pakistani nationalism. Since 1977, however, there has been another new orientation in the education policy. This time it was the emphasis on the "Ideology of Pakistan" in line with the military regime's policy of Islamisation. Education has always served as an appropriate avenue for the preservation of ideas and ideals and ours has been no different. But whereas in Europe history developed in the secular process of progressive rationalisation, in Pakistan the emphasis on ideology became the only rationale. The rewriting of the history of Pakistan for schools and colleges, which began in earnest around 1981, was geared to inducing, as the University Grants Commission's instructions to the textbook writers indicate, a "pride for the nation's past, enthusiasm for the present, and an unshakeable faith in the stability and longevity of Pakistan" by demonstrating that "the basis of Pakistan is not to be founded in racial, linguistic, or geographical factors, but, rather, in the shared experience of a common religion." The object of this exercise was to prepare the students to appreciate the "Ideology of Pakistan" and then guide them to reach "the ultimate goal - "the creation of a completely Islamised State."

The recasting of Pakistani history smacks of the same patriotic appeal which has been pursued in Britain and elsewhere in Europe and America in their own contexts. The aim here is not to castigate patriotic or national history but to specify the dangers of succumbing to emotions and thus losing sight of objectivity. Years ago a senior Pakistani historian, Sheikh Abdur Rashid, rang this warning:
A nation gets its history written as it deserves or desires. It would be a sad day for our people if our history in this grand "Operation Rewrite" is made to minister to our vanity and pride by falsifying or misinterpreting our past, by suppressing the truth and suggesting falsehoods. If history is to teach by example it must present squarely and truthfully the story of our success as also our failure, our vices as well as our virtues, life stories of our heroes as well as our rebels.

A little indulgence in patriotism here and there may be forgiven but, unfortunately, successive regimes in Pakistan have rewritten and reinterpreted history according to their own needs as a means of justifying their political outlook. The result is that today our historical studies are embedded in a system of education which Abdul Hamid once described as "a broken mirror which shows myriad of country's images each one of which is a battered likeness of the object that it reflects." As such, the discipline of history in Pakistan could not but have an inverted development, if at all we can call it development. History has come to signify plain description of events and compilation of documents. Therefore, the curricula shows no capacity for widening the historical knowledge or the perspective of the student suitable for the requirements of a country sitting on the threshold of the twenty-first century. The emphasis is still largely on insular themes from classical and medieval lore in repetitive doses which, unfortunately, tends to breed unrestricted obscurantism and unnecessary introversion. The only exposure to the outside world is through the Muslim world. The Western world or the Far East come only as appendices when their political and economic relevance is too real to be ignored.

In spite of these inherent contradictions and competition from job-oriented disciplines, history has managed to survive as one of the popular subjects among the social sciences. But the syllabi and courses of reading at various levels do not present a happy picture. For instance, at the secondary and intermediate level the two-year course has long sweeps of Islamic and Indo-Pakistani history covering several centuries and as many countries. At B. A. level the story is not much different either, except that a survey of European History for various periods enters the syllabi. Only in Peshawar University there is an additional choice for the study of Ancient Civilisations. An analysis of the syllabi and courses of reading for the Master's programme in History will indicate a general similarity in almost all the universities - a specified number of compulsory survey courses on Islam, Muslim India, the Middle and the Near East and Europe and a set of optional groups covering various fields along with a sampling of Historiography and/or Research Methodology at a few places to emphasise the scientific claim for the discipline. The situation on the ground, however, varies from university to university, according to the background of the students and the quality of the faculty. But generally, the approach is Indo-centric with strong pan-Islamic orientation. In Karachi, the discipline has been divided into General and Islamic History. Whereas in Sind, the division is between General History and History, rather a curious division. In Quetta, Bahawalpur, Multan, Lahore and Peshawar the traditional pattern is in vogue
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with slight variations in the general arrangement and emphasis. At Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad, where semester system is practiced, the approach is comparatively balanced with more or less equal emphasis on various areas and civilisations. The star attractions, however, are Historiography, Research Methodology and Ancient Civilisations. There is also an impressive array of optional courses on different areas but the paucity of qualified teachers in most of these areas limits the choice to Modern South Asia.2

The position of the teaching faculty in the discipline does not auger well for the future of history in the universities. Gone are the days when stalwarts like I.H. Qureshi, Mahmud Husain, A. Rahim, Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Moinul Haq, A. H. Dani, Riazul Islam, A.R. Malik, Kabir Ahmad dominated the scene. Some have retired, others have passed away. Yet others have gone to Bangladesh. Today, with much difficulty one may not find more than a score of Ph.D.’s in history in the entire country and half of them would be found concentrated in Islamabad.72 There are only two Ph.D.’s in the University of Karachi faculty, one in Sind, one in Quetta, one at Bahawalpur, three at Multan, three in Punjab, three at Peshawar and thirteen in Islamabad of whom ten are in the University and the rest in the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research. Out of these twenty seven, three fourths are experts in Modern South Asia, three in Medieval India, two in Ottoman Turkey and one in American Studies. There is none to teach Europe or World History. The number of fresh Ph.D.s has declined owing to the dwindling chances of winning a post-graduate scholarship abroad and the discouraging facilities at home. Only at Quaid-i-Azam the Ph.D. programme is working successfully. Five scholars have already completed their Ph.D.s, and six are busy with their research. The sudden raise in the pay packet by rupees fifteen hundred on the award of a Ph.D., is a good incentive but research activity, whether degree-oriented or otherwise, has suffered a general decline in the country. A number of impediments have led to this sorry state of affairs.

Historical research is heavily dependent on source material of which the official category is the most important. This is best epitomised in the saying "no documents no history." "Unless historical investigation is firmly anchored to a verifiable record of events," says K.K. Aziz, "the historian will add neither to his own reputation nor to his readers' knowledge."74 In a country which has no sound traditions of preserving its historical source material, archives and libraries are bound to be grossly understocked and under-utilised. Besides, priceless material is being lost to the posterity through neglect and apathy. Even the government departments and functionaries, what to say of private individuals, are reluctant to deposit papers and documents with the archives. There is no law yet to regulate the archival administration under which confidential state papers could be made available for public inspection. The copyright laws are also not enforced properly. Alternatively, important sources on our history are available either at the National Archives of India in Delhi or the India Office Library and Archives in London. But India is almost out of bounds and research in London is prohibitively expensive. Our claim on the
India Office Library has been allowed to suffer by default. The only solution is the acquisition of microfilm copies of source material in an organised manner. Side by side, the National Archives and its provincial subsidiaries should be strengthened.

But it would be wrong to blame merely the lack of source material as responsible for meagre historical output. The real reason is the limited number of professional historians who would handle those documents and produce scientific and objective history. The paucity of experts in universities has already been pointed out. The research organisations are doing no better. The most important research organisation in our field is the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research founded in 1974 as a commission to undertake and supervise historical research in the country. The Institute made a promising start but it soon lapsed into mediocrity. After several transformations, the Institute has again embarked on an ambitious programme but the shortage of qualified staff and overlapping assignments have hindered its development. The Research Society of Pakistan in Lahore, the Pakistan Historical Society in Karachi, the National Institute of Pakistan Studies in Islamabad and the Area Studies Centres under the University Grants Commission, all suffer from kindred problems. The result is that apart from a good book or two they have produced research of little merit. In the case of the Quaid-i-Azam Academy at Karachi, some creditable work has been done but influential individuals have impeded its programme by high-jacking a few of its projects.

While talking of impediments one cannot ignore the lack of good research journals in the country or even reputable publishing houses. There are but a few periodicals given specifically to historical research: Journal of Pakistan Historical Society (Karachi), Journal of Research Society of Pakistan (Lahore) and Pakistan Journal of History and Culture (Islamabad). But even these are un-refereed, irregular and badly printed. Various Area Studies Centres have their magazines but their standards are no better. Official constraints, real or psychological, also hamper research activity. Political instability and economic insecurity make the historians unsure of themselves. Researchers tend to choose their subjects cautiously and avoid any confrontation with the authorities, for any criticism of the regime, no matter how faint, is neither forgiven nor forgotten. Some, therefore, prefer to publish abroad or not at all. Others turn to journalistic writings and contribute to newspapers and then claim those writings as serious research. Yet others take the easy course of churning out edited works and passing them off as original contributions. Similarly, sub-standard works are published through little known publishers and thrown into the market by way of "book launching" ceremonies financed by enterprising businessmen under the aegis of eager public figures. Such antics do bring instant recognition to "scholars" but spell disaster to the historical craft.

A review of the historical literature produced in the post-1947 period would indicate that Pakistanis have written more on the pre-Independence period than on the later days. But in whatever has been produced ideological orientations predominate and the impact of the socio-economic forces and
cultural influences are conveniently glossed over. Nor do the writers seem to make any serious effort to extricate themselves from the complexities of their Indo-Muslim context. They are also unable to discard the distorted images of their own past received from Western Orientalists. The resultant historiography is a jumble of events explained in unbalanced perspectives where historical characters are glorified or degraded in biased predilections. And yet, there has been and there still is among the Pakistanis a rare breed of historians which, though small, has excelled in the field in no less a manner than the most erudite in the craft. Names such as I.H. Qureshi, Fazlur Rehman, Aziz Ahmad, Riazul Islam, K.K. Aziz and a few others will always be remembered with veneration. But such examples are exceptions rather than the rule. And even among them, those living and working abroad have been more prolific and more articulate because they have had better facilities and congenial environments. In Pakistan today we have neither the freedom of inquiry nor the freedom of dissent. The cultural tradition, social structure and political system do not permit any deviations from the established path.

Our denouement, on the basis of the foregoing discussion, has to be rather depressing. Whereas the discipline of history has continued to enjoy some degree of popularity, its teaching and research have deteriorated considerably. The situation, therefore, demands serious measures in order to rejuvenate the discipline as a meaningful social science. While attempting to provide a solution one is unavoidably reminded of a statement made by Lord Bullock during the course of his Leslie Stephen lecture at Cambridge in 1976. Discussing the issues confronting historians today he observed that there was hardly a social science - Anthropology, Sociology, Economics, Psychology and even Psychoanalysis - which had not been called in aid to open up new lines of inquiry into the past. This was his idea of the concept of the New History which was originally introduced in the early twentieth century by enterprising historians. Therefore, there was nothing new in Bullock's idea except that he was re-interpreting the New History in relation to his own times. This implied an inter-disciplinary co-operation between different branches of social sciences in the form of group projects, application of new methods and concepts, and, most important of all, the analysis of the past exactly the same way as a social scientist would look at contemporary society.

And indeed, this is what we should be doing in Pakistan. Unfortunately, our approach has so far been traditional, conservative and unscientific. If we are to keep abreast of the modern world then we shall have to change our approach and method. This can be achieved only if we adopt the concept of the New History and also enlarge it to cover futuristics. Of course, we can pick and choose any particular method which may suit us but whatever we do, the moth-eaten traditional concept of history must go. Narrative history must give way to interpretative history. We should try to direct our efforts towards turning history into a social science which is devoted to discovering the norms of human behaviour. The resultant pragmatism will lead us to rediscover new avenues in socio-economic growth and indicate the under-currents of our political behaviour.
Another point which comes to mind is that we have become an introverted people. Year after year and season after season, from the early school days to the highest level in the universities, we tend to read our own history without attempting to look at the world around us. We must, therefore, minimise repetition and widen our vision of the past by taking a total view of the historical process in relation to the contemporary settings in other societies and cultures. While adopting the perspective of world history a substantial attention would have to be paid to the countries of the Muslim world, especially nearer home, with whom we are so inextricably bound up emotionally and socio-culturally or with those which have a direct bearing on our country. We must also have a balance between an emphasis on more modern history and an imaginative study of our distant past. An unbalanced emphasis is bound to distort our perceptions.

But this will not be possible without devising a comprehensive policy with a view to effecting a change in curricula reformulation, teaching strategies and research techniques, all in search of a scientific and interpretative history. The formulation of a balanced and integrated syllabi from middle school to Master's level is the first priority. This should be so designed as to embrace the concentric circles of Pakistan, Islam and the rest of the world. Apart from acquainting the students with the religion-political and socio-economic conditions and developments, the syllabi should inculcate in them a spirit of imaginative and independent thinking in addition to an understanding of the historical process in a conceptual framework. The students should also be encouraged to seek knowledge through reading and research. An emphasis on research methodology and historiography will create in them a sense of analytical approach. The examinations should test the knowledge and critical perception of the students rather than their ability to narrate events and dates.

The second important level is the improvement of teaching strategies. This can be accomplished by a careful recruitment policy and in-service training programmes and refresher courses. This is particularly important because the rapidly diminishing breed of mentors has failed to groom young historians to a degree that they would succeed them admirably. The shortage of experts can be overcome by exchange programmes, foreign visits and proper encouragement and incentives. Modern audio-visual techniques and use of computers, particularly in demographic history, should be encouraged. Occasional conferences, seminars and methodology-oriented workshops will bring in fresh ideas and develop among our college and university teachers an academic leadership relevant to our social environment and its needs. It may be pointed out that knowledge and professional ethics in an individual teacher are more important than frequent changes in syllabi. Since an incompetent or dishonest teacher may make a mess of an excellent syllabus, the accent should be on hiring qualified and sincere faculty members.

The third priority is the promotion of historical research which regrettfully is in a deplorable condition. The basic problems are four in number:
absence of sound traditions of professional research, lack of research training, paucity of source material, and absence of proper research environment. These impediments can be overcome by invigorating research organisations, and strengthening research activity in educational institutions and arranging training courses and workshops. So far as the source material is concerned, the cheapest and the quickest way is to establish repositories of microfilm holdings. Side by side, we should obtain new materials, especially from abroad, including India and Britain. Such organisations and institutes that are doing the onerous job of collecting and documenting historical source material should be encouraged. Collections which are being lost through neglect, may be acquired by an enactment of Parliament. The Copyright Act should be faithfully enforced to retrieve material that is published within the country. So far as the government records are concerned, the law by which they can be made available for public inspection after a fixed period of time, say thirty years, should be enforced without delay. The National Library in Islamabad should be organised and developed on the lines of the Library of the Congress in Washington D.C. or the British (Museum) Library in London. Of the utmost importance is the establishment of Oral History centres in various universities and research institutions. Many leaders of the Pakistan Movement and other important personalities are still living and we will do well to record their observations. There may be some duplications but in this case even duplications will be useful and instructive. Our leaders may also be gently coaxed into depositing their private letters and diaries with the National Archives.

It would be presumptuous to offer any advice to historians who have a higher duty to perform: they must maintain the most rigorous historical standards and speak to a wider audience. False images must not be allowed to tarnish historical truth because the ultimate standard of determining the vitality of a society is the morals of its people. Adjustments of history, as did the Nazi historians in Hitler's Germany, must be shunned and those of us who have developed an ideological or an ethnocentric basis of historical studies should pause to wonder how much damage this tendency would do to the professional ethics of the discipline. Instead of relying on raw empiricism we must try to relate to causes and conclusions in tangible forms, especially because the historical process is determined by deeper forces - political institutions, economic interests and social compulsions. We will, of course, not reach the same conclusions from our study of the past but "We are what history has made us, and history will continue to have power over us, whether we recognise it or not."

In tying up the loose ends to the rationale and the objectives of the Seminar, the role of the discipline of history as a social science in Pakistan would seem to be desperately wanting in its desired goals. In terms of objectivity, creative application, inter-disciplinary orientation or even national aspirations, it has followed no sound directions. Pakistani historians who have remained largely untouched by what is happening abroad or even within the country have neither fully imbibed the inherited traditions from the West nor have they been able to drive their roots in the indigenous intellectual culture.
Too much introversion, constraints of the social structure and political system, infra-structural and operational problems and a feeling that history has no utility or relevance to the understanding and solution of problems, have all combined to create a mess. The sooner we cleared it the better. But it requires a major operation by experts in the field rather than submitting it to a team of dancing witch-doctors. Let the other social scientists come to history's aid and get enriched in return.
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4 Carr, What is History?, p.30.


12 Mason, History Today, xxxiv, p.15.


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18 Ibid., p. 192.


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27 Ibid., p.412.

28 History used to be described, for instance, as "The essence of innumerable biographies" (Carlyle); "The register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind" (Gibbon); "An aggregate of lies generally agreed upon" (Napoleon); "History begins in novel and ends in essay" (Macaulay) and in sundary other ways.


30 See Trevor-Roper's introduction to Burckhardt, judgements on History and Historians, p.11.


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40 Maurice Crosland, History Today, xxxv, April 1985, p.34.
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52 Ibid., p.7.
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55 See Hill and Samuel in ibid., pp.10 and 9, respectively.
56 For instance, Lord Hugh Thomas, historian-adviser to Prime Minister Thatcher, and Sir Keith Josph, Minister of Education. See, Samuel in ibid., p.6.


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The courses are reviewed periodically by the Board of Studies and approved by the Board of Faculty and the Academic Council.

The statistics here and below, if not indicated otherwise, are based on the author's own investigations.
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75 In our own Department at Quaid-i-Azam University, only eight out of the fourteen approved positions have so far been filled. The rest have succumbed to financial cuts.

76 This is clearly indicated by the various bibliographies on the subject, especially, K.K. Aziz, ed., The Historical Background of Pakistan, 1857-1947: An Annotated Digest of Source Material, Karachi, 1970, passim.

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Ch. 6

POLITICAL SCIENCE: PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS AND SCOPE IN PAKISTAN

Saeed Shafqat

This paper has two fold objectives. First, it will provide a brief account of the impact of American Political Science. Second, it will describe and analyse the problems, prospects and scope of political science in Pakistan. The two aspects are inter-related and need not be treated as mutually exclusive. To examine the status of Political Science in Pakistan, one needs to comprehend the developments that have occurred in the discipline of Political Science.

Politics commands an important position in the social sciences. The post second world war period has seen the rapid growth, development, and expansion of political science as a discipline. The American Academic, for their own needs and purposes i.e. to have a better understanding of the political systems of the newly emergent states, played a key role in the expansion and development of the discipline. In fact contemporary political science (with its behavioural, empirical and theoretical orientation) is a creation of American academia, although the sources of the study of politics can be traced from Aristotle, Plato and the vast array of Anglo-Saxon tradition. In this context Rudolph have pertinently commented that:

"Unlike the other social sciences, political science lacks eighteenth and nineteenth century European masters. In the belief that America was showing the world its future, post-war behavioural political science like other aspects of the American way of life became an export to Europe and the third world."

Historically, the study of politics has oscillated between those who emphasise the legal/institutional bases for the study of politics and those who give primacy to the extra political factors. The former concentrate on the behaviour of the state and intentions of the prince in regulating a polity. The latter, underscore how social factors, (i.e. social class, ethnicity, culture, ideology, economic conditions etc.) impinge upon the functioning of politics in a given polity. This can also be described as a fundamental dividing line between classical political theory and modern political science. The American Political Scientists have systemised the study of non-political factors in the study of politics. They did not totally discard the classical political theory but
In the process political science in America charted its course away from philosophy - history embedded study of politics, to empirical, analytical, theory oriented study of politics. Simultaneously, in their efforts to build theory and refine concepts they extensively borrowed from the knowledge and experience of other disciplines, particularly, psychology, sociology, anthropology and economics, thereby introducing inter-disciplinary tradition in political science. This trend in political science has been termed as "Behavioural Revolution." The antecedents of "Behavioural Revolution" in political science can be traced from 1920s, (although "Behavioural Revolution" reached its zenith in 1960's) when scholars like Arthur Bentley, and Charles Merriam (later Harold Lasswell) at the university of Chicago encouraged the study of groups, voting behaviour etc. The "Behavioural Revolution" in political science did not generate any grand theory of politics, however, it has added to the analytical rigor, conceptual clarity and enriched the theory related empirical tradition. In recent years in the aftermath of "Behavioural Revolution" political science in America has entered post-behavioural phase. Now efforts are being made not only to reintegrate history and operationalise some of these concepts and theories but also a synthesis of Marxian and Weberian paradigms is being sought to keep political science as a dynamic discipline.

In short, American political scientists have succeeded in establishing political science as a discipline with an independent base in social sciences. The contribution of American academia towards the growth and development of the discipline cannot be ignored and need not be over-emphasised. However, its imprint on the discipline must be recognised with its positive and negative connotations. This has a particular relevance as we analyse the development of political science in Pakistan. To what degree if any, political science in Pakistan has been influenced by the "Behavioural Revolution" and related field of development studies?

Development of Political Science in Pakistan

In Pakistan, although political science is recognised as a conventional discipline, however, it has yet to emerge as a discipline with independent base in social sciences. Its problems and prospects of growth and development need to be seen with at least three references. First, the colonial legacy of the state, second, the status of social sciences in the country, and third, lack of conducive academic environment for social science research.

The colonial rules of governance, growth of western education, and political socialisation of the elite of colonies emerged simultaneously. Through colonial administrative structure the people of the colonies were provided with a political framework. The indigenous elite operated within that political framework. By mobilising the masses they attained political independence. After independence little effort was made to change the colonial political
framework and educational system according to the needs and aspirations of the independent people.

There is an intricate relationship between the evolution of social sciences and the process of decolonisation in developing countries. Analysing this relationship an Indian scholar Yogesh Atal has pertinently remarked:

Born together in the same historical moment, capitalism, colonialism and social sciences arrived from the west and became implanted on these countries that became colonies of the western powers.4

In the post-independence period the fundamental problem has been how to redefine or restructure this relationship. Like many other developing countries, in Pakistan too, academic programmes in the field of political science were structured in such-a-way that they emphasised western political thought without sufficiently taking into consideration the socio-political realities of the Pakistani state. After independence, the teaching of social sciences in general and political science in particular did not change much. Pakistan achieved independence but intellectual dependence persisted. In the context of social science and with reference to political science this may be attributed to three types of constraints. First, infra-structural - i.e. the lack of qualified political scientists. Second, inadequate attention was paid to redesign the political science programmes according to the national needs. Third, political science in Pakistan has been dominated by history. The programmes of political science focus on constitutional development and political history, empirical and theoretical orientation has remained peripheral. Little or no effort has been made to incorporate the study of social factors (i.e. social class, ethnicity, culture, ideology, economic development etc.) in the syllabi. Consequently, political science in Pakistan is equated with history and is not taken as a social science discipline with an independent base. The problem with history in Pakistan is that it is obsessed with documentation and description of events or personalities. No attention is paid to explain or analyse the social forces that generate a particular event or bring crisis and change in the national polity. It must be noted however, that history and historians are well entrenched in academics in Pakistan but have failed to provide the kind of lead that is needed to make social sciences dynamic. Political science in particular has stunted under the shadow of history.

If political science has to grow and expand as a discipline in the country it must stand on its own legs i.e. focus on concept formation, theory building and simultaneously should make effective use of history to explain and analyse the political process and social change in the country. The study of history is too important and need not be treated as the exclusive domain of professional historian, particularly in a country like ours where history has come to mean description of events and compilation of documents, lacking interpretative and analytic content. Besides above mentioned inherent constraints, such other factors have also contributed to the under-development of political science in Pakistan.
1. Since its inception Pakistan has been confronted with political crisis; Pakistani elite have found it difficult to develop consensus on the nature and direction of political system. The environment of political instability and at times of political control forced political scientists to fall back on history rather than investigate the contemporary political realities of Pakistan. The political scientists it seems found it difficult to conduct empirical research under such environment. Instead of analysing the contemporary political issues and projecting future they took refuge in history.

2. Teaching of political science at Master's level has remained mechanical i.e. the teachers of political science although exposed to western political thought and some even to "Behavioural Revolution" yet they do not appear to have internalised the western political thought, theory or methods. Little effort has been made to develop indigenous concepts or modify and adapt western social science theory and methods according to national needs. It must be mentioned that in the mid-seventies, under the auspices of U.G.C. some effort was made to revise and update the syllabi at Master's level. However, the effort was sketchy and not sufficient enough to reinforce the social science research content in the discipline.

3. Still another problem that has hampered the growth and development of political science is that very little effort has been made to make the Master's degree job oriented. An M.A., in political science does not open career opportunities for those who obtain it. With little prospects for job opportunities the discipline does not attract bright students. This has further stagnated the growth of the discipline.

4. The change of medium of instruction from English to Urdu and Sindhi has led to rapid deterioration of educational standards in the country. In addition it has promoted social cleavages in the society. The medium of instruction issue has wider implications as language is not only a vital vehicle of communication and social interaction but also an important tool of developing thought process. The change in medium of instruction is one of the factors that has caused the maldevelopment of social sciences. It appears that we have switched over to Urdu as a medium of instruction in a rather unsystematic fashion, with out either translating the needed works in social science or by developing our own writings in the discipline on Pakistan. In short political science has suffered from this change.

Currently, in most of the universities and colleges at the Master's level political science is being taught in Urdu. In the absence of quality standard text books, the students rely on third rate reading materials, just to pass the examinations. Most of these books lack any theoretical rigor and provide faulty account of political process. The students
merely reproduce these in their papers. Unless this process is arrested the decay of social sciences in general and political science in particular is likely to persist.

5. It must be recognised that most of our research training in political science is confined to "Library Research." Most of us have vague notions about sampling and statistics. Not too many of professional political scientists may ever have written a questionnaire or conducted a systematic interview. Unfamiliarity with modern techniques of political research remains one of the primary handicaps causing maldevelopment of political science in Pakistan. For specialisation in any field of political science we continue to rely on foreign universities. For conducting even library research European and American universities provide better opportunities compared to our research institutions.

Writings of Political Scientists on Pakistan

Now let us look at the scholarly, political science writings on Pakistan. to what degree have they contributed towards under development or development of the discipline? In general political science writings on Pakistan lack analytical rigor and theoretical underpinning. This is not the place to critically examine and evaluate the works of political scientists. Here my effort will be to provide a broad typology of political science works on Pakistan.

1. Indigenous Political Science Writings

These include the works of political scientists, like Mushtaq Ahmad and Manzoorudin din Ahmed. These writings are invariably descriptive, lack theoretical rigor, but are rich in detail. These works are predominantly history oriented and can be aptly described as political history rather than research in political science.

2. Journalistic Writings:

These include the works of journalists like Shabbir Hussain, Akhtar Aman and political activists like Asghar Khan, Maulana Kausar Niazi and Rao Abdur Rashid etc. These writings are more of reflections, written with an eye on contemporary political situation rather than in depth scholarly research. Such writings have their own merit and facilitate our understanding about political process. Some of these like one by Dr. Muhammad Waseem provide penetrating analysis of contemporary political scene in Pakistan. However, most of such writings have little academic value and research utility.
3. Pakistani Political Scientists Abroad

These include the works of political scientists like Anwar Hussain Syed and Khalid Bin Sayyed. Although the works of these Scholars are also rich in historical description and detail, however, they make consistent efforts to operationalise the concepts, theories and methods prevalent in western social science to explain political process in Pakistan. None of them makes any effort to develop any indigenous concepts or rigorously promote theory related empirical research.

4. The writings of Shahid Javed Burki on Pakistani politics merit attention. Burki, although not a political scientist (a former civil servant, economist, currently working for World Bank) has contributed a great deal in providing conceptual, theoretical and empirical basis for explaining processes of economic and political decision making in Pakistan. He has effectively used inter-disciplinary approach to analyse problems of contemporary Pakistan. One could disagree, find weakness with the categories, concepts and theoretical underpinnings of Burk'i's political analysis, nevertheless he must be given credit for systemising and providing a conceptual basis for the study of politics and economy of Pakistan. His works despite limitations and weakness can be considered a model for gearing political science in Pakistan towards an inter-disciplinary perspective.

This brief and rather simplistic typology of political science writings on Pakistan clearly indicates the status of discipline in the country. It is worth noting that there is considerable scope for improving the indigenous basis of political research. This would demand not merely restructuring course programme at the Master's level but also encouraging intensive and rigorous training for the aspiring political scientists in social science research methods. This would also mean expanding the inter-disciplinary base of political science in the country, unless steps are taken in that direction the discipline is likely to suffer from under-development.

Some thoughts for a New Direction

In Pakistan if political science has to grow and expand as a social science discipline with an independent base then it should aim at synthesising normative theory and empiricism. The two should not be seen as opposing forces but supplementing each other. In countries like ours political science needs to perform dual functions of:

1. encouraging theoretical, analytical rigor of a social science discipline.
The development of citizenship has a direct relationship with the regime type and the political system. Each regime creates a political environment, in which it defines the norms of justice and injustice. Citizens operate in that environment, if the regime flouts those norms that it purports, the citizens would flout them with greater violence. Thus political conflict becomes endemic. In this context it is suggested that:

1. In addition to traditional texts and contemporary analysis, the teaching of political science should pay more attention to accounts of actual decisions and policies: why does the government pursue a particular policy in a specified policy arena?

2. The teaching in political science must expose students to see the relationship between political principles and policies that a particular regime/government formulates.

3. With reference to citizen education, the teaching of political science must expose citizens as to what to do when the officials fail to do what they should do? In other words, familiarise citizens with processes of accountability and interest representation in a given political system.

To strengthen the theoretical, empirical and conceptual foundations of the discipline in the country we must strive to develop indigenous concepts and categories to explain and analyse political realities of Pakistan.

1. We must gain a clear idea of the evolution of behaviourism and related concepts of development and dependencia.

2. We must seek to understand system's theory.

3. We must understand Marxist Philosophy, particularly, how the neo-Marxists have responded to the development theory and addressed the issues of political economy in the developing countries.

4. We must seek to understand the relationship between principles of Islam (Political theory of Islam) and problems of modern state.

5. At Master's level the course programme of political science may be grouped into following functional areas:

   i) Comparative politics, inclusive of newly emerging sub-field of political economy.
ii) International relations, inclusive of politics of international economic relations.

iii) Political theory, both Muslim and Western.

iv) Public Policy, inclusive of Public administration and management.

6. Finally there is a need to activate and expand the professional association of political scientists. This can serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and interaction among the professional political scientists. The association besides articulating the professional interests of the members can launch the publication of an academic Journal of Political Science. The Journal must be owned and operated by the members of the association and can serve as a nucleus for discussing issues, ideas and developments in the field of Political Science, and also debating issues confronting contemporary Pakistan.
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Ch. 7

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE IN PAKISTAN

Sabeeha Hafeez

Sociology in Pakistan made its appearance in 1955 at the Punjab University. Five years later, the department was established at Karachi University, affiliated with the department of political science. Within a year, it assumed an independent status. In the late 60's and the 70's the teaching of sociology began at the universities of Sind, Jamshoro and the University of Balochistan, Quetta. The discipline was introduced at Peshawar University in 1982. The universities of agriculture, Faisalabad and Peshawar have the departments of rural sociology and other related fields of sociology.

Sociology has found its way in some degree colleges in all the provinces. It is taught with its application to different areas of life at all the training institutes for the government officers at all levels. It is a recognised subject in the civil service examination.

Sociology among other social sciences is a required subject for jobs in social welfare, planning and development and other related departments of the government. The graduates of sociology have been absorbed in teaching, social welfare, population planning, research organisations, parole and probation, rural development, planning and development and vocational guidance. According to an inventory of social scientists compiled by the National Talent Pool of Manpower Division Islamabad in 1982, 510 sociologists were found working in the public sector at federal and provincial levels.

Quick survey of the writings in sociology by the 108 Pakistani sociologists indicates 16 areas of specialisation of the discipline. Number of writings (published and unpublished) produced in each of the 16 fields of sociology, produced by Pakistan sociologists till 1981 are:

| Sociology of women | 120 |
| Urban sociology | 44 |
| Sociology of stratification | 14 |
| Sociology of Development | 66 |
| Sociology of Education | 23 |
| Sociology of knowledge | 67 |

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Social problems 39
Social order 33
Ethnic relations 5
Health sociology 19
Rural sociology 56
Sociology of youth 9
Demography 68
Sociology of Islamisation 5
Family sociology 17


The highest number of the papers have been produced in sociology of women (120), the next highest in demography (68) and sociology of knowledge (67), followed by 66 papers in sociology of Development and 58 in rural sociology. These fields in which sociologists have mostly written suggest that sociological research in Pakistan is both sponsored and individual. While the Pakistan sociologists continue to make use of the funds available for research in demography, women in development and rural development, they at the same time continue to extend their studies or writings in these fields at the individual level either because they have developed interest in the fields concerned or because it has become fashionable due to availability of funds to generate and produce sociological knowledge in these areas. In addition, their concern to adopt sociology to the socio-cultural context and political environment of Pakistan, and to make it relevant to the socio-economic development of the country, has led them to write in the areas of sociology of development and sociology of knowledge. Their writings in these two areas are not funded and indicate their concerns about the development of the discipline of sociology towards certain priority directions.

There are three other trends which explain the specific areas of specialisation which Pakistani sociologists are developing. First, the availability of funds for advanced training or a higher degree, for Pakistan sociologists, through national and international sources, has been responsible for the development of sociology towards a specific area. A group of sociologists exist who after acquiring M.A’s in sociology from the Pakistan Universities, had gone abroad on fellowships, mostly funded by the international agencies to specialise in demography or public health. They obtained Ph.D. degrees in these specialised disciplines and turned out to be demographers. Some of these demographers who had base in sociology are Mahtab Karim, Arif Gayyur, Zeba Sathar, M. S. Jillani, Hashmi, Iqbal and Nasira Shah. They form their own group mostly working with large samples or macro data, in collaboration with the economists.

Second, some sociologists like Basharat Ali have devoted their life time to develop the ideological base for sociology in Pakistan. He has developed "Quranic sociology" and has produced several books and papers in
this field. His most recent publication in this area is: A sociological study of Holy Prophet. According to him Quran presents observable historical facts illustrating the prevalence of good, truth and justice over evil, falsehood, excess and inequity. He has been teaching Quranic sociology at Karachi University.

Third, the sociologists like G. M. Mekhri and Sabeeha Hafeez realising the gaps between the sociologists and masses have developed popular sociology. Mekhri has been writing articles every week for children in daily Dawn. Similarly, Hafeez has been writing on women and development and contemporary sociological problems in Pakistan in the same daily.

Despite the development of sociology at the popular level and its academic and official recognition the discipline is not fully professionalised; it is institutionalised. How and why?

The level of professionalisation of sociology in Pakistan assessed in terms of the following six elements:

1. Empirical
2. Theoretical
3. Cumulative
4. Non-ethical
5. Nontrivial
6. Welfare orientation

Discussion on the development of sociology in terms of each of the above elements is in order.

1. Empirical or generation and production of knowledge is based on observations. To the extent generation and production of sociological knowledge in Pakistan is empirical it is indigenous. Most sociological research in Pakistan is empirical in terms of micro studies or statistical analysis of macro data. At M.A. level, writing of a thesis based on field research is compulsory. But the major issue here is that empirical sociology developed in Pakistan is seldom incorporated in teaching or teaching material. While sociological research in Pakistan is based on the observations of the Pakistan society, teaching in sociology relies heavily on borrowed observations from the texts of the American sociologists.

There are some other specific issues involved in the development of empirical sociology in Pakistan. These are: (a) heavy reliance on survey technique leading to exploration or discovery of truth mainly through questionnaire method. (b) Empirical research based on survey techniques is expensive, hence such a research is institutional and the topics are decided by the funding organisations.

In Pakistan, where only 26 percent people are literate, most people lack familiarity not only with some of the vocabulary but also with some of the basic
conceptual notions underlying the use of these techniques. The uneducated respondents may not be able to give correct expressions to the ideas on which they are questioned or interviewed. Four suggestions are given to resolve this issue and issue (b).

(a) Promotion of Library research in sociology of Pakistan using readily available data: organisational data and creative literature. The content analysis technique of using the available data may be standardised and used by both students and professional researchers. This may be done singly if and when the execution of other techniques is prohibited, or in combination with other techniques to validate the data obtained through other sources.

Readily available data mainly include, for instance qualitative and quantitative records of various government and private organisations at the provincial levels, creative literature (poetry, drama, short stories) art, music, dances, songs, idioms, superstitions and all other related sources.

(b) A course may be introduced in theory of methodology at M.A. level leading to experimentation in innovative methodologies and tools. Some sociologists have already made a beginning in this area. The articles have been written on "Interviewing illiterate population," "Role of sociologist in social surveys," "An evaluation of interview techniques," "Limitation of interview techniques in Pakistan," "Follow up (panel) study of the cross sectional opinion on interview techniques in Pakistan," "Questionnaire," "some methodological problems in social research," "social research in Pakistan: Issues and suggested resolutions," "Research for the assessment of basic needs," "survey methodology and analytical techniques of data collection on fertiliser use in Pakistan," "field conditions: some experiences and observation during the execution of family structure and fertility outcome survey." This area of theory of methodology needs to be promoted and expanded both by way of teaching and development of these at M.A. and Ph.D. levels.

(c) Promotion of observation techniques for sociological research. This technique comes free of cost but its use presupposes disciplined mind which can be acquired by training and practice in the use of the technique. This technique is highly useful in the identification of the contemporary sociological issues of the Pakistan society. Its use and application will have tremendous potential for the generation of creative sociological knowledge. At the university level, students may be guided by the professors to use observation techniques in their theses and develop theses on the identification of the significant sociological issues in Pakistan.
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(d) Encouragement and promotion of individual or unsponsored research by University Grants Commission. This strategy will lead the sociologists to produce most creative work using any data collection technique or use of multiple techniques, and will not attract him or her necessarily to the application of large scale survey technique which comes easily with the sponsored research. It will also change the fad in sociological research and the criterion for truth. The fad is use of questionnaire or survey and the criterion of truth is sophisticated rigour in analysis. These may be necessary for validating the truth but truth itself may not be best explored through statistics or number only; e.g. statistics indicate that dropout rate amongst the primary school children in Pakistan is 50 percent and in the rural areas it is much higher. This macro statistics mirrors only the reality on the surface and does not reveal changing trends or other details which could only be explored by observations e.g. from my field trips to villages in Sind in the early eighties I observed an example of "rotated dropout." That is to say, struggle was found among the boys to cope with having to dropout and work responsibility in a family. If one brother was in school, the other was working to supplement family income. The emphasis was on sharing the opportunities for acquiring education and the responsibility for assisting father at work, not on completing certain class levels or grades. Such a sociological finding could only be discovered through unstructured observation which a sociologist is likely to use in his or her unsponsored individual research.

2. Theoretical or summarisation of complex observations in abstract logically related propositions which support to explain causal relationships in the subject matter. Little or no attempt has been made to develop sociology, in terms of this element. The development of theoretical aspect or element will enhance the quality of analysis of sociological knowledge and provide a base for the generation of creative knowledge in sociology. In teaching, sociologists rely again on borrowed concepts and theories. In Pakistan there has been overwhelming influence of American theory, particularly one American school of thought namely, behaviouralism. In research Sabeeha Haifeez has evolved new concepts like "status centric orientation," "artificial middle class" and "compensatory social process of stratification" to explain the realities of Pakistan social structure. Similarly, she has developed concepts liked "Latent formalisation," "perceived formalisation," "felt formalisation and behavioural formalisation" to explain the know how of organisational living in Pakistan. She has further developed concepts like "insulated commitment" and "undisciplined commitment" to analyse the social structure and organisational problems of Pakistan.

Somehow, little patience and understanding is expressed both by the scientists and the policy makers for the development of theoretical sociology in Pakistan. In reality, in Pakistan sociological problems are identified or labelled in reaction to the expressed responses of the masses who come out on the streets or to the contents of protests of elite expressed in their public or private
statements. It is the development of theoretical element of sociology which will lead to rational and logical analysis of realities which will in turn label the issues objectively and impartially.

Some suggestions for the development of theoretical aspect of sociology in Pakistan are:

(a) Introduction of a course in sociology of knowledge and philosophy of science and theory construction. At Karachi University the latter course was introduced in the mid seventies.

(b) Promotion of M.A. and Ph.D. theses in theory construction.

(c) Promotion of basic sociological research by the U.G.C. and the Universities.

3. Cumulative - building of a new theory upon the existing theory, correcting, extending and refining the latter.

The development of sociology in Pakistan is marked by the absence of cumulative criterion at several levels.

First, only American sociological theory is known to exist in Pakistan. Little or no awareness exists on the part of Pakistani sociologists about the development of sociological theory in the socialist countries, European countries and the third world countries. Second, in most sociological researches little or no link in sociological research and theory is established. The impact of research findings on theory is not generally examined. Third, directions of development of sociology in the classrooms and in the professional meetings are not well integrated: Sociological knowledge generated and produced in the conferences is not brought to the classrooms to orient the students to the issues or concerns involved in the development of sociology in Pakistan. While a sociologist at the university level and college level uses the American text books because sociology in Pakistan comes from America, he or she articulates concern for adopting or developing sociology within the socio-cultural context and political environment of Pakistan, in the annual meetings or conferences of Pakistan Sociological Association. In fact this has been the major concern of the sociologists as reflected in the themes of Pakistan sociological conferences from 1964 to 1980:

1964 Substantive areas of sociology.
1965 Relevant applied research and new substantive areas of sociology.
1966 Rural Development, Basic Democracy and Rural Sociology.
1967 The analysis of sociology as a science or profession.
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

1968 Sociology and development of human resources.


1971 Exploration and identification of factors threatening the existence of Pakistan.

1972 Methodology, family planning, rural and urban development.

1973 Sociology today in Pakistan.

1975 Poverty: Sociological perspective.

1976 Perspectives on urbanisation of Pakistan.

1977 Drug addiction and rehabilitation of addicts.

1978-79 No specific theme.

1980 Sociology of sales and marketing.

[Source: Published proceedings of the 13th Annual Conference Pakistan Sociological Association. December 4-5, 1985].

Fourth, research findings of the sociological researches conducted by Pakistan sociologists are not brought to the classrooms to orient the students to the emerging sociological realities in Pakistan. These researches are not included in the teaching material.

Some suggestions to develop cumulative aspect of sociology in Pakistan are:

a) Availability of the recent publications in the sociology of theory and methodology from the socialist countries and the third world countries to the Pakistan sociologists is very much needed. It must be promoted.

b) In order to develop sociology in Pakistan according to the proposals or directions given in the papers presented in the conference, it is necessary that these papers are used both as a base for further research to be conducted by the professors and students, and as the required material for various courses taught. This has not been done. There is a need to consolidate the efforts made by the sociologists towards various directions in teaching and research for the last thirty years. Some suggestions in this regard are in order.

(i) A handbook on sociology or contemporary sociological realities based on the articles presented in various sociological meetings since 1964, should
be immediately published. This should be a top priority project of Pakistan Sociological Association or of individual sociologists.

(ii) The above Handbook when published should be used as a standard textbook in the teaching material at M.A. level at all the universities.

(iii) The issues presented in the Handbook should be debated and discussed in small seminars with the senior students and faculty members in the sociology departments of the universities. The rationale behind this effort is to focus the development of sociology in Pakistan towards specific priorities or directions rather than endlessly wondering for new priorities or direction. The outcomes of the discussions in the above seminars may be written in the form of short papers which may be published in the Pakistan Journal of Sociology which needs to be compiled and published.

(iv) The handbook may be used as a background research or material for further research by the students in their theses.

(v) The annotated bibliographies of the M.A. theses may be prepared and published. These may be used in teaching and research.

(iii) The researches and studies produced by individual sociologists may be edited in the form of a book. It is difficult to believe that Pakistan sociologists have not been productive. According to the directory of social scientists produced by the research wing of the Women's Division in the early eighties, the books and the research papers produced by the sociologists were 628.

In short, the above measures are proposed to develop sociology in Pakistan based on cumulative or addictive criterion. That is the development of new priorities and new directions in the teaching and research of sociology should be linked with the existing body of research and ideas produced by the Pakistan sociologists on the contemporary realities and problems of Pakistan. The linkage may take the form of validation, amendment, partial or total rejection of the existing sociological body of knowledge produced so far. This process of knowledge building will generate new priorities for sociological research and the rationale for the generation of these priorities.

4. Non-ethical or seeking merely secular explanations. Research is not good or bad or in this sense morality. It is strategy, that is within its technical
limitations of theory and methodology it is capable of directing its conclusions strategically to some welfare end. It is the acceptance of this criterion for the development of sociology which will open the mind of Pakistani sociologists to all researches and theories which in turn will facilitate the development of cumulative or addictive aspect of sociological knowledge.

5. Nontrivial or generation of sociological knowledge not necessarily visible to layman. This is very crucial element for the development and promotion of original research in sociology as the discipline itself deals with the realities which are visible to layman and are part and parcel of his daily life.

All the suggestions proposed earlier for the development of empirical, theoretical, cumulative and non-ethical elements when adopted and practiced by the Pakistan sociologists will lead to non trivial production of sociological knowledge.

6. Welfare criterion or criterion involving practical feasibility of the realities observed and examined scientifically. This criterion has been most explicitly used in researches on demography and to some extent in rural development and women in development simply because funded research in these areas has been sponsored for the last few years. It is an ad hoc arrangement to draw practical implications of the sociological researches in certain areas which can come to an end or shift its priorities of research with the non-availability of the funds. In order to institutionalise the welfare dimension of sociological research two things are urgently needed: (1) promotion of teaching in policy research, action oriented research and the methodologies of feasibility studies and (2) recognition of the significance of sociology in the planning process of the country.

The Significance of sociology in the planning of the country is not recognised as yet, but the need for sociological contributions to planning is felt by the political elite. Last year, Pakistan's Health Minister (Mr. Shah Muhammad Khuro) during a meeting of the SAARC Council of Ministers, at Dhaka asked for involvement of sociologists in the planning stage, to have a strategy which suits cultural environment of all the countries of the region. I feel the quality of contributions of the sociologists at the SAARC level will depend upon the nature and direction of development of sociology in the country. Let us recognise the contributions of the sociologists and the significance of sociology in the planning process of the country first, before we begin to contribute towards planning at the SAARC level. At present with great emphasis on the development of social sector, than in the previous years, sociologists will be required to offer inputs to plans and policies and to identify the norms which will be conducive to socio-economic development of the country. Like senior economists, why can't we have senior sociologists in the Planning Commission to begin with?
The development of the discipline of sociology in Pakistan in terms of the six elements as discussed above may prepare the sociologists towards initiating their efforts for the development of their school of thought which will be an addition to the discipline of sociology. Let us work towards this end.
DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMICS AS A DISCIPLINE IN PAKISTAN

Ch. 8

Karamat Ali

Development and expansion of any science basically depend on two factors, i.e., its teaching in the educational institutions and the research in the discipline. Development of economics as a discipline in Pakistan can also be evaluated by taking into account what happened in teaching and research in economics in Pakistan over the last thirty-nine years. In my opinion the topic of the paper instead of "Development of Economics as a Discipline in Pakistan," as proposed by the organisers of the seminar, should have been "Non-development of Economics in Pakistan" which would have reflected the state of the discipline in Pakistan more realistically. It is neither the development nor mal-development or under-development which can describe the situation. It is the non-development which will appropriately describe the state of affairs of social sciences in Pakistan in general and economics in particular. Although it is my subjective opinion, it is based on the factual position. We have been teaching economics in Pakistan whatever we borrowed from outside Pakistan and also conducted research on the pattern provided by the economists outside the country. The original contribution of economists within Pakistan to the discipline has been negligible. The two major reasons behind this are:

a) Conscious or unconscious efforts by the classes in power for non-development of economics because of realisation by these classes of the sensitive nature of the subject matter of economics, in the sense that it relates to the economic problems which are being faced by everyone in the society and consciousness about such problems and their causes may lead to a struggle for a change in the status-quo and the prevailing socio-economic and political set up. Social pressure on the economists to follow the ideology forwarded by the dominant classes of the society and toing the line of the government in power could not be resisted by the Pakistan economists.

b) The complex nature of the subject matter of economics, along with simplex and borrowed research methodologies adopted for study of economic phenomena.
We will start with evaluation of development and expansion of research in economics in Pakistan and in the latter part of the paper will take up the teaching of economics. For the output of economic research and its nature of discussion, I have presented the material published by two prominent institutions of Pakistan, i.e., Pakistan Institute of Development Economics and the Economics Department of the Punjab University. Both the institutions have the distinction of publishing a journal acknowledged and recognised all over the world. The material published in these journals and other publications of these two centres of learning in Pakistan are presented in table No. 1 and 2.

### Table - 1

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The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

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Table 2

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Now before we start discussing the research methodology adopted by the Pakistani economists, I would like to show how the subject material published by Pakistani economists in Pakistan was predominantly in line with the ideology and philosophy of the ruling classes and government in power during different time periods of Pakistan's history. This will be useful to understand research trends which were followed, by tracing them over a period of time i.e., from 1946 to 1986 taking into consideration the different regimes which were ruling during these times. Broadly the time period can be categorised into five phases.

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Prior to Ayub Khan's Martial Law in 1958, there was hardly any significant economic research because of the political instability and stagnation in the socio-economic situation of the country. After Ayub's take over in 1958, the ideology of growth now and distribution later was followed by the government in power which was supported by the Western economic theories and was preached faithfully by the economists of this country.
Economists at Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, which was created in 1957 and started functioning in 1962, expressed the same view in their research papers and publications.

Syed Nawab Haider Naqvi, Director PIDE writing on the research trend in PIDE expressed that:

"At different times in the PIDE's 20 year history the researchers in their choice of research topics have followed a kind of herd instinct. There was a time (1962-64) when trade policy was the predominant sentiment at the PIDE, although agriculture also competed for some attention. Then followed a period of the intensive care of industrial sector. During the last six years (1972-78) of the 88 studies undertaken, 55 concentrated on a few micro aspects of agriculture and patterns of industrial growth. This lopsidedness in the PIDE's research activities has been due partly to the intellectual's love for fashion, which change with time and not entirely with out an element of fickleness." (PIDE, 1979:4).

Even in agriculture research the theme of growth was predominant.

Mahmood Hassan Khan has rightly pointed out that:

"The decade of the Sixties was dominated by the idea of undifferentiated growth, or growth now and distribution latter. It was marketed through generalised theories and supported by Western economic aid ---- The orthodox bias in research was expressed in seminars and also reflected in the collection of research papers on agriculture at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) (Khan 1981:193)."

Topics like National Integration, Self-Reliance, Mass Mobilisation and Local Development were not given attention. There was no significant research on inequalities of income among different classes of society and economists are apologetic for the negligible research conducted by them on regional inequalities.

"A deeper awareness of regional inequalities also came from PIDE. That this information was misinterpreted and politically exploited was something for which PIDE could not be blamed (PIDE 1979:5)."

During 1969-71, because of political instability and a very short period of time, the government in power was not able to forward any economic ideology and policy to be followed by the economists. But during this period as Pakistan People's Party launched its campaign with the promise on provision of basic necessities of life to the Public by the government, elimination of poverty and unemployment and establishment of more just socio-economic system in the country, such topics also became the theme of discussion of research papers
and publications during this period and were very popular among economists after 1971 when Pakistan People's Party was in power. Such topics were popular also because the World Bank forwarded and emphasised the strategy of "Basic Needs" for adoption in Third World countries for the development during this period. Although no attention was paid to the topic such as land reforms and nationalisation as economists were scared to say anything against the policies of the government although they knew that such half-hearted policies were not going to be successful in achieving the objectives of lowering unemployment, elimination of poverty and establishment of more just economic system. Mahmood Hassan Khan has rightly pointed out that:

"the important thing to note here is that there was almost no research on polices adopted by PPP soon after it took power. This was true generally throughout the period of its rule (Khan, 1981:196)."

During 1977-86 as the government has emphasised on growth and tried to establish Islamic economic system, economists have taken up these themes. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics has come up with 5 five publications on the Islamic Economics during this period whereas they did not publish any material on the topic before this. Topics like interest free banking, fiscal policy, Zakat, Islamic modes of financing have been taken up whereas topics like economic co-operation among Muslim countries, Islam's social security system, concept of development and establishment of just socio-economic order have not been given due attention. In agriculture research as Mahmood Hassan Khan has rightly pointed out.

"that current research on agriculture in Pakistan shows almost no interest in formulating reasonable hypotheses on polices of "Islamisation" being introduced by the government" (Khan, 1981: 196).

Although it is unjustified to demand from the economists not to be influenced by the events and political-social-economic set up of the society, it is important for them not to limiting themselves "to the passive role of acting as a mirror of what goes on in the economy (PIDE, 1979:5)."

Now coming to the research methodology adopted, the economists in Pakistan not only applied western economic theories and models to explain the economic problems in this country but also borrowed methodologies for conducting the research in economics.

Survey research methods which have been most widely used by economists, are questionnaire and interview methods. Economists have used these methods to study the economic problems as well as to prove their theoretical perspectives. Economists have used questionnaire and interview methods for gathering facts and figures about the economic problems and base to prove or argue their theoretical perspectives on the findings of their empirical research. A predominant number of economists in Pakistan have tried to explain
economic facts on the basis of the information or figures collected by these methods.

The questionnaire and interview methods have been so widely used by the economists explaining economic facts by data that these methods are considered as a part of their perspective. One of the main discussions can be about how far these methods are useful to provide the basis for explanation of economic facts and problems. The questionnaire and interview provide information and opinion of an individual unit and not directly of the society, which by these economists is considered as the addition of the information collected for individual units.

Economists are usually interested in planning and predicting about the future. Most of the research surveys conducted by economists are concerned about the demand of the products in future and related factors affecting their demand. Predicting the supply and demand of labour force in the economy in near future and similarly production and consumption of agricultural and industrial goods, supply of resources and utilisation of resources and the total imports and exports in future are some of the examples in which economists are mainly interested and conduct surveys for collection of information or data. One can extend the list of the topics as far as one wants but one element in all these types of surveys, which is obvious, is of policy implications of the survey research and how it can help in planning for the future. The usefulness of survey research and collection of data in this case is then determined by how far the projections about the future have been accurate as made by economists of Pakistan. Economists in Pakistan have faced the typical problems which are related to projection techniques and information collected by questionnaire or interview methods. There are three methods for making such projections:

i) Survey of people forecast related to production or demand of concerned variable

ii) Simple extrapolation of historical trends

iii) Analytical method

These are the three methods used by economists for making projections of all types. But let us for example see what are the problems in making projections by these methods for manpower supply and demand. In the first method, direct enquiries are made to employers, asking how many persons of a particular category they were going to employ in the future. Survey methods such as questionnaire and interview are used for collecting such information. Assuming that there are minimum errors such as mentioned in the literature for conducting survey, there is still the problem that these methods can not provide adequate information for making accurate projections which is the main purpose of an economist conducting such survey. Commenting on the advantages and disadvantages of this method, Goldstein and Swerdloff write:
"Few companies or other employers devote time to making long-term projections of their activity of manpower requirements, and thus most employers tend to make only a hasty guess when confronted with a request for the number of workers they will need in some future year. Even if all employers guessed correctly, they could not provide the data for the firms not now in existence but which will be created in the future. The summation of employer's reports, therefore, has often resulted in projections of manpower requirements which appeared to be unreasonable (Goldstein and Swerdloff, 1967;11)."

The second method used for making quantitative projections of future employment is simple extrapolation of a trend derived from historical data. Again in this method, information regarding past is collected by survey method such as questionnaire or interview and future projections based on extrapolation of a trend derived from such data. Projections based on this method are also not very accurate because the information collected by survey methods can not take into account the factors which influence such projections the most. Again in the words of Goldstein and Swerdloff:

"Implicit in the projection of a past trend into the future is the assumption of continued operation of the same complex of causative factors that has affected employment in the occupation. Unfortunately, economic history is replete with instances of reversals of trend, industry and occupations in which employment first rose and then declined. Moreover, manpower problems arise most acutely in situations which reflect a departure from past patterns. The rapid growth of scientific and technical employment in most countries in most recent years, the explosive increase in research activity, the changes resulting from planned and forced-fast economic development all these depart from the patterns of long-term growth (Goldstein and Swerdloff, 1967;12)."

The third method of making projections, in which one collects the data but projections are not merely based on information collected by survey methods, is more sound but is also more costly in terms of resources utilisation such as money, time and efforts. It involves an analysis of all the factors affecting the future requirements of workers in such occupation and how these factors may operate in the future. The projections are then based on an assessment of their combined effect on future demand. This method does not only requires greater resources in terms of money and time but also deeper insight into all type of factors i.e., political, social and economic operative in the society and are going to affect the future requirements of manpower. It requires experienced analysts with insight in all aspects of the society. This method neither yields quick results nor precisely accurate, because of the greater human judgement involved about the variables affecting manpower requirements.
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

The thesis of the above discussion is that even if the information or data collected by survey methods may be without errors as identified in the literature, the usefulness of such data is very limited for making future projections and predictions which is the essence of research conducted by economists. Although the problems mentioned, in projections based on the data collected by survey methods, are particulars to manpower projections but these problems arise in all types of projections. The difference is that only the factors, which influence the projections but can be taken into account, are different and particular with respect to the problems one is interested in.

Now we come to other problems, economists face while using these survey research methods. The main problem is that they get caught in the implications of their research and the strong theoretical basis and particular perspective in the reference of which they conduct their research. Strong theoretical basis and perspective is emphasised by the academicians and academic institutions where economists get their training. Policy implications are emphasised by the institutions or organisations from whom they try to get financial supports or grants for their research projects.

The most important feature of economic research is that for same economic problem, different academicians or theoreticians come up with different explanations and solutions. Interestingly, sometimes all these explanations are based on empirical research and supported by facts and figures. The important question mostly raised in this respect is how these different perspectives have come up with the arguments supported by the data. Assuming that there are no intentional distortions in the data, the conclusion is that it indicates the lack of usefulness of such data and survey methods on the one hand and on the other hand there are methodological issues which are not taken into consideration very carefully. Before looking at conclusions of any research paper or findings of a research project, it is important to look into the methodology used in each respect and aspect very carefully.

The other serious problem is that either most of the time data is shaped in such a fashion that it supports the theoretical perspective in which one is interested or the theory is moulded to fit the data.

There are many other factors, which can be for the differences in the conclusions of different perspectives but some of the most important are as follows:

i) Type of sample and size of sample

ii) Nature of controlled group and experimental group and

iii) Controlling of variables.

Another important problem for Pakistani economists using survey research is the collection and quality of data. As far as application of statistical
Karamat Ali

techniques, formation of a model, relating the problem to theoretical perspective, deciding sample size and construction of questionnaire or interview schedule are concerned, economists confront problems but they can get guidance and help from the existing literature on such topics. Statistical techniques and tests are precise and sound. Economists learn them and know how to use them. But the real problem arises when economists go for collection of data and get low quality of data. The serious problem in survey methods is not the lack of statistical techniques but lack of the good quality data.

The other serious problem or error committed by most of the economists in Pakistan is with respect to the application of statistical techniques and use of tests of significance. In order to show that the results of the research are sound and justified, most of the researchers use statistical techniques and tests of significance without taking into consideration the assumptions of these tests. Significant results without looking into the assumption of these tests lead to misleading conclusions. That is probably one of the reasons that most researchers do not worry about the quality of data. Because with statistical manipulations one can get results which are apparently sound and impressive. A simple example in this respect can be computation of "correlation coefficient" (r). Coefficient of correlation (r) may be different from one, and one may have a very strong non-linear association. In this kind of non-linear relation, one should not use "r," because one gets a misleading measure of association.

There is also a lot of misuse of statistical tests. The economists who learn these tests try to use them everywhere. The most common misuses as pointed out by Leslie Kish, "are committed usually by the more statistically inclined investigators, they are avoided in research presented in terms of qualitative statement or of simple description" (Kish, 1958:335-35).

Other methods such as observation and experiment are not usually used by economists because of these methods limitation in collecting the type of information economists are interested. On one hand there are many economic facts which can not be observed and on other hand it is not possible to use experimental method for collection of such facts. The important question then is, what are the methods which economists can use to study economic facts. The most suitable and justified method can be historical and or comparative research. Cross cultural and historical research can help us in tracing out the economic facts and their causal relationship with other variables which may be particular to a certain period of time in history or to a certain society and country.

The situation of teaching of economics in Pakistan can be evaluated by taking into account the following three factors:

a) the content of the material being taught in educational institutions;

b) the methodology being adopted for teaching and
c) the environment of teaching.

Economics is one of the popular subjects and offered at all the universities in Pakistan. In 1947, the subject was entitled as "Political Economy" The subject was taught under this title at University of Dacca, University of Rajshahi (1956), University of Punjab, University of Peshawar (1953-54), University of Karachi (1953) and University of Sind. The list of the courses which were being offered at these universities were similar to each other and following is the list of courses of Punjab University and Peshawar University.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punjab University (M.A)</th>
<th>Peshawar University (M.A)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part-I</strong></td>
<td><strong>Part-I</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principles of Political Economy, (including money, banking &amp; international trade)</td>
<td>Advanced Economic Theory History of economic doctrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern Economic Development in Great Britain, USA, Japan and USSR</td>
<td>Economic Dev. of Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Finance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Part-II</strong></td>
<td><strong>Part-II</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Theory</td>
<td>Rural Economy</td>
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<tr>
<td>History of Economic Doctrines</td>
<td>Money Credit Public Finance</td>
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<td>Banking</td>
<td>Banking Labour Problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>International Trade</td>
<td>International Trade &amp; Balance of payment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Applied Economics</td>
<td>Statistics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Essay</td>
<td>Thesis (Bertrand, 1955: 18&amp;21)</td>
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Although the title of the subject has changed from political economy to economics at present, there is not too much change in the content of the courses except for the addition of subjects like Econometrics, Statistics, Mathematics and Islamic Economics. There is more emphasis on quantitative economics as compared to being more descriptive in the early period.

The content of the courses and text books used for teaching these courses in universities have usually been borrowed from western countries. It is unfortunate that most of these theories and models have no relevance to the socio-economic conditions of this country. Although there has been more emphasis on quantitative approach in teaching economics recently, the pitfalls, assumptions and limited application of the approach has never been highlighted.
Economics in "narrow sense" i.e., Neo-classical is very popular whereas interdisciplinary approach or "Political Economy" perspective towards economic problems is totally lacking.

As far as teaching methodology is concerned, formal lecturing by teachers and cramming of the material by students is prevalent in colleges as well as in universities. There are no seminars, no tutorial groups and no discussions even at the university level. Because of the irrelevance of the courses to the existing problems of the country and obsolete method of teaching and learning in the universities, students do not get deep insight and understanding of the subject on one hand and on the other hand there is no significant research activity at the higher seats of learning in this country.

Now coming to the structure of awards and incentives at the universities and other institutions conducting research and teaching in economics less is said better it is. People who are always talking and calculating cost and benefits while teaching or conducting research in economics, must have calculated such costs and benefits for the prevailing behaviour and attitude. It is not only the economic costs and benefits which create impediment in conducting research and teaching economics about the problems which are most relevant to the needs of the society and socio-economic-political conditions of the country, it is the political and social cost which is the main obstacle in breaking away from the traditional path followed by fellow economists faithfully and dedicatedly to keep the present socio-economic structure intact.

As Nurul Islam summarising the report on The Problems of Teaching Economics in Pakistan by Professor Robinson has rightly pointed out that "the level of teaching of economics in the colleges and universities in Pakistan leaves much to be desired. The profession of teaching is neither attractive nor handsomely remunerated. The environment for research and successful teaching is not congenial (Robinson, 1967: iii-iv)."
REFERENCES


Ch. 9

THE STATE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN PAKISTAN

A. R. Jafri

Ever since the emergence of Pakistan as an independent sovereign state on August 14, 1947 the importance of Public Administration as means of national development has been recognised. The first and second five year plans identified the draw backs of our inherited system of public administration and emphasised the need for improvement. In the first five year plan it was noted that,

"While government policies have a clear and definite bias in favour of development, the administrative system, wedded as it is to the status quo in its approach, organisation and procedures, tends to pull in a different direction."

The report of the National Commission on Education, 1955 endorsed the concept of training in public administration and proposed,

"that courses in Public Administration would be of great advantage to young persons wishing to enter public service and we have no doubt that once having entered public service, such persons would be able to raise the standards of efficiency in fields of public and business administration."

In furtherance of these ideas Government of Pakistan signed a number of agreements whereby the United Stated AID mission to Pakistan provided technical assistance for the establishment of various training institutions for civil servants and offering a post-graduate program in public and business administration at University of Karachi. Subsequently in 1962, Public Administration Programme was transferred from Karachi University to Punjab University. In order to trace the course of development of public administration in Pakistan it will be appropriate to examine its progress in two parallel streams which have emerged after four decades of our existence as an independent sovereign state. These may be noted with reference to study of Public Administration as an academic discipline and the practice of Public Administration in the bureaucratic set-up of Pakistan. An attempt will be made in this paper to present an objective analysis of the status of Public
Administration in the afore-mentioned streams independently and in relation to each other.

**Public Administration as an Academic Discipline in Pakistan**

One of the most serious problems faced by Pakistan on achieving her independence was the acute shortage of managerial talent in Public as well as Private sectors. In spite of a substantial effort, the problem still remains serious because of the rapidly expanding increase in the variety, the number and the complexity of functions performed by the Government. However, the causes of this situation can be attributed to complex social, political and cultural characteristics and not just to technical deficiencies in organisational and administrative processes. In order to face this situation squarely managerial development was given an exceptionally high priority in Pakistan's First and Second Five Year Plans. As a result, a number of training institutions were established in the decade of the 1960. The Establishment Division, which is in effect the chief personnel agency of the Government of Pakistan, has performed the principal role for the public sector in the operation and advancement of studies in public administration. Under the preview of Establishment Division fall major training institutions, which include, Pakistan Administrative Staff College, NIPAs (Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, Quetta), the Secretariat Training Institute, Civil Service Academy, and Rural Development Academy. The great attention to post-entry administrative training indicates the significance of civil bureaucracy to strengthen its intellectual and professional dominance. In contrast, the efforts in building educational programmes at pre-entry level have been given low priority by the civil bureaucracy. Education in Pakistan, unfortunately started with low social status, and educational institutions had little autonomy and suffered the extreme of bureaucratic dominance. The British tradition of higher education for the elite was extremely strong with heavy emphasis upon the humanities, especially English literature, languages, History, Political Science and Philosophy. Also, few will question the statement that colleges and universities were the poorest run institutions in Pakistan. Their organisational structure and management practices were out-of-date and inadequate for the changing educational needs. While little has been accomplished in improving the quality of administration and education of the universities, in the field of Public Administration education, significant developments have occurred, largely through external assistance from the U.S.

In 1955 the institute of Public and Business Administration was established at the university of Karachi. This programme was reviewed in 1959 and a decision was subsequently made to change the academic programme to include only Business Administration. A four member team of American experts conducted a survey in 1959 to identify and define the nature of the problem and requirements of the Government of Pakistan in the field of Administration. In reference to the development of educational institutions and programmes in public administration, the report of the experts recommended to the Government of Pakistan to take constructive action to establish a broadly
designed educational and training programme of public administration in Pakistan. On July 18, 1960 an agreement was signed between Government of Pakistan and U.S. AID to provide technical advice and assistance for introducing and strengthening programmes of education, research and consultation in public administration. To initiate an academic programme of public administration at the University level met serious resistance from educational administrators as well as government officials. The educationalists had difficulty in understanding a professional type post-graduate education programme in Public Administration which was somewhat foreign to the British-type education of which they were products. The Bureaucrats' resistance was based on the nation's economic policy of expediency because of urgent national problems and limited resources, the policy of development was to centre upon those areas where the changes were extremely high for immediate and high pay-offs. Educational programmes represented a form of long term and uncertain investments, whereas the returns on post-entry-in-service training appeared to be more certain and immediate. In spite of the reluctance on the part of our educationists and lack of interest by the bureaucracy, it was agreed that an academic programme of studies in public administration is an area worth making an experiment. However, a number of hard questions were left unanswered. Some of these questions were:

- What would be the relationship of educational programme in Public Administration to the entrance into the Civil Service of Pakistan?
- Should public administration be taught at the under-graduate level?
- Should public administration as a subject be given greater emphasis in the Civil Service examinations?

The answers to these questions were deliberately disguised to by-pass the bureaucratic resistance towards initiating a post-graduate education programme in public administration. But the adverse consequences of this deception have appeared today in the form of frustration among the public administration graduates who do not find ample opportunities to enter the Civil Service on the basis of their professional qualifications. A master of public administration cannot look forward to any specific job in government. He might try for various government and other jobs along with M.As. in History, Political Science, Philosophy and languages. He did not derive any special advantage from his study of public administration in various competitive examinations for the Civil Services. First, public administration was not included in the list of subjects that could be offered for these examinations. Subsequently, it could be offered for one hundred marks only as against two hundred for most of the other subjects. The situation is much better in the Philippines where the public service is organised on the basis of position classification system similar to the American practice. There a graduate of Public Administration can hope to get a job as budget examiner, personnel technician or administrative analyst. Had the
answers to these hard questions been found before the academic programme of public administration was introduced in Pakistan, the prospects of employment of the graduates of public administration would have been brighter for all times to come. It is unfortunate that the bureaucracy of Pakistan has not yet rectified this birth defect in the academic programme of public administration at the university level and consequently their graduates are still limping to secure a proper place in the civil service of Pakistan. In spite of very unfavourable prospects of employment in the civil service, there is a steady rise in the number of universities in Pakistan which offer M.A. degree in Public Administration. It may be due to the fact that the graduates of public administration have received greater acceptance and appreciation in public enterprise organisations and private sector, than in regular government departments which strictly function according to closed career and open competitive examination system. Besides, as agriculture and industry develop in the country, it is hoped that public administration graduates will be absorbed in public enterprises and private sector with greater ease and better benefits. The fact that the number of universities offering Public Administration programmes has risen to eight in 1988 as compared to one in 1962 clearly indicates that public administration as an academic discipline has carved its roots in the educational framework of Pakistan.

**Practice of Public Administration in the Bureaucratic Set-up of Pakistan**

The practice of public administration in Pakistan is basically the same as it was in British India. Its rudimentary base of revenue administration coupled with organisational set-up to maintain law and order has remained unchanged ever since it was designed in the 18th century. The antecedents of the bureaucratic structure of Pakistan plainly points out that our bureaucracy has been geared to produce effective officers to rule the people and not efficient executive to serve the public. This also explains why status and rank has been sacredly safe-guarded as the building blocks of the bureaucratic structure of Pakistan. It is aimed at maximising bureaucratic control as against democratic control which is shared by political parties and public opinion. The structure thus encouraged social isolation, political aloofness and cultural alienation. The norms of a democratic society which demanded cultural affinity with the masses were sacrificed in the name of safeguarding the integrity and solidarity of the country. Individually, members of the governing elite want change, but collectively they act in much the same way today as they did during the British days.

Since the inception of Pakistan, the necessity and urgency of redesigning the bureaucratic structure have persistently and constantly been felt. The colonial system of administration was predominantly geared to law and order and the revenue collection. Thus the paramount objective of the colonial bureaucratic structure which we inherited was the maintenance of status quo.
This fact made the structure out-dated and outmoded when the people of the sub-continent threw away the yoke of foreign domination in the mid-forties.

With the dawn of independence, there was an awakening for the identification of a development strategy for economic growth and social justice. The manifestation of this awakening was quite discernible in the fifties which culminated in the creation of Planning Board and later on Planning Commission. The logical shift of emphasis and priority from the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue to that of socio-economic development necessitated the renovation of the inherited bureaucratic structure. But the responsibility of introducing change in the bureaucratic structure was shouldered feebly. During the period 1947-73, Pakistan Government set up thirty commissions/committees to reform its bureaucratic apparatus. These commissions/committees made valuable recommendations but the governments of the day showed timidity in going all the way to adopt measures for implementing the suggested reforms. Lawrence Ziring has rightly observed,

"President Ayub was ill advised in this matter and merely postponed the day when another government must come to grip with the real questions of country's political development."

The echo of reorienting and restructuring the civil service was audible in terms of reference of almost every commission of inquiry. The consensus of their findings is that the bureaucratic system which we inherited from the British was predominantly designed for conventional administration functions of law and order and collection of revenue whereas independence shifted the focus to development administration. In conventional public administration, "generalist" occupied the pivotal position while the professionals and academicians were constrained to play the second fiddle. Thus the bureaucratic structure of Pakistan has been found at logger heads with socio-economic aspirations of the people in general and of professionals and academicians in particular.

It is said that in 1973 sweeping administrative reforms were carried out to over-haul the system of public administration in Pakistan. However an analysis in retrospect of these reforms and their implementation reveals that the objective of restructuring of the existing bureaucratic structure of Pakistan could not be achieved. The original intent of the reforms to transform the structure from a generalist hierarchy of ranks to a professionally classified scheme of job grading was distorted through unlimited use of horizontal mobility which favoured the generalist more than the specialist. These distortions produced the desired results for the bureaucracy which advocated a broad general knowledge and varied experience as the necessary requirements for performing any function of the government. The reforms of 1973 got rid of whatever little specialisation that was present in the form of an economic pool.
The objective of merging of all services into a unified grading structure and staffing each department from top to bottom with persons belonging to a unified grade has also been vitiated. In Federal system of Government like that of Pakistan, one could justify the need for Federal United Grades and Provincial unified Grades for providing some mechanism through which Federal and Provincial Governments could borrow officers from each other. The creation of two (instead of one) unified grading structure at the Federal Government level, the All Pakistan unified Grade (APUG) and the Federal unified Grade (FUG), clearly indicates the attempt to protect the superiority and privileged position of the bureaucratic elite (former C.S.P. & PSP). Although classes and labels of former services were abolished, no rational and scientific scheme of constituting the occupational groups was evolved. Therefore the change brought about led to the renaming of the former career services into occupational groups. A large number of other public servants performing specialised jobs in Health, Engineering, Education, Personnel, Training, Science and Technology etc., have not been re-organised according to functional specialisation and occupational classification. Although the reforms sought to modernise the public services structure by adopting, "Job Evaluation" as the basis of grading each post, yet it was totally ignored in the process of implementation. Half-hearted efforts were made in this direction by inviting some foreign consultants but the resistance put up by the bureaucratic elite was so strong that they could not even initiate the first step of preparing job descriptions of bench-mark positions in the public service. Job evaluation which was envisaged in the reforms, as the most vital step in the professionalisation of the public service was deliberately designated as an exercise in futility in respect of the bureaucratic structure of Pakistan. Thus the basic purpose of the reforms in public administration machinery of Pakistan was nullified. There is ample evidence to support the view that the apparatus of public administration in Pakistan is not only highly centralised but is also in favour of generalist administrators. It is geared to govern the masses by effective officers and not necessarily to serve the public through efficient executives. This explains why the foundation of the existing structure of our public administration was laid on status and rank instead of requirements of the job and professional qualifications of the incumbents. It is aimed at maximising the bureaucratic control as against professional competence and democratic accountability. There exists a wide gulf between the theory and practice of public administration in Pakistan. None of the theoretical specifications like hierarchy designed to perform scientifically specified jobs, the professional knowledge and technical skills of personnel, a balanced relationship between the need for unity of command and diversity of activities, etc., are fulfilled by the present public administration set-up of Pakistan.

Keeping in view the social, political and economic transformations which have already taken place in our society a corresponding change in our practice of public administration is urgently called for. It is necessary to design a rationalised structure of public administration, having a pragmatic approach, progressive out-look and whole-hearted dedication to the development of the country and to the service of the people. Many of the problems of public
administration in Pakistan will be solved by rationalising the bureaucratic structure. We believe that as a historical fact, what is hard is not the finding of a solution, but implementing it when one is found. The main bugbear is the impact of change on what may bluntly be called "the vested interest." The adverse effects of the stronghold of vested interest on public policy formulation and execution has generated the crisis of corruption in public administration of Pakistan. An objective assessment of the state of public administration in Pakistan therefore cannot be attempted without examining the causes and consequences of corruption in the functioning of our government.

Crisis of Corruption in Public Administration of Pakistan

Corruption like a parasite is eating away the vitality and damaging the growth of public administration in Pakistan as a means of social progress and economic development. The extent of the damage due to corruption can be gauged from the guestimate of Dr. Mahbub ul Haq our Federal Minister for Planning and Development, who informed the nation that a staggering amount of Rs. 20 billion per year was stolen from the Public Exchequer by the civil and military bureaucracy of Pakistan. Through the evil of corruption we have spoiled our social and economic health along with almost a total destruction of moral values and standards. Even cases of corruption involving individuals and institutions brought to the public notice by the press are rarely punished. Corruption has gone so deep into our administrative systems that today it is considered as pragmatism by government officials and normal business practice by the private executives. It is some times argued by the Western scholars that corruption in public administration of developing countries like Pakistan cannot be wiped out due, among other reasons, to the placement of large amounts of funds at the disposal of Public Officials for expenditure in a short time, thus creating easy opportunities for graft. The situation tends to become rationalised in the idea that corruption like inflation is an unavoidable appendage of development. The effect of this thinking is to spread cynicism and to weaken resistance against corruption. Corruption widens the credibility gap between the stated objectives and real intentions of the people in power. Carried to the extreme, it results in violent upheavals threatening the very fabric of society. Repeated occurrence of violence against government machinery at Karachi provides strong evidence to support this point of view. It is, therefore, necessary to identify the causes and to adopt measures of curbing corruption from a realistic and rational perspective so that our society is saved from its evil effects.

Historical facts reveal that whenever a society becomes corrupt, it falls down like a house of cards. Great empires like Greeks, Romans, and Muslim have fallen from their peak of glory to the ashes of their destruction because corruption became rampant in many forms and had eaten away the vitals of their existence. In Pakistan we are breathing in corruption and its adverse consequences are hanging over our heads. Therefore, our survival as a nation demands that measures to eradicate corruption be adopted with full force and in
every sphere of human activity. Corruption is not confined to public officials, the whole society is responsible for it, because in a just society every individual apprehends of accountability. There is no doubt that poverty is the mother of all social evils and it forces the individual to kneel down at the alter of corruption. Economic insecurity creates fear fed by uncertainty. The idea of honesty becomes fake and vague in such conditions. Instead of swimming against the tide, the public official seeks shelter under the umbrella of corruption.

A historical study of corruption in Pakistan will reveal that in the beginning we emerged and survived as a nation because among the leaders and the people there was a spirit of dedication, and corruption had almost disappeared. Then the politicians led the way in a cynical scramble for personal gains, public officials and the public followed them. Probably the most demoralising factor was that of rehabilitation of refugees. Politicians and public officials established the practice of corruption by making allotments of lands and houses left by the non-Muslim migrants to the unscrupulous people after receiving personal benefits in the terms of kind and cash. Having made their haul, they used every possible device to retain this loot. The beneficiaries from evacuee property released a wave of corruption throughout the country. Within five years of independence, almost all the idealism and dedication among the leaders and public had evaporated and it was replaced by an aggressive assertiveness to acquire more and more material possessions in the shortest period of time. The welded alliance between the public officials and the politicians turned into mutual friendship and favouritism and there started the rot of rampant corruption. While the officials and the politicians wedded and condoned the malpractice of each other, the people at large were deprived of their due share in the benefits resulting from political independence. Revolution of rising expectations and loss of faith in the standards of fair play and justice among the masses are the factors responsible for gradually converting them into the devotees of the devil of corruption in public life. It may, however, be recognised that the level of corruption has not reached the point which is beyond control and we will have a chance of stopping the spread of this epidemic to catastrophic limits. To achieve this end it is necessary to study corruption in a multi-dimensional perspective and to have the will to act in the right direction.

Let us discuss the dimensions of corruption in public administration in relation to such factors as characteristics of Pakistani society, the nature of our bureaucracy, the level of our development as a nation, the aspects of our political process and the awareness of the rights and obligations on the part of the citizen to effectively participate in the affairs of the state. We observe that Pakistani society is transitional in character and suffers from many disadvantages peculiar to such societies. The imitation of Western culture and ways of living induces the public official to fall prey to corruption. Pakistani society is basically feudal, poverty stricken ritualistic and lacks well organised political and social institutions. Majority of the people in Pakistan can hardly earn enough to keep their body and soul together. Poverty is one of the factors responsible for breeding corruption in our society. People in general do not put
up strong social sanctions against the corrupt officials. They aspire to secure opportunities of getting rich over-night. Social stratification of Pakistani society is based on material possessions rather than service to the nation and as a result there is a mad race to excel each other in possessing means of ostentatious living through legal or illegal means.

The spiritual values have weakened by the constant blows of materialism. The society has deviated from the traditional values and has succumbed to the desire for selfish and material gains. The public servant wants the worldly comforts at the heavy cost of justice and morality. In spite of the fact that Pakistani society is an ideologically oriented social system where corruption should have been least in terms of size and volume yet corruption is rampant in all spheres of social life. The high rate of illiteracy in society has opened the flood gate of corruption and the pursuit of money has shaken the foundation of the moral values and infested the civil and military nexus with "mercenary syndrome."

Considering another factor which impinges upon the spread of corruption in a society is the level of development as a nation. The essential attributes which contribute to the establishment of a nation and give it substance are, common language, common culture, common historical experiences, common economic interest, etc. However, the crucial factor in this regard is the psychological feeling of being one. This is the single most important variable which integrates a community in achieving a particular set of objectives. It is therefore of utmost importance to analyse whether these factors are present in Pakistani society. We must find out whether people from different social and political back grounds have evolved a feeling of being a part of the whole, whether broader aims in society are common. An objective answer to these questions is that although people in Pakistan speak different languages and aspire for different objectives within their social and economic set-up, the essential feeling of being part of one community persists. There are however certain divisions in our society which constantly work against this phenomenon. In broad terms, the society can be divided into elite and the masses in the context of social, economic and political power. The element of exploitation which exists in almost all walks of life has resulted in violent conflicts. Individuals in each group have affinity to its own people, this tendency of self-interest above national interest has led to unethical conduct among the people which is demonstrated by the ethnic and regional clashes particularly at Karachi. In the context of public administration, our bureaucracy has aligned itself with the privileged class of society and has occasionally been used as a tool of oppression.

After the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan had no political leader of calibre, who could inculcate the spirit of patriotism and a sense of nation-hood. The administrative machinery which was primarily tailored by the colonial masters to fulfil their own aims failed to adjust itself to the situation after independence. The imposition of martial law to curb excesses in the political arena has not been conducive to political process and the
development of healthy political institutions. The end result of all these forces put together shows that we have failed to evoke a strong nation-hood and the problem of regionalism, provincialism and sectarianism are yet to be solved in Pakistan. The tendency of satisfying particular interest at the cost of national interest has encouraged corruption among the government officials.

The structure of our bureaucracy has a large share in sprawling corruption in public administration. Our bureaucratic structure is highly centralised which gives rise to red-tapism and breeds corruption indirectly. The bureaucrats have a tendency to remain aloof and inaccessible to the public. Low pay, frequent transfer of field officers, lack of co-ordination between various departments and absence of protection against dismissals on political grounds encouraged the bureaucracy to indulge in corruption. Besides this, administrative powers are concentrated in a few hands. Decisions are initiated at the lowest level of hierarchy where temptation of accepting illegal gratification is very high. The process of accountability is weak and slow, and as a result of this corrupt officials escape punishment.

The participation of political process in extending corruption to public administration is highly significant. Since its inception Pakistan has been suffering from political instability. The main cause of the political instability has been the lack of coherence among the various political parties and their failure to enlist mass support. The politicians manipulated the situation whereby their end was to gain power and promote selfish interest. Against, these leaders in the political arena belonged to a particular socio-economic set-up, mainly the landed aristocracy. It was the furtherance of the cause of their own class interest which kept the national interest subservient. Because of frequent changes in political leadership a situation of political vacuum was often created, which was immediately filled by the bureaucracy. However, bureaucracy, itself was the product of a colonial rule and as such it generally diverted itself from the interests of the general masses. Bureaucrats snatched extensive discretionary powers from the political leaders and in the absence of external checks, they remained highly unaccountable. Such a situation where political process lagged behind and bureaucracy thrived by leaps and bounds paved the way for unlimited opportunities for corruption. Bureaucracy not only failed to accomplish the administrative goals set for it but also stood in the way of political development in Pakistan.

Lack of awareness on the part of citizens about their rights and obligations to effectively participate in the affairs of the state is another contributing factor to the expansion of corruption in public administration. Since masses are not conscious of their rights and duties they are prone to exploitation. Their indifference and lethargic attitude towards corruption have encouraged public officials to disregard the sense of responsibility and accountability. Citizens, on the other hand, violate the limits of their rights, break the laws and by passing of procedures through corrupt channels has become the order of the day. Due to the absence of the means to articulate public opinion, constant vigilance on the action of the government functionaries
is missing, which leads to corruption in public dealings. It may be pointed out here that the concept of accountability could not have deep roots in Pakistan because the administrative process is surrounded by too much secrecy. The conservative approach to public administration makes people believe that public interest would be best served if there was a great amount of closeness and secrecy, while in actual practice this generates corruption and cordons off all attempts of detection. As people at large are not aware of their rights and obligations, they are easily misled by corrupt public officials in order to draw illegal gratification from them. Due to Baradri and caste system people are divided and do not exert effective public opinion against corrupt bureaucrats. People on their part do not hesitate to evade taxes and use smuggling and black marketing as normal business practices. The end result of this state of affairs gives rise to the belief among the people that corruption succeeds and nothing succeeds like success.

Future of Public Administration in Pakistan

What will be the future state of public administration in Pakistan? Obviously no one can answer this question with any certainty because nobody can predict exactly what changes will appear in our internal and external socio-political environments and how the responses to these environmental changes will influence theory and practice of public administration in Pakistan. Nevertheless the process of prediction does serve a useful purpose. It helps to plan the direction of change in the future with known limits of probability.

Since the developing countries like Pakistan are engaged in rapid socio-economic transformation under the leadership of the government of the day, public administration will necessarily play a crucial role in the process of national development. The civil servants in numerous decisions, be it the location of industry or opening of a village school will continue to function as a partner in development along with the politicians. A balanced blend of politics and administration will therefore be highly necessary to face the curious paradoxes and contradictions which will accompany the complex social organisms of the future.

Public administration in Pakistan as an academic discipline will assume strategic importance in future to meet the challenge of managing large size and highly complex organisations. The capacity of our public administrator to manage the programmes aimed at introducing social, economic and political changes will have to be increased in addition to their ability to perform traditional, routine and normal governmental functions more efficiently. To achieve this objective academic studies in public administration will be required to develop critical inputs of managerial performance which include knowledge, attitude and skills. These managerial inputs must also keep pace with the changes in the environments. Through academic studies of public administration at post-graduate level it will be possible to provide trained managerial manpower for performing non-conventional governmental functions
which are steadily increasing in number and importance due to the rapid rate of change in our internal and external environments. If anything is certain about the future it is, "change" which will definitely take place. All over the world, old things are giving way to new ones, values, beliefs, attitudes, systems, ideology and technology are in a constant state of change. Management relates to both public and private sectors and decisions within one weigh heavily on the achievements of the other. It is therefore imperative that management cannot remain self-centred and consider their decisions only in relation to their own enterprise but must take a broader view in terms of policy formulation and implementation. The indispensability of change requires that managers of public affairs must formulate a strategy which optimise their achievements taking into account the known strengths and weaknesses of their departments and the community as a whole. Though the managers of today or tomorrow cannot do all that is needed to bring about equilibrium in moral standards, social values and economic expectations, it is nevertheless necessary for them to take note of the critical area of psycho-social transformation so that their interaction with the work-force and the environment can be set on the same wave length.

In order to develop the managerial talent to meet the future requirements of public administration in Pakistan, I endorse the views of our eminent scholar of management Mr. Mumtaz Saeed who suggested:

"The tremendous pressure on Pakistan Administrative Staff College and NIPAs can be relieved if public administration degree institutions are strengthened both in number, capacity and quality. There exists a strong sentiment among senior public administrators that public enterprise administration is sufficiently different from business administration and public administration to merit separate attention at all levels. If there can be a school of Business Administration, the University of Administration should not be far behind. In fact, the kind of increasing attention both public and public enterprise administration deserve, we can think of universities of Public and Public Enterprise Administration. The Ministry of Production can certainly help found such a university in its constant quest for making the public sector more effective."

In the context of practice of public administration in Pakistan as seen in future, we propose the renovation of our existing bureaucratic structure be carried in a manner that it becomes suited to the changed socio-economic environments and political realities in Pakistan. But change is an agonising process. It has to over-come barriers of resistance. The reformation of the existing bureaucratic structure of Pakistan can be effectively executed by developing a balanced synthesis of generalist and specialist elite, identifying them with the Islam oriented masses and making them accountable to the popular base of constitutional democracy. It is however necessary that planning and execution of change should be carried out with great care following a scientific methodology with minimum intrusion of bias and prejudice of
protagonists belonging to various segments of our civil service. Since government of Pakistan is committed to rapid socio-economic development with the objective of fulfilling the rising expectations of the people, there will be in future a pressing need for changing the existing status-quo based, law and order oriented and corruption ridden administrative set-up to an achievement-based, development-oriented and morally committed system of administration.

Regarding the crisis of corruption in public administration there is no doubt that it will exist in Pakistan like most of the other developing countries. However, there is also a growing awareness among the people of Pakistan that corruption weakens national integration, decreases respect for and allegiance to the government in power, retards economic development and generates political instability. I believe that crisis of corruption can be controlled in future if a mass reformist movement is initiated in all walks of life. This must, however, begin at the personal and individual level, thereby ensuring moral and ethical integrity and should end at building a national character which reflects devotion and dedication to the motto of service above self and unquestioned loyalty to the nation. It may however, be pointed out that corruption is a chronic disease having its roots gone deep into the society and a radical change has to be introduced through adopting legislative administrative and religious remedial measures. A cultural revolution based on Islamic ideology is a possible response to the crisis of corruption in public administration in particular and the society in general.

Conclusion

To conclude it may be noted that the state of public administration in Pakistan is neither highly optimistic nor it is deplorably depressing. It is surviving on hopes and sliding towards despair due to its slow response to social, economic, political, technological and structural changes. Scholars of public administration have predicted with a fair degree of accuracy that organisations which fail to take advance notice of environmental changes either become victims of ad-hocism or get involved in a tangle of unmanageability and obsolescence. In Toffler's phraseology, this may lead to a "massive adaptional break-down." Let us accept change in a constructive manner rather than to be compelled by its force of destruction. In this respect, I have only attempted to high-light certain critical areas of change as they seem to impinge upon our existing system of public administration. It is hoped that public administrators will serve the nation with devotion and determination so that we may be able to transfer a happier and prosperous Pakistan to our posterity.
Ch. 10

THE STATE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN PAKISTAN

Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Rasul Bux Rais

International Relations is one of the youngest disciplines of the Social Sciences. It was only after World War I that the discipline began to acquire significance, and academic recognition as a separate field of inquiry. Since the initial reformist and prescriptive orientation, the horizons of the discipline have steadily expanded with the proliferation of approaches and research techniques. The ideas generated by "normative," "realist," "positivist," "New-Marxist," and "world society" paradigms have enriched the field. However, the elegant conceptualization and insights from other social sciences have not helped the specialists of the field in developing a general theory of international relations which would not only be coherent and internally consistent but also capable of explaining behaviour of a very complex and diverse range of actors in the international system. The failure in building such a general theory with universal application is not much due to the lack of attempts or due to the inadequacy of analytical and methodological tools. This is largely because of the very diverse, and intractable phenomena (the state system) that has defied our quest for discovering uniformities in the behaviour of states and the plethora of transitional actors. Endeavours aimed at developing grand theory of international relations would continue to face difficulties, and the results may remain trivial. Another dimension of this problem is that international relations of modernised societies are different in content and process from the international relations of non-modernised Third World states. Factors such as power, capabilities, size, resources, technologies and level of development play important role in shaping international goals and mobilisation of appropriate means for realising national interests. Ideograph differences in values, goals, means and domestic systems have obstructed formulation or discovery of a "global pattern," which continue to impede the development of general theory of international relations that would be capable of explaining behaviour of all states. The central argument of this essay is that conceptualization of international relations rooted in the experience of industrially developed, politically stable, and militarily strong states is not capable of grasping the realities of a third World nation. With the dominance of Anglo-American perspective, the field of international relations has essentially remained ethnocentric. Even juxtaposition of third World into a single analytical unit of international relations theory would encounter serious difficulties in
establishing common patterns of actions because of the variations in
development, political processes, and nature of external linkages. Except the
fact that all states operate in conditions of anarchy, there is nothing that would
present common set of values attributable to all of them. Legal notions such as
sovereignty and equality, which are generally attached to states, fail to reveal
uniqueness of each nation which emanates from unequal distribution of world
power and influence. This raises question of relevance about what is taught and
studied as international relations in Pakistan.

Question of Relevance

A careful examination of courses offered in Pakistani universities
would suggest that the teaching and study of international relations is hardly
compatible with economic, political, and strategic realities. We have not even
attempted to comprehend our unique situation and problems, and develop a
conceptual scheme which would lend coherence and organisation to our
teaching programmes. We continue to shape our academic and intellectual
interests in this discipline predominantly by the analytical models, and themes
developed by foreign scholars. As a result, designing of our courses and
selection of reading materials consciously or unconsciously have been attuned
to thoroughly foreign spectrum. Much has depended upon the individual
interests, skill, and training of a teacher in giving significance and substance to
a course of study.

State of Indigenous Scholarship in the Discipline

Though there has been a remarkable interest in the study of
international relations, hardly a single work is available in the core areas of the
master's degree programmes in international relations. And, this is despite the
fact that the subject has been taught in Pakistan for about forty years. Almost
two generations of scholars have failed to give the Pakistani students basic
introductory texts in those subfields of the discipline which have been
considered as compulsory for the completion of the programme. Among these,
foreign policy of Pakistan is the only area which has attracted much attention by
the Pakistani academics. But even in this area, there has been only one
comprehensive and well-documented work - S.M. Burke's Pakistan's Foreign
Policy (1973). The book has lost much of its utility as it was written one and a
half decades ago. Other significant texts in this area are: Latif Ahmed Sharwani,
Foreign Policy of Pakistan (1964); India, China and Pakistan (1967), and
Pakistan, China and America (1980). Muhammad Ahsan Choudhuri, Pakistan
and the Great Powers (1970), Ghulam Wahed Choudhury, Pakistan's Relations
with India 1947-1966 (1968) and India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the Major
Powers (1975). Within the area of foreign policy much focus has centred on
either India-Pakistan relations or on Pakistan's relations with the major world
powers (e.g. The United States and Pakistan by Shirin Tahir Kheli (1982).
Although these works give good historical account of Pakistan's foreign
relations, they do not seem to show the rigor and application of the concepts of foreign policy analysis.

A scant look on the contemporary research interests of the academic and non-academic writers would reveal that security issues relating to Pakistan and South Asia have attracted wide interest. This interest is shown in a good number of research articles which have appeared in Pakistani and foreign journals. For instance the writings of Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Hasan Askari Rizvi, Rasul Bux Rais, Brig A.R. Siddiqui etc. clearly and adequately reflect security issues-oriented trend.

This is a matter of pride to note that the several faculty members of the International Relations Department, Quaid-i-Azam University have published widely on wide-ranging subjects. The Department has the benefit of having on its faculty a relatively young group of highly qualified teachers. Given their training and broad academic interests, a core group has emerged, which in our opinion has the potential to make contributions to various subfields of international politics.

The Study and Teaching of International Relations

The study and teaching of international Relations has seen rapid expansion and popularity in Pakistani Universities during the past decade: Karachi University opening the first department in 1950's, the University of Sindh (Hyderabad, Khairpur), Quaid-i-Azam University, and the University of Balochistan have started offering master's degree programmes. Quaid-i-Azam University offers M.Phil degree and would soon be starting its Ph.D. programme.

Rapid expansion of international relations in the Universities has not been matched with the hiring of academically sound and qualified teachers. In the first place, highly trained teachers in this discipline are not available. Those with higher degrees in the discipline are more attracted to jobs in the foreign universities. A new cadre of trained teachers could be created through a foreign scholarship programme for inservice teachers. But with our bias in favour of natural sciences, training of teachers in international relations or in other social Science may not receive due attention of the Ministry of Education and the University Grants Commission. presently, there are not more than 8 teachers with Ph.D. Degrees working in 6 universities, which run master's degree programmes in international relations. Out of these 8 teachers 6 work at the Quaid-i-Azam University. It is unfortunate that the oldest department of international relations at the karachi University does not have a single Ph.D. on its faculty.

Largely owing to the dearth of trained teachers, the study and teaching of international relations have remained inadequate and backward. The discipline of international relations has undergone intellectual transformation
the world over. Debates on approaches, methodologies and central controversies of the field have not touched majority of the teachers in the field in most of Pakistani universities. A teacher or student of international relations may not be able to comprehend the contemporary debates unless he or she has been exposed to the classical literature in the field. Unfortunately, with poor academic background a teacher in the field may not be able to fully introduce the subject to a student and initiate him to independent learning.

A review of curricula run by the international relations departments in our universities suggests that they adequately meet the basic requirements. But the titles of courses with short descriptions are hollow shells. The substance is always provided by the teacher. He has the responsibility to select the most up-to-date readings and assign them to students. A cursory look at the reading list for various courses would indicate that the books and authors have long lost their relevance to the contemporary issues of international relations. Many of us are neither familiar with the contemporary literature nor have much access to the recent publications. Therefore, we are constantly failing to update ourselves with the new developments in the field. This failure consequently keeps our student far below the acceptable level of understanding of the subject.

Selection of both the subject matter as well as the courses of study has been determined more by the availability of a teacher in a particular field than by the basic requirements of the degree. As a result students in many of the departments have no option but to study the courses which a teacher feels confident and qualified to offer.

International relations programmes in Pakistani universities are primarily generalist in orientation. Some of the departments have specified areas of specialisation (International Relations, Strategic Studies, International Law and Organisation, South Asia, Middle East, and comparative Politics), but the students have very little or no specialisation. They are rather exposed quite cursorily to the various subfields. Given the fact that students entering a master's programmes in most of the I.R. departments have no exposure to even basics of the field, generalist approach may be considered the most appropriate. Here, one needs to rationalise the subjects which are often regarded by the departments as compulsory for the completion of the degree. In some cases, the list of core courses is short, while in others the number is rather excessive.

**International Relations - Recommendations for Improving Teaching and Research**

1. International Relations Department at the Quaid-i-Azam University be expanded and upgraded to a centre of excellence. In order to retain the current

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1 Compulsory courses vary from university to university. At the Quaid-i-Azam University the following are the core courses for the master's degree: Basic factors, I. R. since 1945, Strategic Studies, International Economic Relations, International Law, International Organization, Foreign Policy of Pakistan.
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faculty, and attract qualified teachers, who are not too many, more positions for Associate and full Professorship be created. The problem of shortage of qualified teachers in the field is so acute that even loosing any two foreign-trained faculty members would deal a death blow to this developing department.

Upgradation of the department to a centre of excellence would serve two important objectives. Firstly, it might help develop an excellent team of experts in the field. Teachers already working here have produced research work which on any criteria are of world standard. If the department is not subjected to institutional and professional inertia, one can reasonably expect first rate publications from the senior faculty members. Secondly, with trained faculty the department would strengthen M.Phil and Ph.D. degree programmes. The need for indigenous scholarship in the field is very urgent. Within a short period of time we can create the capacity to train a good number of young scholars, who would serve the teaching and research requirements of the various research institutes and departments of international relations and political science. In view of non-availability of foreign scholarships and research grants for training abroad, developing of national talent pool in the discipline should appear the most practical option.

2. A pool of qualified teachers can neither work nor train young scholars without a good library. We would need to develop a separate library in the field with major focus on acquiring periodicals from all over the world. Over several years our faculty members have painfully selected the most appropriate publications for the I.R. Library collection. This can serve a basis for building resource-rich, separate specialised library in the field. Without a well-equipped library the idea of promoting the department to the centre of excellence may not make any positive contribution.

3. Thirdly, efforts should be made to publish a professional journal in the field. There is no doubt that in our discipline there are quite a few journals which have been regularly published by various research institutes, yet we need to have a journal that would be devoted to the promotion of professional research. A professional journal can achieve excellence only if it has strict criteria for the evaluation of research material. Therefore, formation of a board of editors consisting of renowned Pakistani scholars can help maintain a good standard.

4. There is great need to promote a research degrees at those universities that have already started a Master's programme and to introduce I.R. at Master's level in those universities which, for some reason, were unable to introduce the subject at the graduate level.

Much of the research work in the field of international relations is the product of individual's own efforts. The notion of sponsored or contract research in this field has not yet really taken off. Even the institutional research is extremely restricted and confined solely to the International Relations Department of Quaid-i-Azam University as it is currently the only department that offers a
research degree programme. However, a gradual upgradation should be encouraged at those institutions that have made a good start.

5. Efforts should also be directed towards the establishment of a Council of International Affairs consisting of representatives from universities, concerned Ministries and private sector. The purpose of such council is not just to promote interest in I.R. but also to assist the government in policy making and educating the public in general.

6. There is also a dire need to create atmosphere conducive to free thinking and liberal expression.
Defence and strategic studies is a relatively unknown discipline of the social science at the level of postgraduate studies in Pakistan. Out of the twenty odd universities in the country, it is taught only at Quaid-i-Azam University. The growth and development of this discipline in the overall context of the growth and development of social sciences has not only been slow but, as this paper will highlight, has been impeded by factors common to a number of other social science disciplines as they have come to be established in the Third World in general.

Before going on the main theme of the paper, that is, the development of strategic studies (as the discipline is generally referred to) as a social science discipline and especially as it relates to the context of Pakistan in particular and the Third World in general, this paper will briefly draw attention to the origins of international relations as a specialised field of inquiry which gave rise to strategic studies initially as a sub-field of study within it.

As in most Third World states, social science disciplines have tended to develop on the lines of a model-imitator paradigm. The study of the social sciences has meant the wholesale transfer of Western social science traditions. This paper will, therefore, begin by briefly identifying the various trends in this tradition and will proceed to address the causal factors for the transfer of this western analytical framework to Third World countries like Pakistan and its impact upon the evolution of the disciplines of social sciences in these countries.

As distinctive disciplines, the social sciences evolved around the start of the nineteenth century in Europe. However, the roots of some of the fundamental concepts inherent in these disciplines go further back, in a general sense, to the ancient Greeks with their rationalist inquiries into the nature of man, state and morality.
Two important theoretical contributions were made to the field in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the West: One was the idea of structure reflected in the works of men like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Adam Smith; the other was the notion of developmental change. The present was envisaged as an outgrowth of the past - the result of a long line of development in time, caused not by God or chance, but by conditions and causes inherent in human society. Thus, one of the underlying assumptions of social theory was the notion that society was a human artefact.

By the nineteenth century, the industrial and socio-political revolutions in Europe had led to the development of three powerful tendencies of thought which influenced, and continue to influence, the social science disciplines: Positivism, Human Aryanism and the philosophy of evolution.

Positivism\(^1\) reflected not only an appeal of science, but almost a reverence for science. Scientific treatment and methods derived from physics and biology were seen as being applicable to the analysis of social behaviour. Comte, more than anyone else, sought to treat moral values, institutions and all social phenomena in the same manner as physical data. Positivists do not distinguish between structures and "formal routines."

Humanitarianism\(^2\) was closely related to the development of a science of society where the ultimate purpose of social science was thought to be the welfare of society - the improvement of its moral and social condition, what some have termed the "institutionalisation of compassion."

Evolutionary theory\(^3\) reflected the permeation of the notion of evolution in nineteenth century western society as a whole. While the work of Darwin increased the appeal of the evolutionary view of things, ideas of social evolution had their own origins and contexts, as reflected in the works of Spencer and Marx who had completed, or begun, the bulk of their work before Darwin's publication of the "Origin of Species" in 1959.

As the disciplines of the social sciences developed in the west in the nineteenth century, two contradictory tendencies dominated: One was to drive towards unification of one single social sciences and the other was to pull toward specialisation of the individual social sciences. While the former tendency dominated in the early nineteenth century, by the end of the century, the tendency towards specialisation had won out.

In the present era, both these conflicting tendencies exist side by side in the west, with interdisciplinary co-operation developing alongside increasing specialisation. Also, in the west, the social sciences have become bodies of not merely teaching and research but also practice.

Within the above context, international relations as the study of relations between states evolved with the emergence of the nation-state in Europe in the seventeenth century. The study of war and peace had begun even
earlier, as reflected in the work of political strategists like Machiavellian. The French Revolution further strengthened the linkage between studies of war and peace and international relations, giving rise to military philosophers like Clausewitz.

The trauma of World War one upon the western intellectual tradition brought to the fore the development of the study of war as a specialised field of study, with the works of Richardson and Quincy Wright dealing with war causation. The notion of Conflict Studies was central to the development of this field of study, with three broad questions dominating research: how and why wars start, how and why wars end and how do they proceed.

This approach to war shifted the focus of the study of war from a purely historical perspective to that of a social science perspective, particularly political science and international relations. There is a substantial difference in the two perspectives, with the historian looking at particular events in the past and describing them in their own terms - his level of analysis being the individual actor or event and its peculiarities. A social scientist, on the other hand, is looking for consistencies in behaviour in order to find theories of general classes of behaviour - his levels of analyses reflecting an effort to relate individual events to a broader category of similar events and at the most general level, seeking to understand the general behaviour of classes of events.

Within the framework, war studies (or what has evolved into the broader category of strategic studies), comprises two features common to all social sciences:

1. There are propositions which apply to classes of events and not only to individual events, with the aim being to formulate theories of behaviour and events;

2. These theories are verifiable and require some general agreement amongst the practitioners over what is an appropriate test.

A common method that is utilised is the hypothetico-deductive method - that is, assuming, for the sake of argument, the truth of a few hypotheses about the state of the world and then following through the logical implications of these hypotheses. The end result is a broader range of interrelated self-consistent propositions. But then these, to be assessed whether they are correct propositions about the world, must be tested against empirical data. If it passes the tests, it can explain the facts and if developed sufficiently can predict.

The framework of western social science, described above, spread to the Third World along with colonisation and the western revolutionary industrial and socio-political processes - reflecting industrialisation, technological development and secularism. The adoption of western analytical frameworks was, and continues to be, justified on the assumption that since social scientists were making supposedly scientific statements about the
behaviour of people and events in society, the issues of differing structures and value-systems were irrelevant to their general propositions.

However, as Nicholson points out,

Not only the assertion of a set of scientific propositions, but also the initial decision to work on one line of investigation rather than another, are actions which involve choices and hence morality.\(^\text{10}\)

For example, as Korany notes, when strategists deal with the 'concept of war' they always state explicitly, or imply, the Clausewitzian concept of war emerging from early nineteenth century Europe (Note also the assumption of a singular concept of war) -- the implication being that the Clausewitzian paradigm is synonymous with the meaning of war.\(^\text{11}\)

With the process of decolonisation, the inadequacy of these western intellectual traditions, especially in the social sciences, in explaining underlying socio-political conflicts in the Third World, has led to efforts on the part of a limited number of intellectuals to challenge these traditions. These challenges, as reflected in the works of Gundar Frank\(^\text{12}\) and Samir Amin\(^\text{13}\) to name a few, have focused primarily in the field of political economy, with the underlying political conflict being seen as a direct corollary of socio-economic structures.\(^\text{14}\)

While these developments challenge the mainstream western international relations tradition with its focus on the state as the primary unit of analysis, they continue to draw on western tools of analysis in order to bridge the gap between the normative and the descriptive aspects of explanation.

Laurence Martin has defined strategic studies as dealing with "those aspects of international politics that are particularly closely related to the phenomenon of war"\(^\text{15}\), and where strategic studies comprises a specialised discipline in the Third World, it continues to be studied within the mainstream western tradition, with the unit of analysis continuing to be the state and the focus being on national security and war.

Furthermore, as post-45 developments in international relations in the west have occurred primarily within the specific structure of the East-West conflict, so strategic studies has centred increasingly on this structural framework for the analysis not only of strategic doctrines of war, but also for the causation and nature of war.

Korany points out that apart from policy-oriented studies on "counter-insurgency" or the increasing interest in "terrorism," the conceptual tools provided by strategic studies today fail to explain phenomena such as secessionist movements, ethnic troubles, even Third World border wars.\(^\text{16}\) Even on ostensibly well-researched conflicts like the Cuban Missile Crises, mainstream strategic literature fails to highlight the Cuban element in the crisis,
as opposed to the abundant analyses on US-Soviet relations and deterrence theory. 

**Weaknesses of Strategic Studies**

Coming to the question of why Third World strategic studies scholars continue to adopt this framework for analysis, a number of reasons can be identified: 1. The external intellectual socialisation of most Third World social scientists makes it convenient for them to adhere to the traditional modes of inquiry developed by the west. As a corollary to the above argument, a lack of accessibility to information pertinent to specific conceptual frameworks of Third World strategic problems further strengthens the above tendency. 2. Another major factor in this regard is the dependence on western sources of data, which itself is a product of the "free-flow" doctrine developed by the US after World War 1. As a result, most of the data comes bound within western strategic frameworks. 3. This trend supports the interests of the ruling classes, or what Sartre terms the "hired Kinglets." 4. Most Third World rulers/governments tend to focus on state-building and as such feel a natural affinity with western national security theories which, as Al-Mashat puts it, are "statist not society-oriented" and therefore provide "the state apparatus with (a) strong raison d'être to be superior over society." 

Following from the above, one can ask the question why the western analytical framework of the discipline of strategic studies is not applicable to the study of this discipline in Third World states, including Pakistan?

Korany sums up the reasons when the states that this framework automatically transposes the nineteenth century European state model to a different cultural and historical context (and therefore neglects) the specificities of Third World state formation and the type of conflict so prevalent within the Third World: intrastate or domestic conflict. 

In the context of Pakistan, all the above shortcomings in the indigenous development of the discipline of strategic studies are relevant. In addition, certain peculiarities specific to the Pakistani context have further hindered the development of this field of study.

Firstly, in Pakistan international relations and strategic studies in practice, tend to follow a historical approach and therefore, tend to assume the character of disciplines more rightly belonging to the field of humanities rather than of social sciences.

Secondly, one of the major obstacles of the growth of strategic studies as a social science discipline has been the deliberate induction of unqualified army personnel as the main source of teaching manpower -- unqualified in the sense of being not trained in the intellectual and analytical faculties of the discipline. Total reliance upon their experience in the armed forces of Pakistan,
in our opinion cannot be a substitute for academics properly trained to teach this discipline. To make matters worse, academic requirements, which for civilian teachers in the discipline remain comparatively rigorous, are specifically not demanded of these armed forces personnel.

Thirdly, the department at QAU, to some extent plays a supporting role to the National Defence College by absorbing middle rank officers who do not get sent to the NDC, as students. This itself impedes the development of the discipline as the officers, until this year, formed 50% of the total student body -- thus depriving civilian students of a chance of studying the discipline and depriving the department of potential M. Phil and doctoral candidates -- which is a necessary prerequisite for the development of any academic discipline.

Fourthly, there exists a dearth of job opportunities for most social scientists, and the field of strategic studies is no exception. Off the opportunities available for students of this discipline, priority is given to the induction of army officers - even in civilian research institutes.

The curriculum of the only existing department in this discipline, in Pakistan, suffers from random course formulation reflecting a bad imitation of the courses offered at the War studies department of King's College, London -- which incidentally is not part of a social science faculty. Exclusive courses structured on aspects such as national power, threat analysis (both being part of the study of the making of defence and foreign policy), the Quranic concept of war (which should be part of a course on differing concepts and causation of war) and so on point to some of the absurdities within the department. The course structure suffers from stagnation, which in the social sciences can rightfully be considered almost criminal.

From the preceding discussion, one can now summarise the following:

1. For the past two decades, the social science have been in a state of turmoil with traditional mainstream western theories being increasingly re-examined. However, western analytical tools continue to dominate third world indigenous challenges in this field.

2. Strategic studies has been developed in the West, with the focus on the state as the primary unit of analysis, and in the post-045 period, the focus continues to be on state as a unit of analysis but within the overall framework of the East-West conflict.

3. The theories, pre-theoretical models and paradigms of this discipline as developed in the West are, to a large extent, inappropriate and insufficient in identifying and explaining Third World strategic problems and providing a conceptual framework for these countries.
What then can one do to rectify the situation? Primarily, unless other relatively developed social sciences in Pakistan such as economics, political science, sociology and international relations are restructured to develop indigenous analytical tools geared to cater to our own needs, disciplines such as strategic studies which are already make underdeveloped cannot much progress.

Again in order to avoid stagnation, repetition and overlapping, more attention should be paid to interdisciplinary co-operation in teaching and research. The need for properly qualified personnel cannot be overemphasised.

Like in other disciplines of social sciences, there is a need in the field of strategic studies to examine various contending frameworks of the discipline. This would include the teaching of traditional western, Marxist and Islamic epistemologies in juxtaposition so as to enable one to discern which, if any, is most relevant for the study of the discipline from the Pakistani perspective -- or whether we can evolve a methodology of our own from these.

While politically, the process of Islamisation is being attempted, intellectually little has been done to study Muslim methodology and historical efforts to develop rationalism within the Islamic framework -- as reflected in the Mu’tazzila Movement and the works of Ibn-i-Khuldu and more recently, Ali Shariati. The basic Muslim methodology of Usul, based upon the principles of reason (Aql) and revelation could provide an interesting starting point upon which to develop social sciences within an Islamic framework. The task is formidable as history has shown how previous efforts to develop the themes of movement and rationalisation were suppressed by traditionalists in favour of imitation. According to Abu Sulayman of the International Institute of Islamic Thought, by the 11th century (4 A.H.) Ijtihad (original juristic opinions) ceased because the source material was the same, the method of deduction was the same, and no fresh input and feedback through new and continuous empirical investigations were available in the fields of jurisprudence and social studies.21

In order to effectively counter western intellectual dominance -- what almost amounts to a most dangerous form of colonisation, we must allow freedom of inquiry and debate within the social sciences in the country and also make the field of study relevant not just to teaching and research but also to practice.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


5 Clautzwitz was one of the earliest contemporary pioneers in this field. His epic work On War remains a classic till date.


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16 Korany, op. cit., p. 548.

17 Ibid.

18 For details on the free flow doctrine and its impact on the scholarship in the Third World especially w.r.t. the 'colonisation of the mind' see Mattelart and Dorfman, How To Read Donald Duck; Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic. New York: International General, 1971.

19 As quoted in Korany, op. cit., p.548.

20 Korany, pp. 549-550.

Introduction

In the years since the end of the Second World War vast political changes have taken place and the foremost amongst them has been the rapid liquidation of the colonial power structure. Nations freed as a result of this process, inherited deep rooted colonial bureaucratic government systems with predominantly an outlook of ex-colonial rulers. The one common denominator which puts all these, otherwise widely dissimilar countries, into one country is the fact of their existence in a state of acute under-development. This process of liberation, however, raised the level of aspirations of all sections of population within these countries. The newly acquired freedom was not only conceived as throwing off the old shackles but also doing away with the old state of stagnation. Many thought that real development is round the corner.

The second aftermath of this World War has been the division of the world into two blocks of East and West resulting in international tensions and the state of a cold war. This situation has affected the under-developed countries as well. Their 'elite look towards the West or East for help and inspiration, where as the masses of these countries are less inclined to do so. Overlapping such a situation is another division of North and South. The policies and actions of the North are increasingly creating a sense of despondency amongst an already depressed South. It is dampening the initiative which the leaders in the South possess. The masses, however, are losing all hope of socio-cultural, economic and political developments generated in the decades of fifties and sixties. All these diverse factors have created a climate of extreme polarisation in the communities of the South.
Constraints on Situational Analysis

Lack of Data: In order to conduct any systematic analysis of a problem pertaining to the realm of social sciences the availability of the appropriate and reliable data is a must, in the absence of which one is just shooting in the dark. In the situation of a country like Pakistan whatever data is available, is deficient both in scope and reliability. Such paucity and unreliability of vital statistics obscures the operation of various social mechanisms which may be working spontaneously or as a result of deliberate interventions. It is a major obstacle in the way of scientific formulations and something positive needs to be done to overcome this handicap.

Dearth of Basic Research

Another factor which adversely affects any effort dedicated to some meaningful analysis in the social sector is the dearth of the basic research. The essential first step towards acquiring an insight into the development problems of as intricate a system as the educational system of Pakistan is to try to discover how it actually functions, what mechanism regulates its performance and what are the main institutions and bottlenecks encountered. Failure to do analysis of these situations invite both distortions in evaluation and faults in planning.1

If what has been said above is correct, then there is ample room for interdisciplinary research. It is a new approach in research and we have been particularly weak at it. We should initiate efforts at associating sociologists view of having a better grasp of the objective reality. So far we have been taking a very simplistic view of the dynamics of change. Let one group challenge what the other has formulated on the basis of its research findings. It is a healthy sign. An essential ingredient to progress towards an understanding of the complexities of the evolving reality is the dialogue in which generalisations are advanced, challenged, and then modified and corrected. In this fashion, the sources of different interpretations and conclusions can be inspected and evaluated. Here is another crucial dimension that has remained neglected by us.

Distorted Research Methodology

With the progress of science and its universal acceptance as a tool in understanding of life a general scientification of the diverse processes has been going on for quite some time. It has led to emphasis on quantification, measurement and statistical treatment. The availability of a technological advance in the shape of a computer has given a further thrust to the tendency to resort to this quantitative methodology in research. Attempts are made somehow or the other, to quantify the variables and gather reliable data. It is certainly true that figures reveal a good deal of any objective situation. But more than they unravel. Total reliance on just this quantitative approach in
research tantamount to knowing at best only half the story and probably the less important half.2

In the situation of an under-developed country like Pakistan the long stagnation in the socio-politico-economic sphere has solidified institutions and attitudes and hardened resistance to change in the lower strata of the population. It is evident that modernism will not come about by a process of 'natural' evolution. This fact should never be lost sight of by those who are designing or implementing deliberate state interventions. The appropriate methodology for determining attitudes, aspirations, perceptions, inhibitions and motivation for change can be the qualitative one. the qualitative methodology in research and especially in the form of illuminating studies is a very recent one. such illuminating studies need to be conducted in Pakistan. Such studies are urgently needed to lay bare the value, thinking and the world-view of the workers, the landless, the village folks, the nomads and tribes etc. who have not yet achieved a better quality of life. These are the sections of our people which are even culturally most backward and the one which escape our educational net.

Education as a System

An all Pakistan Educational Conference was convened in November, 1947, to consider the re-organisation of the educational system. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah gave a special message to the Conference in which he stated the educational goals of the country in the following words:

You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over-emphasised. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions, and vast developments that have taken place all over the world. there is no doubt that the future of our state will and must greatly depend upon the type of education and the way in which we bring up our children as the future servants of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education and even that appears to be a very poor type. What we have to do is to mobilise our people and build up the character of our future generations. There is immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our future economic life, and we should see that our people undertake scientific commerce, trade and particularly, well-planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasise that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education.3

In short, we have to build up the character of our future generations, which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation,
and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified and equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan.

Mr. Fazal-ur-Rahman who presided over this conference emphasised three elements of education. The first was the spiritual element which was of paramount importance, as the basis of the State was laid on Islamic ideology, and unless the children were ingrained in the fundamentals of religion and its philosophy of life, the goals for which Pakistan had been established could not be fulfilled.

The second element in education, was the training for citizenship. Education must aim at cultivating the civic virtue of discipline, integrity and unselfish public service; related to this training for citizenship was a due emphasis which must be placed on physical training and group activities.

The third element of education was the provision of facilities for vocational, technical and scientific education. Mr. Fazal-ur-Rahman desired that the above three elements spiritual, social, and vocational must form an integral whole, and lead to a complete fusion between the spirit and the substance of education.

Comparison of Past Achievements

In subsequent years many endeavours were made to develop and promote the sector of education through the formulation of different policies, plans and programmes. Following attempts were made since independence:  

i. All Pakistan Education Conference 1947 (held from 27 November to 1st December, 1947 at Karachi)  
ii. Education Conference 1951  
iii. National Commission on Education 1959  
iv. Commission on Students' Problems and Welfare 1966  
v. Education Policy 1970  
vi. New Education Policy 1972-80  
vii. National Education Conference 1977; and  
All these declarations envisage:\5

i. Equal access and opportunity of education to all at all levels;

ii. Education to be inspired by principles of Islam---idea of universal brotherhood, tolerance and justice;

iii. Education oriented to production and work to transform consuming society into producing society;

iv. To maintain the quality of education with global standards while undertaking expansion vertically as well as horizontally;

v. To propagate scientific, technological and research aptitude to use the same in socio-economic growth of the Nation; and

vi. To promote functional literacy particularly among the youth.

For the realisation of policy objectives the government of Pakistan formulated six developmental plans each with five years duration starting from 1955 to 1988. The only exception was a non-plan period from 1970 to 1978 when the international situation and internal disturbances obstructed these activities.

Following is the brief comparison of the physical achievements of all the plans in the different sectors of education.6

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Educational Institutions by Kind, Level and Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947-48 Total Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Vocational Institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts &amp; Science Colleges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

197
Professional Colleges     -      -      107       11
Universities      2      -       20        -


Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1947-49 Total</th>
<th>1984-85 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary Stage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(I-V)(Thousands)</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>6,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Stage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VI-VIII)(Thousands)</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>1,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Stage</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IX-X)(Thousands)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary Vocational</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Thousands)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arts &amp; Science Colleges</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Thousands)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Professional Colleges</strong></td>
<td>4,368</td>
<td>92,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Number)</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>19,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Universities</strong></td>
<td>644</td>
<td>56,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1947-48 Total</th>
<th>1984-85 Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Thousands)</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>214.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Thousands)</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>59.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1947-48</th>
<th>1984-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Schools (Thousands)</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Vocational Institutions</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts &amp; Science Colleges</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Colleges</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities (Number)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4
Government Expenditure on Education by Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1947-48</th>
<th>1984-85</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Expenditure</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>9270.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>3362.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2474.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Education</td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>1075.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>871.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Education</td>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>590.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Terms</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>664.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Expenditure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1977.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Developmental Expenditure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7292.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of the System

The educational planning in Pakistan has a tendency to reproduce on an expanded scale the existing educational system. There is no doubt that some attempts were made to bring structural changes, redistribution of educational opportunities or qualitative reorientation but not much was achieved. The educational planning when properly applied as a method for achieving goals of educational policy greatly contribute to systematic educational innovations.

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The system of education which we inherited at the time of independence has been reinforced time and again through curriculum revision, teacher training etc. The net results of all these endeavours were that the system failed to deliver the goods with a history of failure to achieve our targets. The system at the planning stage never found new and pragmatic directions for quantitative expansion nor was strengthened to such an extent to improve qualitative aspects of education.

The gap between the planners and practitioners has also resulted into a confusing situation. The planners in Pakistan mostly emphasise the quantitative expansion. Keeping in view the population growth rate of 3.1% per annum and the emerging demand for education, while the practitioners normally challenge the tendency to counterpoise quantitative and qualitative aspects of educational development, because the quantitative expansion of education itself requires a whole range of measures designed to improve the quality and relevance of its structure, contents and methods.

A very fundamental issue in educational planning in Pakistan relates to the model for planning. The inherent diversity and growing controversy over the planning models of education has been misunderstood. The planning by government is frequently confused with the economic technique of forecasting and the political technique of decision making and state intervention. Planning as well all know is an endeavour to reconcile probable and possible forecasts with what is politically desirable.

Talking about the educational planning, following models have emerged in Pakistan in the past thirty eight years of its planning history:

i) Elite VS Masses Model
ii) Federal VS Provincial Tension
iii) Religions VS Secular Priorities
iv) Public VS Private interests

The different policies and programmes have revolved around one or more of these models. The 1972 policy emphasised more on public control over the educational institutions and the private sector became dormant and discouraged. The 1979 policy was committed more towards religious revivalism and provided orientation which permits Islam into every aspect of education.

Education as a Discipline

One of the major recommendations about education as a discipline appeared in the report of the Commission on National Education 1959. The pronouncement was confined to post-graduate Research work in education at the Doctoral level which should be properly developed in some of the institutions. This research would deal with child psychology and growth,
theories and methods of measurement, the history of education, educational theory and educational sociology.

Plans exist for the setting up in each wing of Institutions of Education. We believe that these would be most suitable for carrying out the kind of work we are referring to. As both the universities and departments of education are administering programmes of teacher training and since the new institutes will be required to undertake research in both fundamental and applied educational problems, it will be desirable to establish them as autonomous units under Boards of Governors on which the universities and departments of education should have due representation.

In pursuance of this recommendation the Institutes of Education and research were established in different universities. The first of its kind was started in Lahore and followed in other provinces.

Institute of Education and Research University of the Punjab, Lahore

The Institute of Education and Research was established in 1960 as a semi autonomous organisation in the University of the Punjab, Lahore. The institute was established to perform the following functions:

1. The provide facilities for advance study and research in education
2. To prepare candidates for the degrees of M.A. Edu., M.Ed. (Secondary and Elementary), M. Ed. (Tech), MBE and Ph. D. (Edu.).
3. To organise seminars and workshops for in service training of personnel in education.
4. To conduct research in various branches of education.

There are following six departments in the Institute:

1. Department of Elementary Education
2. Department of Secondary Education
3. Department of Business Education
4. Department of Industrial Arts Education
5. Department of Foundations of Education
6. Research Wing

Training

Seminars/conferences are being held for the training of in-service teachers from time to time. A plan is, however, being developed to offer courses in summer for school/college teachers in the discipline of education. As far as
the pre-service training is concerned the following programmes are being offered by the Institute:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Programme</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Qualification Required for Admission</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. M. Ed. (Elementary)</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>B.A./B.Sc. +</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. M.Ed. (Secondary)</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>- do -</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.Ed. (Technical)</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>B.A./B.Sc. + B.Ed. (Tech)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. M.A. Edu. (Elementary)</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>B.A./B.Sc.</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. M.A. Edu. (Secondary)</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>B.A./B.Sc.</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. M. A. (Ind. Arts)</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>B.A./B.Sc.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. M.B.E.</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>B/A./B.Sc. B.Com.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. M. Ed. (Special)</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>B/A./B.Sc. + B.Ed.</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Institute of Education and Research Peshawar University, Peshawar

The Institute of Education and Research, Peshawar University was established as Department of Education in 1950 and then was given the status of College of Education in 1964 and Institute of Education and Research in 1980. The main functions of the Institute include:

1. Preparation of candidates for the degrees of B.Ed., M.Ed., M. Phil, and Ph.D.
2. Organisation of Seminars, Workshops and symposia for professional educators.
3. Research studies in educational problems.
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Training

Pre-service training programmes offered by the institute, specifications concerning their duration, qualifications required for admission and enrolment are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Programme</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Qualification Required</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Ed.</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>B.A./B.Sc.</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>B.Ed.</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.Phil</td>
<td>2 year</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>M.Ed.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The education policy of 1972-80 published by the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan mentioned explicitly for the first time the inclusion of education as a discipline at different ladders of education.

Education will be introduced as an elective subject at the matriculation, intermediate and degree levels. In this way, a major part of the vocational training of teachers will be conducted in institutions of general education.

The policy further mentioned regularly trained teachers will subsequently become available as at the number of college students studying education and technical subjects as their optional courses increases. The estimated number of teachers required by 1980 is as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocation/Occupation</th>
<th>Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Economics</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>12,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In pursuance of these policy commitments the education as a discipline was introduced in some of the colleges of the country and the first recruitment of lecturer, to teach education at college level was done in 1975 in Punjab through the provincial public service commission.

Analysis and Future Education

The system and content of education which we are still following have created disenchantment among the youth because the education output does not always match the requirements of the job market. The recent years have
witnessed fundamental changes in the economic labour market which is growing more around industrial sophistication with an emphasis on new skills and disciplines. Our system does not cater to the needs of changing demands not only in enhancing employment opportunities but also make in society more humanistic. In a world of hardship and chaos there would have to be humanistic and egalitarian, objectives to share resources, skills and provide services to less advantaged section of the society. The identification of alternative futures in education has become imminent because it is impossible to predict a single most probable course of action in the coming years.10

The approach to education has to be integrated instead of compartmentalised because the education philosophy in the 90's onward will be moving from specialisation to generalisation. This is not to undermine the importance of specialisation in the different disciplines and at different levels but generalisation means more emphasis on broad based self learning integrated development of knowledge, skills and utilisation for the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." This can possibly be achieved through a training of self development and prepare the individuals for the rapid socio-economic-political-technological changes and equip the students to cope with the emerging and somewhat complex and uncertain future. The process of self development include self learning, self analysis and to work more in a co-operative spirit than in isolation.

Future education may embody the qualities needed for a unified, productive and self reliant society and the growth of a more human, internationalist and caring society. The main question is how to make education humanistic and what kind of policies and programmes could be more in line to meet the educational demands of various groups. This requires not only the review of the existing development in the discipline of education but also the identification of strategies for future education with specificity and practicability so that some tangible results can be achieved.

The development of education in Pakistan as a discipline and a system has only been confined to growth which is manifest from the tables given earlier in this paper, where as the necessary component of development requires change plus growth which has generally been neglected because of the sheer population pressure to enhance educational facilities for the masses.

For future education this paper will emphasise what is plausible with lesser emphasis on what is possible and still less on what is only conceivable. Changing our system of education to more positive humanistic and egalitarian direction is not just a good thing it is a necessity.

A new approach to education is necessary which includes development of those attitudes conducive to strengthen ideological foundations of the country and improve overall high quality of life. Training is specially needed for educational planners, administrators, practitioners and above all teachers not through stereotyped routine courses but specially designed to take a holistic
view of education which is not fostered by the existing system of education in which knowledge is fragmented into isolated academic disciplines. The Academy of Educational Planning and Management has made a modest beginning in this direction. The allocation of additional resources economic and human to the academy will further accelerate the activities in this direction.¹¹

Our universities have little tradition of either multi-disciplinary or problem centred research or education. They are not equipped and do not train for looking at complex wholes but rather tend to look at the problem in isolation and suggest ad hoc alternatives. The 21 universities in the country with a total enrolment of 56,160 have spent 871.0 million rupees out of the total education budget of 9,270.3 million rupees in the year 1984-85 can be mobilised to combine education and research to undertake massive trans disciplinary problems centred approaches on anti-poverty, more clean water, lesser diseases and their cures and above all the identification of needs and their attainments for the year 2050.

Our education system in general and our universities in particular are not designed to undertake problem centred research for the society at large. Before this responsibility is entrusted to the universities it is necessary that a thorough re-examination of the basic premises and responsibilities with necessary facilities and incentives should be done because any haste or haphazardness will add to the problems rather to their solution.

Education as a system and discipline should identify short and long term social indicators for the future development of society. These indicators will be used as detectors to find out that the direction to achieve our policy objectives are correct and if not these may be modified accordingly.

The scope of further education has to be extended outside the traditional classroom which include the entire life span of an individual to make him a more useful and productive member of society. This attitude of life long education has to be inculcated from the beginning.

The inquiry training is almost missing in our educational set up. This training infuses a spirit of inquiry and questioning not only to find fault with others but provides premises for self analysis and some guidelines to critically examine the system which may be suffering from socio-economic disparities and inequalities. Education as a discipline has a clear role to play in providing inquiry training to the clientele.

Education has been used as a change agent in all societies but the dilemma in our context is that we are inclined more to use education to perpetuate tradition. This is not to undermine our proud heritage of Islamic values but to sharpen its philosophical concerns to fulfil the future needs.

The emphasis in our educational set up so far has been what to know but in future it will be changed as how to know. This has become necessary in
view of the advancement of knowledge and the massive literature generated in recent years.

The re-examination of values, perceptions and premises should be facilitated by the educational environment. This will require different types of institutions where knowledge will be advanced in permissive atmosphere and key element will be the openness of the teacher and the taught. This implies a significant departure from traditional administrative patterns to more enlightened and flexible set of regulations and procedures. This does not mean only the re-examination of values in content but to analyse our evaluative experiences and identify ways conducive to unlearning to be free to adopt a new response pattern or perception.

The philosophy of integration and demand for national unity will be high-toned with increased emphasis because of the general insecurity of the individual in a highly technological, industrial and materialist society. The future education must seriously take this into consideration that national unity becomes a driving force for national development.

The future education will be more useful if we induct the following areas in the discipline of education:

i) Education for preparing the individual and society to cope with an uncertain future and complexities

ii) Education to meet the education demand of varied groups with an emphasis on disadvantaged section of society - i.e., minorities, females rural area inhabitant, urban slums, nomads, etc.

iii) Education to inculcate national identity for strengthening the security of the country and suggest a positive and pragmatic relationship between education and law enforcement agencies.

Future Educational Institutions

- Lectures methods will be replaced by guidance provided through the use of new technologies such as computers, T.V., Satellites and Video tapes.
- Institutional life will be less formal and more humanising
- Productive work and problem solving skills will take the place of routine type of activities.

Future Training Strategies

- Training will emphasise creativity and productivity to emphasise work education

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- Development of professional competencies through updating knowledge and skills
- Teaching will be replaced by learning and the Teacher and Student role will change from Dispenser - Receiver practices to a joint partnership in the learning processes
- The multiplier effect of training and the self learning modules will become necessary ingredients of any programme
- Professional advancement will be a continuous process through upgrading skills on the job training.

Future Student

- Student will have adequate opportunity to learn at his/her speed of mental and physical development
- Choices of subjects/discipline will be much wider and diversified to fulfil the needs of individual students.
- Education could effectively be imparted without going to school which will provide opportunities to work for longer duration on a job
- Education will be so designed to provide more independence.
NOTES


2 Ibid. p 6.


5 Khawaja, Sarfraz: Perspective for Educational Developments in Pakistan: Islamabad, Academy of Educational Planning and Management, 1985, p. 33.


7 Khawaja, Sarfraz: A Conceptual Paper on New Developments in Primary Education in Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Academy of Educational Planning and Management, Islamabad.


Ch. 13

ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN PAKISTAN

Anwar H. Siddiqui

Historical Perspective

1. Pakistan now has a fairly large number of administrative training institutions. Training and Management Development have been recognised as effective instruments of human resource development as well as performance improvement. A major thrust in this direction was made in the early 1960's when the Pakistan Administrative Staff College (PASC) at Lahore and National Institutes of Public Administration (NIPA's) were set up at Lahore, Karachi and Dacca. Pakistan Academies for Rural Development (PARD) were set up at Peshawar and Comilla. Earlier a Civil Service Academy and a Finance Services Academy had been set up at Lahore for pre-service training of Young Civil Service entrants. The PIDC also made a major contribution by setting up the Pakistan Institute of Management (P.I.M.) for providing training facilities to the private Sector executives.

2. This early thrust has been augmented considerably over the years and in many directions. Two new NIPA's have been set up at Peshawar and Quetta. P.I.M. has opened a branch at Lahore and is now catering also to the executives from the public enterprises. O&M Division has launched a very big training operation with U.N. assistance. A major development has been the rise of training activities within large organisations like PIA, WAPDA, Nationalised Banks, State Bank, Public Enterprises etc. Private Sector has not lagged behind and many business houses, local and multinational, have set up training institutions or departments of their own; the latest being the Executive Development Centre (EDC) set up by Jaffer Brothers at Karachi.

3. This paper attempts to review the role of some of the administrative training institutions sponsored by the government and does not claim to comprehend the research activities of all the training institutions.
4. Research has been mentioned as an important function in the charters of all the training institutions. To begin with, all the training institutions perceived research as an integral part of their activities with separate research units and special research staff. The Staff College, for example had the posts of Director Research and Research Associates from the beginning. PARD Peshawar provided for a Research Specialist as well as a number of Research Associates. NIPA's also made similar provisions. Separate Research Sections were set up at all the NIPA's. A Deputy Director was made in-charge of Research at NIPA Lahore and one senior faculty number was made in-charge of research at NIPA Karachi. PIM also has a senior faculty member in-charge of research and their research section made pioneering contribution in the development of indigenous case studies.

5. This early emphasis on research did produce some result and a number of studies were conducted and published by these institutions. Over the years, however, the priorities changed imperceptibly. Training activities being more tangible assumed ascendancy and research activities were relegated to relative neglect. As a result, research output has declined significantly. Of late, however, a bright spot has emerged in the form of a Case Development Programme at all the training institutions, particularly at PASC Lahore.

6. The need for invigorating research activities in the training institutions was recently recognised by the Heads of Training Institutions, who constituted an Experts Committee in May 1985 to make recommendations in this regard. The committee has submitted its Report, which may hopefully have some impact on revitalising the research activities at the training institutions.

**Review of Past Performance of Administrative Training Institutions**

7. In spite of lack of clarity about the role and direction of Research, preoccupation with training, and inadequate and poorly trained professional staff, these institutions have made substantial contribution in the field of Social Science research and development of indigenous literature.

7.1 Publications: PARD Peshawar has about 200 publications of various sizes and shapes to its credit. NIPA Karachi has published about 30 books, reports, monographs etc. NIPA Lahore has published more than 15 books and monographs. PASC Lahore and PIM also have a number of publications to their credit.

7.2 Journals: All these institutions are bringing out professional journals which provide avenues for publication to social scientists in Pakistan. Not all these Journals are published regularly or maintain high professional standards. They have nevertheless contributed to the growth of a body of knowledge on Pakistan Administration as well as other allied social sciences.
7.3 Seminars and Conferences: A large number of national and International Conferences and Seminars have been organised by these institutions over the years particularly by PARD, PASC and NIPA Karachi. These Conferences and Seminars have afforded an opportunity to the Social Scientists in Pakistan to meet and exchange views and experiences. Published proceedings of these Conferences are a valued part of the social Science literature in Pakistan.

7.3.1 The First (and probably the only) National Conference on "Problems of Administrative Research in Pakistan was organised by NIPA Karachi in 1971. 58 distinguish participants attended the Conference, in which 21 papers of various aspects of administrative research in Pakistan were presented by eminent scholars. The Proceedings of the Conference were published by NIPA Karachi in 1972 and are available in book form.

7.4 Research Papers by Faculty Members: Faculty members of the Training Institutions have written a large number of research papers based on field research or analysis which have been published in the Journals or presented in national and international Seminars and Conferences in Pakistan and abroad.

7.5 Institutional Research Projects: These training institutions have completed a number of country or regional studies in collaboration with International agencies like the UN, APDC, UN DP, World Bank, IDRC Canada etc.

7.6 Research Conducted by the Trainees: A research component is added to practically all the training programmes. This takes several forms. Participants contribute individual research papers, case studies, and group study reports. Project studies are also undertaken by the participants, findings of which are written down in the form of Project Reports. Over the years the large number of individual and group reports written by the participants of various Courses constitute a wealth of information and could serve as a basis for many analytical studies by trained Social scientists.

7.7 Case Development Programme: The need for indigenous case studies has been felt by all the trainers from the very beginning. Dearth of indigenous cases forced the use of foreign case studies in the class room with obvious disadvantages. P.I.M. Karachi took the lead in this respect and produced a volume of indigenous Pakistani Cases with the help of an ILO expert. They could not sustain this programme, however, for long. Of late, however, there is an up surge in this direction and this time, PASC Lahore has provided the lead. It has made it compulsory for participants of its Advanced Management Course to write a Case Study based on some real life situation. In addition, it has organised a number of Case Method Seminars wherein faculty members from the various training institutions have been trained in the methodology of writing Case Studies with the help of experts from E.D.I. Washington. PASC is also planning to bring out a few edited volumes of the already written Case-Studies. The PASC lead is now being followed by NIPA's also and participants are required to write Case Studies under guidance of the faculty members. If this programme continues and is further strengthened and augmented, it will
contribute greatly to the development of Public Administration in Pakistan as well as the growth of Social Sciences in general. The latest addition to the case development programme in Pakistan is the adoption of case method for teaching at the newly established University of Management Sciences at Lahore. Faculty members of the university are required to write indigenous case studies for use in the class rooms.

7.8 Field Surveys and Studies: PARD took the lead in this respect and with the help of its trained field research staff, has undertaken a large number of rural/agriculture based field studies and surveys. This has enriched considerably the available data on Social and economic aspects of our rural life. Recently the Staff College has also undertaken a number of field studies which would become the basis for writing some case studies. Project Studies by participants of the training Courses are also in the nature of field studies.

7.9 Action Research: Training Needs Surveys are conducted by the training institutions to provide the needed feedback for designing their training Courses on the basis of felt needs. A lot more regular and sustained effort is required in this direction. Present Institutional framework For Research

8. At present there does not seem to be any set pattern for organisation of research in these institutions. As mentioned earlier, research activities have declined over the years and are only continuing as an historical adjunct without much emphasis.

8.1 P.I.M. does not have a full fledged research section or staff, although one of its senior faculty members is assigned the responsibility of looking after the Institute's research and publications work.

8.2 The post of Director Research at NIPA Karachi has long been abolished. there is no separate Research Section or In-charge at the moment. Several posts of Research Associates have been allocated to administrative Staff. The few available research associates work essentially as training assistants.

8.3 PASC Lahore now has a functioning Research Section working under a full time Director Research. The post had remained vacant for 15 years until 1975. From 1975 to 1983 (except two years in between) the post was held only as an additional charge by Director of Studies.

8.4 The Civil Services Academy has never boasted of a research programme and does not perceive research as one of its important functions. The few available Research Associates provide support to the training activities of the Academy.

8.5 NIPA Lahore has a fairly large research section headed by a Deputy Director. But unfortunately it has no set research objectives or programme and over the years, research staff has become an adjunct of training activities.
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

8.6 PARD Peshawar had a well organised research section which conducted a large number of field studies. Over the years, however, their research programme has petered off. Even now they have a Research Specialist and six research associates, but they lack any direction or concerted action.

8.7 NIPA Peshawar is a nascent institution and is presently concentrating on its major Courses. It does not have the requisite staff even to sustain its training programme. It has, therefore, not yet embarked on any research activity.

9. The picture that emerges is of a gradually diminishing role of research in the training institutions. The nucleus for research still exists. Given a consensus on the role of research in the training institutions, assignment of due priority and staff resources, and a well directed programme, research can yet achieve its rightful place and contribute to effective training as well as the development of Public Administration in particular and other social sciences in general.

Identification of Problem Areas in Administrative Training

10. A review of the historical background, past performance, and institutional framework brings up the following major problem areas which deserve further consideration:

- Lack of clarity about the Role of Research.
- Relationship between Research and Training.
- Absence of concerted Planning and Direction.
- Inadequacy of Research Staff
- Lack of expertise in Research Methodology
- Lack of Motivation
- Financial Constraints
- Lack of Co-ordination

10.1. Role of Research: There is an unfortunate negative attitude towards research in the Society at large. Even in the Universities and other institutions of higher learning, research has not been accepted and incorporated as an important and integral activity. Bureaucratic environment is even less conducive for research and scholarship. It is considered an armchair activity with no practical value or utility and devoid of any reality. Some persons are of the view that at this stage of our development and limited resources, we can not afford the luxury of research and should go on borrowing ideas and technology from the West. There is no recognition of scholastic endeavours, nor any acceptance of academic freedom. Controversies on administrative reforms and change have also hardened certain attitudes against research as it is viewed as supportive of reform and change.

10.1.1 Some of these attitudes are reflected in the training institutions also. Gradually, the entire focus has shifted to the more tangible and 'harmless' activity of training. There are serious misgivings about the utility of research
and its ability to enrich and strengthen the training programmes, or to solve administrative problems in general. It is only tolerated as a decorative function. No serious thought has been given to the role of research in the training institutions and to the type of research more appropriate for them. No institution has ever made a research plan or set any specific objectives or programme. The research staff is by and large left to its own devices.

10.1.2 Although the charters of the training institutions do mention research as a major function of these institutions, no further attempt has been made to define the nature, objectives and scope of research. Whether the research conducted at these institutions will be of applied nature or some scope will be allowed for fundamental research, whether all research activity will be planned and directed or individual researchers will be allowed some scope to pursue their own interests, whether major research efforts would be devoted to developing training materials and reinforcing training activities in other ways; and whether research assignments of a problem solving or consultancy nature would be accepted, are some of the basic questions which have been left vague and unanswered.

10.2. Relationship Between Research and Training

The general lack of clarity about the role and objectives of research in the training institutions also affects the vital question of how and in what ways research activities in the training institutions can help and reinforce the training activities.

10.2.1. One common practice is to use Research Associates as 'Training Assistants' during the training courses. They are expected to help the senior faculty members and programme co-ordinators in programming, for location and distribution of reading materials, conducting guest speakers and other similar routine functions. Since training activities in all the institutions have grown manifold over the years, Research Associates generally find themselves busy in assisting the programme officers.

10.2.2. Wherever separate research sections are organised, there develops a resistance to this job of training assistantship and the researchers want to engage in "research" rather than routine administrative support to the programme officers.

10.2.3. Barring the recent attempts to develop indigenous Case Studies, development of reading materials for the participants also becomes an exercise in either reproducing the already available material or excepts or locating a few new items from the books or journals.

10.3. Absence of Concerted Planning and Direction
Lack of proper planning and direction is an important factor in the non institutionalisation of research as an important activity in the training institutions.

10.3.1. The institutions do not have any long term or annual research plans or targets.

10.3.2. Researchers in most cases are left to their own devices without much direction or accountability.

10.3.3. Wherever there are separate Research Sections, care is not taken to appoint persons with expertise, interest, and ability to plan, guide and coordinate research activities of all the research staff and other faculty members. Routine postings are made to head these sections.

10.3.4. Research is construed as the responsibility of the 'Research Associates' only. The senior faculty members on the training side are absolved of any responsibilities in this direction, although they are more equipped in terms of education, training and experience to conduct and supervise research.

10.4. Inadequacy of Research Staff: The number of research staff in most training institutions is very small, which is not even sufficient for routine training and administrative support. This does not leave them much time for undertaking individual or group assignments.

10.5. Lack of Expertise

Research is a professional activity and requires not only a keen understanding of the theoretical framework as well as of the actual administrative phenomena, but also expertise in organising and conducting research. Not all those who are recruited as Research Staff have background in Research Methodology, Statistics and Survey techniques. Even if a course in Research methodology is offered at the Master's level, it requires considerable more training and experience in conducting research. Similarly each research section also requires specialists in Social Statistics, Data analysis and Survey techniques.

10.5.1. This lack of expertise and field research experience partly explains the preoccupation with Library research and avoidance of field research and action research.

10.6. Lack of Motivation

This arises out of many sources. Training being the major activity in the training institutions research does not offer much incentive or prestige. Careers also depend upon instructional ability and involvement. Recognition for good research effort are often lacking and hardly any monetary incentives are attached. Avenues for publications are also limited. The Staff of the training
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institutions operates within the limitations of the Government's Efficiency and Discipline Rules which do not permit any critical comment on Government policies. Descriptive Research, thus, does not offer much incentive to many faculty members.

10.7. Financial Constraints

The main focus being on training, adequate and separate resources are not earmarked for research activities.

10.8. Lack of Co-ordination:

There is visible lack of co-ordination in planning, organising and promoting research. This occurs at three levels:

(a) between the training institutions,
(b) between the training institutions and institutions of higher learning like the universities; and
(c) on an overall national basis.

Suggestions for Improving Administrative Training

11. The author has accumulated more than 25 years of experience in the field of administrative training and research, and has had close ties with institutions of higher learning and professional bodies. Based on this intimate knowledge and experience following suggestions are put forward for whatever they are worth:

12. Role of Research

12.1 Research should be considered and declared to be an integral and important function of the training institutions.

12.2 These institutions should be regarded as Training and Research institutions and not merely as Training institutions.

12.3 Every institution must prepare long term and annual research plans with clear objectives and targets.

12.4 Research performance should be reviewed by the respective Boards of Governors in the same manner as training.

13. Objectives of Research

13.1 These institutions should primarily focus on applied Research. Individual faculty members and researcher may however be allowed some latitude if they wish to pursue some aspect of fundamental research.
13.2 Following objectives may be identified

13.2.1 To reinforce training (detailed suggestions are offered subsequently).

13.2.2 To produce reliable information and data, and analytical literature on Pakistan administration and development.

13.2.3 To facilitate problem solving by creating a better understanding of the problems and environment of administration and development in Pakistan.

13.2.4 To make a meaningful contribution to the process of policy analysis and development in the government.

14. Relationship Between Research and Training

14.1 In training and research institutions, these activities should not be construed as independent or mutually exclusive. They should be viewed as interdependent and mutually reinforcing.

14.1.1 Professional trainers can remain in touch with reality and gain useful insights into dynamics of administration through research. Participants can serve as a useful source of data and provide access to the researchers in future.

14.1.2 During the training programme, participant can engage in useful research exercises with the help of the research staff which may help in improving a their data gathering and analytical abilities. The researchers, on their part, can produce indigenous case studies, exercises and other relevant reading materials and help the trainees in individual and group research efforts. Research staff can also render useful assistance to the senior faculty members in their training as well as research assignments.

14.2. Following specific suggestions are offered

14.2.1 Research should also be viewed as an important element of the functions of a trainer. All trainers, particularly senior faculty members, should be expected to find some time during and in between the courses for engaging in research activities.

14.2.2 Research performance should be made an important element of the career development and promotion pattern of the trainers.

14.2.3 Top priority must be assigned to the production of relevant Reading Materials for the participants as well as Case Studies and Exercises for use by the trainers.

14.2.4 Necessary research assistance should be provided to the senior trainers in programming as well as classroom and group presentations.
Staff should also be encouraged to take part in training activities and groomed into becoming trainers as well.

14.2.6. Research Staff should also render assistance to the participants in their individual and group research assignments.

14.2.7. Trainers should also be involved in the preparation of institutional research programme, as well as in all group projects and studies.

14.2.8. Continuous assessment of training needs must be undertaken for ongoing as well as new training programmes by the research staff to enable the programmers to design these courses according to the felt needs of the participants.

15. Effective Planning and Direction for Research

15.1. Every institution may prepare an agenda for research which may serve as a guideline to the researchers.

15.2. Annual plans may be prepared and specific responsibilities may be assigned.

15.3. Expert guidance should be provided to the young researchers by the heads of research sections and other senior faculty members in the preparation of research designs, construction of questionnaires drawing up of statistical samples, analysis and interpretation of data etc.

15.4. Senior faculty members should play a leading role in organising research activities and not leave it to Research Associates only.

15.5. Heads of Research sections should be carefully chosen on the basis of their expertise and interest as well as the ability to organise, co-ordinate and guide the research activities.

16. Institutional Framework for Research

In view of the varied practices followed in different institutions, following suggestions are offered:

16.1. Every institution must have a Section or Wing for Research headed by a qualified person capable of providing effective leadership and guidance.

16.2. Library, publications and Journal may also be placed in the overall charge of the head of Research Section for better co-ordination of these related activities.

16.3. Appropriate administrative support should be provided to this section also on the pattern of training section.
16.4. Heads of training institutions should maintain close co-ordination between training, research and consultancy (if any) activities through periodic meetings and reviews.

16.5. Research Assistance for senior faculty members may be requested and freely provided through the heads of research sections.

16.6. Senior faculty members should also be associated in the planning and designing of research programmes and projects.

17. Staffing and Career Development

17.1. Every institution ought to determine an optimum size of its research staff depending upon its research objectives and level of activities. Provision may, however, be made for experts in Research Design, Social Statistics, Construction of questionnaires and tables and Survey techniques.

17.2. Adequate career opportunities may be provided by linking research and training positions and appropriate domestic and foreign training and education.

17.3. Research positions presently earmarked or used for some other purpose, should be reverted to research sections.

17.4. All vacant positions and one's lying in abeyance should be filled through open competition.

17.5. Training, ability and interest in research should be made an important consideration in the recruitment of research staff.

17.6. Promotion and advanced education should be related to research performance and output.

18. Improving Expertise and Competence of Research Staff

In order to overcome the inadequacies of our University education in terms of training in Research Methodology and to improve the expertise and competence of the researchers in general, following measures are recommended:

18.1. A basic course in Research Methodology may be organised at one of the training institutions for the beginners.

18.2 Advanced Seminars and Workshops for senior faculty may be organised at PASC or other institutions.

18.3. PARD Peshawar may offer specialised training in Survey techniques and Field Research.
18.4. NIPA Karachi has experience in Need Surveys and may share this experience with other institutions.

18.5. The Seminar on Case Method at PASC should continue and its scope may be enlarged to include training in preparation of other kinds of training materials also.

18.6. Workshops may also be organised to discuss and improve the Research Designs of major studies planned by the Institutes.

18.7. Opportunities of advanced training abroad in research methodology may also be availed of.

19. Motivation For Research

Lack of motivation is an important factor in the relative neglect of research in the training institutions. Some of the reasons contributing to dismotivation have already been outlined. Following suggestions are offered to motivate employees for research:

19.1. Publication of quality papers, monographs and books should be assured.

19.2. Staff members writing research papers for national and international conferences and Seminars, should be freely allowed at the institutions expense to participate in such Conferences and Seminars.

19.3. Special Seminars may be organised for presentation of research papers and findings of major studies before discerning audiences.

19.4. In the Case of problem solving types of studies, researchers should be assured of follow up action for implementation of their useful and practical suggestions.

19.5. Participation in research activities and research output should become an important element in the promotion of research as well as training staff.

19.6. Access to data sources may be secured through institutional effort.

19.7. Liberal financial incentives and honoraria for writing case studies, developing training exercises, and producing quality papers and books may be allowed. Royalties from the publishers may also be given to the authors.


Separate and adequate budget provisions may be made for research, publications, library, Journal in accordance with the annual programme.
21. Co-ordination for Research

Need for effective co-ordination for organising and promoting Social research between the administrative training institutions, between these institutions and Universities and on a national level was identified earlier. Some suggestions are forwarded in this regard:

21.1. Co-ordination Between the Training Institutions

21.1.1. Heads of Training Institutions should periodically review the research activities and explore avenues for specialisation and co-operation between the institutions.

21.1.2. Respective In-charge's of Research Sections and senior faculty members should also be encouraged and provided opportunities to exchange views and experiences and co-ordinate their activities with each other.

21.1.3. Research findings, training materials like case studies and Exercises, and other information should be regularly exchanged between the institutions.

21.1.4. To facilitate such an exchange, a Clearing House may be set up at one of the institutions.

21.1.5. Institutions may collaborate with each other in sponsoring and undertaking joint research projects, and in providing research assistance for data collection in their respective areas.

21.2. Co-ordination Between the training Institutions and Universities

There is considerable scope for close liaison and co-operation between Social science departments and administrative training institutions in the fields of research, training and education. Following avenues may be explored.

21.2.1. Exchange of guest speakers.

21.2.2. Exchange of Research findings.

21.2.3. Exchange of publications

21.2.4. Collaboration in Joint research studies.

21.2.5. Expert guidance.

21.2.6. Participation in Conferences, Seminars, Workshops.

21.3. National Co-ordination - A National Council for Social Science Research:
Presently there is no co-ordinating device or institution for facilitating and promoting social Science Research. The author had a very rewarding and pleasant experience recently of visiting the headquarter of the Indian Council of Social Science Research in New Delhi. It is an autonomous body Staffed and managed by eminent Social Scientists and is devoted to promotion of social Science Research in India. We have a lot to learn from this experience and will be well advised to follow suit. Following guidelines are suggested:

21.3.1. The National Council for Social Science Research should be set up as a professional and autonomous body on the pattern of the Engineering Council free from Government's administrative control.

21.3.2. It may aim at facilitating and promoting Social Science research in a variety of ways through research grants, publications, setting up of a National Clearing House, Organising Seminars and Conferences, Foreign Scholarships etc.

**Conclusion**

Social Science Research in Pakistan has generally lagged behind and institutions for its promotion are not well organised. The present Seminar is a Welcome happening, therefore its deliberations are likely to serve as a spur for research activity and its participants may benefit from each other's experiences. More importantly, it may lead to the creation of some viable National Institution for the promotion of Social Science Research in Pakistan.
For centuries, science and technology were considered the Alpha and Omega of human progress. This was considered quite natural as it was primarily science and technology which set the pace for development. The emergence of the industrial revolution was largely triggered and sustained by the inventions and innovations on the science and technology fronts. The social sciences did play some role in this exercise but it was more or less an haphazard treatment and fell completely short of an organised and well-thought out attempt. It wouldn't perhaps be unfair to say that the role of social sciences in dealing with the industrial revolution had largely a casual character. No wonder therefore that the fruits of the industrial revolution were unevenly distributed and there emerged a whole system committed to exploitation of the labour force. The appearance of Karl Marx on the industrial scene during the late nineteenth century is a proof of the fact that something had gone wrong with the management of development. It was this injustice against which Marx wrote his treatise Das Capital and which among other things brought forth the concepts of class struggle and surplus value. Marx's ideas made many a scholar and politician realise the fact that material progress has also its social determinants. Exploitation by one class of another has also its limitations which although social in character but can have consequences as hard as the laws of physics. In a situation like this, human progress cannot be sustained a la long. The moral that one draws from this historical experience is that the process of development is subject to the influence of both social and physical laws and in the event a dis-equilibrium arises, the final output leaves a great deal to be desired.

Social Policy - Socialism and Welfare State

Soon after the publication of Das Capital and the emergence of the scientific and scholarly work that followed it, the Western world was able to react in a creative manner. The causes for some of the glaring inequalities were identified and measures taken to redress them. The approach wasn't akin to a charitable action; it was more a Realpolitik conceived and devised in a manner that it could reduce the inequalities being suffered by the workers and at the same time open up new prospects and opportunities for the entrepreneurs to optimise their
Such a treatment of an economic phenomenon was named as social policy. According to Ritt Bjerregaard "From a political point of view the task of the social services system is to resolve if possible or at least to hide and disguise the contrasts and tensions that arise in society. As social contrasts mainly have their origin in production tension between workers and employers, between the exploited and the exploiters, between the haves and the have-nots- it goes without saying that social policy does not offer much possibility of neutralising the contrasts in society... If social policy is sometimes described as "socialist," it is only due to popular etymology based on a misunderstanding of the first part of the term. Social policy is-historically- the very opposite of socialism; it arose as a way to combat socialism by mitigating some of the most conspicuous excesses of capitalism..." The idea of the Welfare State also arose from this mode of thinking. The social policy became an important instrument to 'interfere' in the established practices of running a government. "The rise of the Welfare State constitutes what was originally called 'interference' in the exchange between the family and the economy. The state collects taxes- partly from households, partly from enterprises, and partly from the labour market transactions between them- and uses the proceeds to redistribute resources for the education of the child, the relief of men temporarily out of work, the maintenance of women without men to connect them to the economy, the sustenance of the old, and the protection of the health and safety of the population as a whole. The more elaborate these 'interferences', the more developed the Welfare State." Convinced of the merit of a Welfare State, Monsieur J. Delors is of the view that there was no dichotomy between economic and social policy.

But as everybody knows the glamour of the Welfare State did not last long and the United Kingdom which at one time prided itself for having developed the concept of the Welfare State became terribly disappointed with its negative results. Now the position is that not only is the United Kingdom under Prime Minister Thatcher trying hard to come out of this social welfare 'glamour', even some of the developing countries have also started getting scared of this idea. Along with the decline of the "Welfare State," the concept of "Public sector enterprises" too has suffered a serious setback. Because of this, the latter policy is also undergoing a drastic change and in recent years the concept of Privatisation has become one of the most exercises in modern economic management. Unlike the earlier comment that there was "no dichotomy between economic and social policy," scholars are now of the view that the traditional social policy may even be proving as an obstacle to economic growth in many countries. The lesson that one learns from both the views or experiences is that while the idea of the Welfare State did prove successful for almost half a century in most of the developed countries but in recent decades it has started slowly but steadily falling victim to some of its inherent weaknesses. It has been observed that some of the social policies like unemployment compensation, minimum wages and high pay roll taxes have had negative effects on the economy, even to the extent of partly inhibiting the return to non-inflationary growth. In order to set the social pendulum at its proper place, there is now the need for a 're- negotiation of social roles between the state, the family and the economy.'
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One of the major reasons responsible for the decline of the Welfare State has been the neglect of the social sciences in engaging themselves with the social phenomena. This situation has arisen because planners and politicians have for decades rather centuries been obsessed with the idea that the agents of change in a society are the inventions and innovations on the science and technology fronts. Because of this notion, funds allocated for social sciences always fell considerably short of the requirement.

Another innovation that took place in the process of economic development was the emergence of a middle way between the welfare states/enlightened capitalist societies and the communist countries. This mode of development was chosen by some of the newly industrialising economies like the Republic of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. Because of this model, not only were these young economies able to steer through their centuries' old stagnation and under-development, they were also able to offer higher surplus value for the employers and relatively no mean wages to the workers as well. Not only that the mode of management of these states, the Gang of Four, as they are commonly known, also differed substantially from that of the Welfare States/Capitalist societies and the Communist countries.

An interesting feature of these threshold countries has been their thrust for acquiring command over R. & D. For instance, "South Korea is putting money into R & D as fast as it can. It already devotes about 2.0% of its GNP to R & D. This is nearly four times as much as in 1970 and compares to 3.0% of GNP by 2001, at which time South Korea intends to be among the world's leaders in high technology. It already turns out 32,000 applied science graduates a year- more, proportionately than America and nearly as many as Japan. Three-quarters of the R & D money is spent by private industry. The rest is spent by 16 government laboratories which were set up in the late 1970s in a successful attempt to reverse a brain-drain to America by offering American salaries to returnees."6

The experience of the threshold countries has proved successful in generating a high rate of growth. But all this has been achieved by the induction of social sciences compatible with the dictates of 'science and technology'. Had the emphasis on the latter factors been kept disproportionate to the role of social sciences, the result would have left a great deal to be desired. It is also worth mentioning here that the threshold countries have been able to achieve a high rate of growth of development on account of the various social and political engineering undertaken by them. It were basically these measures which paved the way for a smooth transfer of foreign technologies and the development of the concomitant institutional wherewithal and social preparedness of the societies in these countries. The most commendable aspect of this development was that so much could be achieved with niggardly natural resource endowment, shortage of capital and extreme dependence on foreign technologies.

Unlike the threshold countries in the Far East, some of the Middle Eastern countries which until recently were flooded with oil-dollars did not however succeed in facilitating technological transfer from abroad. "In the Middle East a
number of factors constrained technology absorption. They all relate to the considerable technological distance that must be bridged between the suppliers and the recipients. Chief among them is a disparity between human and financial resources. Countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, despite their capital resources, are constrained by shortages of technical and managerial personnel."

Since 1987, another new and revolutionary development has taken place in the Soviet Union. This relates to the new philosophy of Mikhail Gorbachev’s Perestroika and Glasnost. Unlike the blind dogmatic commitment by the Soviet Union to socialism since the inception of the State, the new philosophy being advocated by the present leadership at Kremlin is something unique. Reconstructing socialism in the Soviet Union has become imminent because:

a) i). The Soviet mode of production has become inefficient and undemocratic... Excessive centralisation in planning and the attendant "overdeveloped" bureaucracy have thwarted individual initiative and 'alienated' the workers from the process of work.

b) ii). The basic guideline "from each according to his ability to each according to his work" has been thrown over-board.

The major proposals in the Perestroika and Glasnost are as follows:

a) i). There is need to undertake large scale decentralization. The essence of what they plan to do throughout the country is to replace predominantly administrative methods by predominantly economic methods.

b) ii). The intra-enterprise democracy: The bureaucratic "Control-from-above" style of management is to be changed to a system where workers have a direct say in the management of an enterprise. The idea here is to revive the spirit of the original "Soviets" and give greater play to individual choice, initiative, and creativity.

c) iii). Glasnost: "The 'opening up' of the tightly knit centres of power and information control is aimed to involve the citizens in all affairs of the Soviet State. The emphasis is on "dialogue" and the absence of fear in public discussions on socio-political issues.

It appears from the above that the blind commitment to Communism/Socialism has had disastrous consequences for the Soviet Union. This is evident from the fact that the Soviet Union has been thrown in the backyard of high technology development. As far as her exports are concerned, it maintains some modicum of industrial goods, exports to the Third World Countries but its trading with the industrialised countries is shifting more and more from industrial goods to raw materials like oil and gas and at times even gold bullion. The decades old obsession that the asymmetric reliance on science and technology is the only and the principal agent of change, is turning out to be incorrect. The new
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realisation which is engaging the Soviet Union is the fact that without the ultimate involvement of the people, the essential human factor in restructuring would be missing and the philosophy outlined in Perestroika would turn out to be meaningless.

This new dimension and dynamics of the Soviet Union's leadership are the blessing of the social sciences. The present leadership in the Soviet Union has realised it because the country was getting slowly but steadily drifted away from development. Communist ideology which normally laid more emphasis on bricks and mortar and quantitative goals- by this we mean realisation of the production targets rather than inter-play of social forces miserably failed to compete with the Western as well as some of the newly industrialising countries.

The Soviet Union is not alone in this race. The twelve-member European Economic Community too is struggling to draw more from the findings of social sciences not only to facilitate the reaping of the gains of science and technology but also to pave the way for new inventions, and innovations. Working together and pooling of resources is the new method to develop sophisticated areas of science and technology.

Social Sciences - Bureaucratic State

In most of the developing countries, the bureaucratic mode of state/economic management has been the major hindrance. This has happened because fragile democracies in these countries have often been ruled by the military or civil servants' oligarchies who feared the role of social sciences. This happened because these power groups felt threatened by the social scientists who would obviously criticise the present mode of working by the state functionaries and shall ask for greater role to be played by the people at large in the field of decision making. The present crisis in Karachi is one typical example of a situation where although social scientists can try to find an answer to overcome the chaotic conditions obtaining in the metropolis but unfortunately their advice is never sought. On the contrary solutions for the crisis are continued to be sought from amongst the functionaries who are quite ignorant about the contribution which social scientists could offer either individually or collectively towards the resolution of such crises. Recently, the world has been hit by two severe crises, one the Third World debt crisis and the other the October 1987 Crash at the Wall Street. Because of the rather developed state of social sciences, particularly economics and political science, the effects of these crises have been largely contained. Social sciences research has also been successful in almost eliminating the racial tension existing between the English speaking and the French speaking populations in Canada. Pakistan too can use social sciences to solve her problems on the socio-economic and political fronts. While there is no hesitation in recognising the positive role of social sciences in solving various social problems, social sciences can also serve as a double edged sword capable of both solving as well as complicating things. As such, it depends on the political system in vogue in a country which can either encourage or discourage the role of social sciences.
Social sciences can play an important role in diagnosing the ills of the society and by doing so they can even set in motion various harmonising variables. But all this very much depends on the nature of the political system, its democratic contours, welfare contents and future perspectives and prospects. Sometime it so happens that the Zeitgeist influences the people in such a manner that even an overt contribution starts rocking the political stability. In Pakistan, social sciences have had very little role to play in the management of the country. This is one reason why Pakistan's civil servants have failed to manage the country properly. Social scientists if rightly approached, and financially supported can also bring about substantial changes at the broad spectrum of the policies, may that be economic matters, foreign policy issues or internal security imperatives. This is a virgin area and has a great potential.

Social Sciences and Model of Economics

Economics being the Queen of social sciences has the unique honour of playing the role of an entrepreneurial agent in social sciences. This happens because most of the disciplines like sociology, anthropology, history, international relations may not be able to produce an impact on the production process, had not economists drawn on their experience and enabled their contribution to be used as an input in the production process. This holds particularly true in areas like industry, agriculture, commerce and other economic services where any input arising from disciplines other than economics could invariably be used and their benefits reaped by the whole economy. Realising the catalytic role of economics, the majority of social disciplines must therefore orientate themselves to the particular needs of the economist, the entrepreneurial agent, and in this way make their contribution towards achieving optimum decision-making in important areas. Having been placed in this position, the discipline of economics is now drawing more and more on the findings of other social disciplines and in this manner not only is each discipline getting due recognition individually, the collective impact of the social sciences input has also started improving the quality of decision-making. Social sciences being not too invariably exact have also their weaker sides. For instance sometime it becomes quite difficult to find out as to why the Pakistani nation after having lost East Pakistan did not react to consolidate the position in West Pakistan. As against this, the social sciences reveal that the Japanese nation reacted positively and quickly after the invasion of Japan by Admiral Parey back in the nineties. The emergence of the Meiji Revolution was a direct product of this 'shock'. This is an area which needs to be properly studied by the social scientists.

At present the Ministry of Finance is busy finding ways and means to extract taxes from large farmers. But as no such studies have so far been undertaken, the method to persuade the landlords to pay tax on their income has still to be found out. Similarly, there is the problem of relations between the employees and employers. The most important issue in this equation is the fact that employees are invariably blamed for not working efficiently and the employers are barred from the use of their internationally recognised right to hire and fire under certain genuine circumstances. Until now, no social scientist has tried to study this
aspect of labour relations in an objective manner. Another issue worth studying by social scientists is the economic policies being followed in Pakistan which unfortunately have been concentrating more on the mobilisation of resources from abroad rather than getting them activated within the country. The present crisis confronting higher education also belongs to the numerous other issues which continue to defy solutions. All these issues must therefore be properly studied and ways found to solve them.

It may be said at the end that the resources of social sciences have until now been only insignificantly utilised, and as a consequence not only have many a country failed to foster the right kind and magnitude of development but this neglect of social sciences is also hindering the proper and fuller utilisation of science and technology. Apart from other factors, such as inadequate availability of institutions of research and teaching, one principal factor obstructing their growth is similar to the one being faced by the Soviet Union. The USSR remained cut off from the rest of the world, and her competition with the Western world was not on the basis of efficient production and broader sharing of income but by continuously getting bogged down in ideological prejudices and non- economic production goals. The role of science and technology is quite important but in the event all this is pushed with force without economic justification, the results could be catastrophic. The world has progressed a lot in many respects but the fact that the role of social sciences is still quite modest does not augur well for the future development. The recent thrust by the Soviet leadership for Glasnost and Perestroika are however good omens for a large number of countries. The People's Republic of China is already a way ahead of the Soviet Union on the above fronts and as the situation looks at present over there, the role of social sciences even in ideological/ communist states has still a large potential awaiting to be properly and fully utilised. Economists and together with them other social scientists have a great role to play in future. While in earlier centuries it were the science and technology which ruled supreme, it will now be the social sciences which will usher in a new era of tremendous growth and bright future. The dawn of the twenty first century will be the crowning of social sciences on the planet earth.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


2 Ibid., p.21

3 Ibid., p.27


5 Ibid., p.5. 3.


7 Technology Transfer to the Middle East, Office of Technology Assessment, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C. 20510, p.5-6.
Ch. 15

ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN UNDERSTANDING FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FORMULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY

Latif Ahmed Sherwani

The principal objective of the foreign policy of every state is almost the same and can be very simply stated: It is to acquire more power than it would have had if it had remained isolated from the rest of the world. This power is generally sought to serve one or more of the following interests: (i) safeguarding the territorial integrity of the state against external aggression; (ii) raising the living standards of the people of the state; and (iii) acquiring prestige in the world and putting direct or indirect pressure upon other countries to accept its viewpoint in executing their political and economic policies.

Different states follow different policies to achieve this objective. Sometimes the same state reverses its earlier policy. The United States of America, for instance, after regarding the People's Republic of China as its enemy number one for two decades, decided to make friends with her and, to the astonishment of the world, in 1971 the National Security Adviser of the American President secretly visited the Chinese capital. Similarly, Egypt had considered Israel as its sworn enemy for about thirty years but in November 1977 the Egyptian President surprised the world by paying a friendly visit to the Israeli capital city.

Equally important, not all states always succeed in securing their foreign policy interests. In 1971, for instance, Pakistan could not safeguard the integrity of its eastern wing against Indian aggression, although at that time two great powers of the world seemed to be supporting her. The Soviet Union, in spite of all her prestige and military strength, is finding it extremely difficult to achieve her goal in the very small neighbouring country of Afghanistan.

It should also be noted that sometimes states follow policies which look strange. For a very long time, Britain preferred close relations with far off countries to relations with her neighbours in Europe. In spite of the very low living standards of the vast majority of people in India, governments in that country continue to have a very expensive and large military establishment. One of the principles which policy makers almost always keep in mind is that their countries should have at the very least normal relations with their neighbours,
particularly when the neighbours happen to be big and powerful. But Pakistan has almost always paid more attention to having close relations with the distant United States than to improving relations with two of her big next door neighbours, India and the Soviet Union.

**Foreign Policy - Impact of Geography**

In a number of cases social scientists are not convinced of the explanations offered by policy makers of these and many other similar developments. Their approach is to study foreign relations not so much on the basis of what the policy makers have been saying as on the relationship of the developments with the history and geography of the concerned states, their economic needs and their ideologies and aspirations. They feel convinced that, irrespective of what policy makers say, these factors are bound to influence foreign policy developments in any state and because they can evaluate the implications and impact of these factors better than those who make policies, they can better explain the developments. And they are generally right because policy makers themselves have on a number of occasions realised that their decisions were wrong because they had not taken all the relevant factors into consideration.

Till some half a century back, it was usually said that geography is the most important factor that influences the foreign policy of a country. Napoleon has even stated that "The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography."\(^1\) The implications of this statement are that if a country is surrounded by mountains or oceans or deserts, it will have very few contacts with the rest of the world and/or other states will find it extremely difficult to invade it. Another implication is that conflicts and clashes between neighbours are possible, even likely, in a number of cases and policy makers will have to make determined and imaginative efforts for their countries to live as good neighbours. With the new developments in the fields of communications and transportation and invention of new weapons of destruction, isolation and protection are no longer possible through natural barriers but the likelihood of conflicts between neighbours remains and therefore geography continues to influence the foreign policies of states.

Tiny Nepal provides one good illustration of what has been stated above. As pointed out by K.J. Holstø, "Nepal was not far from the great centres of British military, economic, and political influence on the Indian subcontinent, but the natural barriers surrounding it were adequate to cope with most massive foreign intrusions. The British were diplomatically and commercially active in Nepal, but not of the extent that they were in other colonial or semicolonial areas."\(^2\) In recent years, it has not been possible for Nepal to remain isolated as it was in the past. The explanation has been provided by Holstø himself: "China invaded Tibet in 1950 and began building military roads in the Himalayan valleys, thus making Nepal's position much less secure. Because it is now much more accessible, it is more open to external
influences, particularly to the effects of competition between Communist China and India over the frontiers of the two countries.\textsuperscript{3}

Australia is physically separated from the Asian continent by the waters of the Indian and South Pacific Oceans. But it is very close to several Asian countries and very far from Britain. The way of life of the Australians is also very different from the ways of the Asian peoples and very close to that of Britons. And yet, because Australia can no longer depend on the power of Britain to safeguard her interests, in recent years her governments have put in much effort to develop better relations with the neighbouring Asian countries and here social scientists have paid serious attention to studying the affairs of the Asian peoples. The very recent announcement by the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs that Australia would attend as a guest the summit conference of the non-aligned countries at Harare fully supports the argument of this writer. It should be particularly noted that, according to the press release issued by the Australian Embassy in Pakistan, Australia’s presence at the conference would, inter alia, provide her an opportunity “to add another dimension to our relationships with neighbouring countries which are NAM members.”\textsuperscript{4} Some idea of the work of the Australian social scientists in this context is provided by the fact that between 1961 and 1977, the period for which figures are available, they produced 18 scholarly books about Asia, of which 6 related to China, 4 to Indonesia, and the remaining 8 either to Asia in general or to other Asian countries or regions.\textsuperscript{5}

The relations between France and Germany are another good example of the impact of geography on a country’s foreign relations. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, France regarded herself as the most powerful state in Europe. By 1870, very close to her Germany emerged as a unified and powerful state and in that year she defeated France, which until 1890 remained a second rate power. However, the close political relations which France developed with her two other big neighbours between 1891 and 1912 enabled her to give to the world the impression that she was once again one of the world’s powerful states. But the rise of Germany under Hitler and the humiliating defeat which she inflicted upon France in the early days of World War II convinced French statesmen that militarily their country was no match for Germany and they should evolve a new strategy which would enable their country to become great power. General Charles de Gaulle, who did so much to rehabilitate the position of France after the War, once recalled “I intended to assure French primacy in Western Europe by preventing the rise of a new Reich that might again threaten her safety; to cooperate with the East and West and, if need be contract the necessary alliances on one side or another without ever accepting any kind of dependency; to transform the French Union into a free association in order to avoid the as yet unspecified dangers of upheaval; to persuade the states along the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees to form a political, economic and strategic bloc; to establish this organisation as one of the three world powers and, should it be necessary, as the arbiter between the Soviet and the Anglo-Saxon camps.”\textsuperscript{6}
Foreign Policy and Impact of History

In the making of foreign policy in a number of countries, the role of history is also important. The state of Israel came into being in the heart of the Middle East without any understanding between the Arabs and the Jews. It will be recalled that the Jews were strongly in favour of the partition of Palestine whereas the Arabs were violently opposed to partition. Nor was the handling of the issue of the future of Palestine in the United Nations fair. As is well known, not only the government of the United States pressurised more than one member-state to vote for partition, Israel forcibly occupied more territory than was allotted to her by the General Assembly of the United Nations and the Security Council declined to enforce the partition plan as approved by the General Assembly. This history of the creation of Israel is largely responsible for the continuing hostility between Israel on the one side and most Arab states on the other.

Another good example is that of the relations between our own country and India. Even though the leaders of the Indian National Congress said in mid-1947 that they accepted the scheme to partition the India-Pakistan subcontinent so as to enable the Muslim majority areas to become a separate independent state, during the preceding seven years they had strongly opposed the Muslim demand for a separate state. Besides, the All-India Congress Committee's resolution, accepting the scheme of partition, said: "...Geography and the mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is, and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. Economic circumstances and the insistent demands of international affairs make the unity of India still more necessary. The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and hearts. The A.-I.C.C. earnestly trusts that when present passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all."7

Earlier Dr Rajendra Prasad, who later became the first President of the Indian Republic, had declared: "...partition is not likely to be attained with the goodwill of those most concerned, and this ill will is bound to persist on both sides, even if the proposal succeeds, even after separation is effected. Distrust which is the basis of the proposal is bound to grow and any hope that after separation things will settle down and the independent states will soon become friendly will have been built on sand..."8

It is only in the light of this history that one can understand why Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's thinking that "once partition has been decided upon, everyone would know exactly where they were, all trouble would cease, and they would live happily ever after"9 did not come out true and relations between the two countries have remained strained.
Foreign Policy and Economic Interest

Let us now consider the impact of economic interests on the foreign policies of states. It was largely because of the commercial interests of the businessmen of Britain—nicknamed as the nation of shopkeepers—that policy makers of that country concentrated for a long time on developing close ties with far off countries. This enabled Britain to exploit the resources of these countries in her own interests. Britain also exported her manufactured goods to these countries under preferential tariff rates. Some idea of Britain's trade with the Dominions and the countries which were under her political control can be had from the fact that, in 1933, of her total exports 44.4% went to these countries and 35.5% of her total imports came from these countries.

Because of the privileged economic relations with these countries, the living standards of the British people also greatly improved. However, after World War II when many of the dependencies became independent and such relationship was no longer possible, British statesmen decided that their country should give priority to developing close economic relations with its neighbours in Europe.

One of the important causes of the first World War was the strong tussle among European powers for economic gains. According to two American social scientists, in the period before this War several countries were "vying with each other for sources of raw materials, food supplies, investment markets and outlets for surplus populations." Earlier for about 40 years from 1870, these rivalries had been demonstrated "in the race for colonies." The economic crisis of 1929 led to aggressiveness in Germany. Says Hans J. Morgenthau: "The workers were faced with actual or threatened permanent unemployment. Those groups of the middle classes who had recovered from the economic devastation of inflation were losing what they had regained. The industrialists had to cope with increased social obligations and were haunted by the fear of revolution. National Socialism focused all those fears, insecurities, and frustrations upon two foreign enemies: the Treaty of Versailles and bolshevism and their alleged domestic supporters." This aggressiveness led Hitler to declare that "we have in Germany sixty eight million inhabitants, sixty-eight million beings who wish to live, be housed, clothed, and fed. No treaty in the world can change that. The child who comes into a world cries for milk and has a right to that milk. A statesman must give his people what they need." The ultimate result was World War II.

If a powerful nation, which is poor in some natural resources, is not allowed by other nations to import the resources it lacks, it must either reconcile to low living standards for its people or use force to have the needed resources. This is very well illustrated by the history of Japan. She has always needed to import large quantities of iron, coal, petroleum and several other resources. In the period before World War II she invaded North China to acquire some of these resources.
It should be noted that the technique for economic gains by powerful nations has since greatly changed. The trade and aid policies of the majority of the highly developed countries now serve practically the same purpose for which political domination of other countries was sought earlier. Ivan L. Head has even stated: "Some observers have remarked that international relations between North and South today are not unlike owner-worker relations a century or so ago...workers (then) played no part in either the economic or political structures. If there was work, they were hired; if none, they were laid off and became dependent upon charity. It was unthinkable, said the privileged, that the franchise could be extended to irresponsible, uneducated persons who owned no land. Workers cannot dictate the terms of their unemployment, said entrepreneurs; if they are not satisfied with their wages, they need not work."\(^{13}\) He has also pointed out that in 1976 "the industrialised countries enjoyed the advantage of a $70 billion favourable balance of trade with the developing countries- a sum 3.5 times the total flow of development assistance in the reverse direction. This immense flow of funds from South to North has been made possible only by credits from international financial institutions and private banks, by dextrously recycling petro-dollars."\(^{16}\)

### Foreign Policy and Desire for Prestige and Domination

The third interest, desire for prestige and domination, has led to several incredible developments in world affairs as well as to much misery for mankind. From the point of view of population India is the second largest country in the world. Both rival super powers think that if India were on their side, it will greatly add to their prestige and facilitate their domination of the world. For this reason the Soviet Union and the United States have both been giving large scale economic aid to India. The Soviet Union started aiding India in a big way in the mid-1950s. Shortly after, the Republican Administration of America which, for several years past had been strongly criticising India's policy of non-alignment, began to give large scale aid to India. A few years later when the Democrats, led by John F. Kennedy, came to power India began to receive much more aid not only from the United States but also, at Kennedy's persuasion, from other Western states, his argument being that substantial aid to India "seems to offer us an extraordinary opportunity to match systems with the Soviet Union on favourable terms...and to push India well ahead in its competition with the Chinese economy, which is also experiencing serious trouble..."\(^{17}\)

Compared with the Soviet Union and the United States India is a very weak power. But in the region in which it is situated it is much more powerful than all other countries. She therefore seeks domination at least in her own region. This explains why Indian leaders, instead of concentrating on raising the living standards of their countrymen, give priority to building up a large military machine. A militarily powerful India alone, in their view, can influence the political and economic policies of its neighbours.
The Indian leaders' passion for domination of other countries by their own frequently finds expression in their statements. In a speech in the Constituent Assembly of India, Jawaharlal Nehru stated in March 1949: "When we talk of Asia, remember that India ...because of geography, because of history and because of so many other things, inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia... Look at the map...If you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also with the Far East. While the Middle East may not be directly connected with South-East Asia, both are connected with India. Even if you think in terms of regional organisations in Asia, you have to keep in touch with other regions. And whatever regions you have in mind the importance of India cannot be ignored."

Nehru significantly asked the Indian legislators to look at their country's foreign policy from the viewpoint of "the emergence of India and Asia in the modern trend of human affairs, the inevitability of India playing an important part by virtue of her tremendous potential, by virtue of the fact that she is the biggest political unit in terms of population today and is likely to be in terms of her sources also." Another Congress leader, Dr. S. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan, was more explicit and said in 1965 that "our political frontiers lie in Pakistan, on the Pak-Afghan frontiers, and, further west, in Afghanistan itself, ... in Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and Sinkiang" and "in South-East Asia and cover the whole of that region" and "there is no reason why her (India's) influence should not make itself felt by her neighbours."

As a consequence of this desire India's relations with her neighbours have almost always been soured. This desire has also led to Indian armed aggression against Pakistan three times. In turn this aggression has resulted in much suffering to hundreds of thousands of people on both sides of the border.

Similarly, whatever might be the causes which led to the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq War, its continuation for such a long time makes no sense to observers in other countries, who are convinced that it is directly linked with the desire for prestige on the part of the two countries. Needless to add that this war has resulted in very great suffering for the people of both Iran and Iraq.

**Foreign Policy and Ideology**

In the case of Pakistan and several other countries, there is yet another factor which influences their foreign policies--ideology or the image of the role they should play in the affairs of the world. The Pakistani ideology, based upon Islam, largely explains why in the early years at least Pakistan chose not to have good relations with the Soviet Union and the Pakistani Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan did not avail of Stalin's invitation to visit the Soviet Union, although the two countries are separated by a strip of territory only some 30 kilometers wide. It should be noted that Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan openly stated that "Pakistan came into being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of this subcontinent to secure a territory, however limited, where the Islamic ideology and way of life could be practised and demonstrated to the world" and later...
S.M. Burke pointed out that "A survey of Pakistani opinion after independence will widely illustrate how seriously Pakistanis viewed the threat from Communism to their spiritual and physical existence..."22

Similarly, as K. J. Holsti has noted, "Communist theoreticians maintain that Marxism-Leninism is all-powerful because it is correct, and because only Marxist-Leninists are 'armed with the truth'; only they have a legitimate claim to power in the world. They are on the side of history, they maintain, and all other doctrines or economic systems are retrograde."23 For a long time Soviet leaders continued to believe that conflicts between the capitalist governments and their peoples and between the capitalist and communist states were both inevitable and imminent, that in these conflicts the communists would come out victorious and that communism would become the world order. It was only when Soviet leaders were convinced that communism was not going to become the world order at least in the foreseeable future and that their country's strained relations with the western world were largely responsible for the poor living conditions of their own people that they decided to change their policy. Instead of helping create conditions for revolutions in the non-communist countries, they decided to seek improved relations with the newly emerged countries and to economically help a number of them, to work for co-existence and détente with the western countries and to pay attention to raising the living standards of their own people.

To be able to understand and frame policies which take into account so many factors is indeed a very difficult task, particularly because sometimes two factors suggest different, even conflicting, policies. This task becomes all the more difficult because the world situation continues to change and in recent years it seems to have changed drastically. The most noticeable change, in the opinion of this writer, has been in the role of military force in settling international disputes. Till about the end of the first half of this century, it was universally believed that ultimately all disputes between nations will be resolved by force. This is no longer true. Militarily, the United States is generally said to be the most powerful state in the world. But, as has been pointed out by two American scholars, "A Vietnam that was weak in the conventional military sense succeeded against a vastly more militarised France and, later, the United States, in getting what it wanted, despite the superiority of its adversaries' weapons. An armada of missiles and bombers capable of inflicting horrendous destruction did not enable the United States to prevent the emergence of a communist government in Cuba, only ninety miles from its shores. Similarly, vastly superior military power did not prevent seizure of the USS Pueblo by North Korea in 1968 or the taking hostage of American diplomatic personnel by Iran a decade later."24

To think that policy makers anywhere in the world—of course there can be exceptions—have the ability to comprehend the implications of all the different factors for foreign relations would be wholly unrealistic. On the other hand, social scientists are trained to evaluate developments after taking into consideration all these factors. They are therefore in a very advantageous
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position to understand international relations and to make useful suggestions for the formulation of policies.

In the case of our own country, for instance, a British social scientist wrote more than two decades back: "The forces operating in the direction of non-alignment have been as strong upon Pakistan as anywhere. Pakistan is regarded by observers as intensely anti-colonial, nationalistic, and unconvincing regarding the merits of the conflict between the Great Powers. History, traditions, religious ties with countries of the Middle East, and relations with Russia and China on the one hand and with Western countries on the other, would seem to make Pakistan a classical case for non-alignment. But in 1954 and 1955 Pakistan went to the limit in alignments by concluding a mutual defence agreement with the United States, and by joining both the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and the Baghdad Pact." Some years later a Pakistani social scientist wrote: "Alignment with the United States meant an accretion of military strength to the country. But, at the same time, it pitted Pakistan against its two mighty neighbours, with whom it could not afford a military engagement without endangering the territorial integrity and security of the state."

It might be pointed out here that when Pakistan was negotiating for military aid from the United States, as was expected, both India and the Soviet Union protested but Pakistani policy makers went ahead with their policy of forging alliances with America. To the Soviet protests Pakistan replied that her "established position was that being a sovereign state she had every right to strengthen her defences and secure military aid." They could not then understand that "foreign policy is not just a 'unilateral' affair. Foreign policy must, even for a powerful nation, mean accommodation of national policy to the desires and power of other nations..."

Policy makers even in the advanced countries sometimes take decisions which turn out to be wrong because all the relevant factors were not given proper consideration. By 1948 the Truman Administration had concluded that the Civil War in China would end soon in favour of the Chinese Communists but they would not join hand with the Soviet Union because the forces of nationalism in China and the Soviet Union would pull in different directions. Nevertheless, the American government continued to support the Chinese Nationalists "because that was the price demanded by the Republicans in Congress for their support of the Democrats' European policy." It is indeed amazing that policy makers could not understand that American support to the Nationalists at a time when it could make no difference to the course of the War would suggest to the Chinese Communist leaders that the United States was not interested in having even correct relations with the government to be established in China soon and therefore the only alternative left to them was to work for close Sino-Soviet relations.

Similarly, failure to take all the relevant factors into consideration led to America's humiliation in Indo-China. Indeed Morgenthau has stated that the
"defeat suffered by the United States policy in Indo-China was not only total but ignominious." The reason for this ignominy has been given by Professor George McT. Kahin who has stated that America had no economic or strategic interests in Indo-China. America first got involved in that country in 1950 when she sent some military advisers and agreed to provide military and economic aid to the anti-communist government there in order to strengthen the position of France, which, it was feared, would go communist if she was defeated in Indo-China. But after the 1954 Geneva Agreement, which settled the future of Indo-China, America had no business to be there. United States policy makers however then thought that the communists there could be defeated as they had been defeated in Greece, Malaya and the Philippines. They could not understand the basic fact that what really mattered in Indo-China was not the aggression from North Vietnam as they said but the absence in South Vietnam of an administration which had the support or the people and could therefore resist indigenous insurgency. America thus got involved in an impossible task there: "to control the threat of nationalism and create an artificial, externally sustained state that lacked any substantial indigenous foundation."

The advantageous position of the social scientists in understanding the complexities of foreign relations has long been recognised in the advanced countries where they have been associated with the process of policy making and its execution. The extent of this association varies from country to country, being most extensive in the United States. There the social scientists usually perform two distinct functions. One function is to sharpen debate and assist in the formulation of consensus on public policy issues. The most graphic example of our times is their role in stimulating public attitudes towards the Vietnam War, which generated a great national debate with social scientists as well as politicians on both sides of the issue but ultimately with more weight in opposition to the War. More recently social scientists have involved themselves deeply in the issues of nuclear war, arms control and 'star wars'. Their writings have been prolific and their influence on public opinion cannot be ignored. Their other function is to participate directly in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. As is well known every President appoints his own Secretary of State, National Security Adviser, Assistant Secretaries of State and ambassadors, many of whom are social scientists.

**Foreign Policy and Social Scientists**

Undoubtedly, the most well known example of a social scientist who played a leading role in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy is that of Dr. Henry Kissinger, whom this writer first met in 1952 at Harvard University. Kissinger taught international relations for about 16 years at this University. When Richard Nixon became President, he appointed Kissinger as his National Security Adviser. Later Kissinger was appointed Secretary of State. Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, who taught at Harvard and Columbia Universities for a number of years, worked for about two years as a member of the Policy Planning Council, Department of State. Some years later...
President Jimmy Carter appointed Brzezinski as his Security Adviser. An international lawyer, Dr. Phillip Jessup, Professor at Columbia University for about 35 years, served as ambassador at-Large of his country from 1949 to 1952. Similarly, Dr. Grayson Kirk, Professor at the Universities of Wisconsin and Columbia for many years, headed the Security Section, Division of Political Studies, Department of State, for about two years.

In the United States there have also been a number of cases of social scientists, who first participated in the process of policy making, later taking to research and or teaching. It is obvious that such persons can explain foreign affairs with an insight which they could not have possessed if they had not served their government. One outstanding example is that of George Kennan, who started his career as a regular foreign service officer and rose to the important position of ambassador to the Soviet Union. After his retirement from foreign service in 1953 he took to research at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University, where he worked for about 12 years. As is well known Kennan is the author of a number of books on diplomacy and made his reputation as the originator of containment policy.

Students of Pakistan's foreign policy are familiar with the name of George Burton Marshall, who was Adviser to more than one Pakistani Prime Minister. In the last 1940s Marshall was consultant to the Committee on foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives for three years and in the early 1950s he was a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the Department of State for another three years. His next appointment was in Pakistan, after which he became associated with the Washington Centre for foreign Policy Research, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Council on foreign Relations.

In European countries also social scientists have been associated with policy making, although on a smaller scale than in the United States. The most well known example is that of the British historian, Professor Arnold Toynbee, who was a Fellow at Balliol College, Oxford from 1912 to 1915. During World War I he did various jobs for his Government. Later he taught at the University of London. When World War II broke out he was appointed Director, Foreign Research and Press Service, which position he held till 1943. For the next three years he was Director of the Research Department of the British Foreign Office. As every social scientist knows Toynbee is the author of A Study of History in ten volumes. In France Raymond Aron, one of the most outstanding political scientists, worked with General de Gaulle in London after the French capitulation in 1940.

The vast majority of social scientists work in the Universities where, in addition to their regular work of teaching and guiding research, they write for professional journals and a number of them also advise their Governments in the field of their specialisation. Besides, they produce scholarly books. In the field of international relations alone a large number of books and papers are published every year.
A substantial number of social scientists also work in research organisations, of which the number in advanced countries is quite large. So far as this writer is aware the largest and most well known research body is the Rand Corporation of Santa Monica, which was founded in 1948. Presently there are about 550 members on its staff who prepare reports on various matters of public interest such as health, housing, energy, urban development, education, civil and criminal law, and military strategy. Funded by the Air Force, Government agencies and private sector, it produces two kinds of reports, one classified and meant for policy makers only and the other for the public also.

In the field of international relations exclusively, there are a number of organisations in Europe and North America. The oldest of these is the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which was established in London in 1920. Apart from several hundreds of books and pamphlets on foreign relations, it also regularly publishes a scholarly quarterly journal, International Affairs. The opposite number of this Institute in the United States is the already mentioned Council on Foreign Relations. Established in New York in 1921, it also publishes a prestigious quarterly journal, Foreign Affairs.

All the books, pamphlets and papers prepared in or for the above mentioned and other similar organisations are expected to be based upon independent research and their authors are not to bother whether what they write would please or displease their own Government or the governments in other countries. Whenever social scientists come up to that expectation they not only make a solid contribution in the understanding of foreign relations and the issues before the countries about which they write but also to the making of policies about the issues.

State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

Of course, independent research is possible only when those who undertake it are men and women of ability and integrity and have all the relevant data before them. It is extremely unfortunate that in Pakistan and most other developing countries these requirements are generally not fulfilled. In a report prepared for UNESCO in 1974 on the role of social scientists in the developing countries, this writer expressed the view: "... since educational and research institutions do not attract the best talent and library facilities are inadequate, most of our social scientists are not capable of producing good results and very often they simply rehash the views and findings of their western colleagues about the developing countries which, as Gunnar Mydral has pointed out, are nothing but 'opportunistic research' that 'operates in western countries, especially in the larger ones actively involved in the cold war. Since the end of the Second World War there has been 'a swelling flood of research' in western countries on the problems of developing countries, but it has been primarily motivated by 'the international tensions, culminating in cold war, that have made the fate of the underdeveloped countries a matter of foreign policy.
concern in the developed countries'. And since conditions and points of view in the developing countries are different from those in the advanced countries, such research contains serious distortions. 33

Twelve years later, at least in Pakistan the situation described above has changed for the worse. It should be noted that although the cold war has subsided, the interest of the advanced countries in the developing countries remains for economic and other reasons. Pakistani social scientists thus continue to come across research pieces about their country done by western social scientists and feel the urge to do some research themselves. But because educational standards in their country have greatly deteriorated recently, they simply do not have the ability to do any worthwhile research about the issues and problems before their country. The very small number amongst them who must write for some reason or the other only blindly follow western social scientists. This is because educational standards in the West have gone up and social scientists there have learnt to present their points of view with more sophistication than before which makes it all the more difficult for Pakistani social scientists to think independently. In Pakistan, there are capable and devoted teachers also. But their number is very small and they too cannot make the contribution in the field of research which is expected of them because of the difficulties in their way. For instance, library facilities continue to be very inadequate and it is hard to imagine that any library would obtain from abroad all the materials which a researcher needs. Equally difficult is the question of getting data about the topics of research, which are either non-existent, or unreliable, or with Government departments and agencies, which are most reluctant to pass them on to social scientists. In the field of foreign relations, for example, at least some important information would be only in the files of our Foreign Office and it is most unlikely that any researcher would get access to these files. Besides, the number of organisations which provide platforms for an intelligent discussion of the issues before the country and of good quality professional journals in which a writer's contribution adds something to his qualifications and prestige is very small. Finally, there is the problem of lack of proper appreciation of the work of social scientists in as much as their findings and recommendations are ignored by policy makers. In fact one social scientist thinks that "adversarial relationships prevail between the country's policy makers and the academic community." 34

In conclusion this writer would say that social scientists can certainly make a useful contribution to the proper understanding of the issues and problems before the country and to their solution. He entirely agrees with an Indonesian scholar who has stated: "Social scientists should be able to say something about likely policy outcomes. They can contribute to the formulation of policy options. They are particularly suited to do so by virtue of their being able to make use of wide horizons--either because of their historical knowledge or their comparative knowledge. In this manner, social scientists should be able to contribute to a reduction in the rate of policy errors." 35
In Pakistan social scientists are not making that contribution and as a consequence the interests of the country are suffering. At the same time, this writer thinks, one should not be alarmed because at least some policy makers and social scientists are anxious that the present situation should change. The very fact that the Quaid-i-Azam University is organising a seminar to examine "the notion that social sciences in Pakistan remain in their essence grossly underdeveloped and mal-developed" and "to interpret and to explain the reasons for the underdevelopment-maldevelopment of social sciences" supports that view.

It would however be unrealistic to think that the country can produce good social scientist by making some changes in the administration and courses of study in the universities. The working of the Area Study Centres and the Pakistan Study Centres has already demonstrated that. What is really needed is a complete reorganisation of our educational system but this is just not possible because the big majority of policy makers, teachers and students are for their own different reasons opposed to any such reorganisation.

This writer therefore proposes that some philanthropists of the country should pool their resources to set up a new School of Social Sciences to be run on the lines of the Agha Khan University in Karachi. The staff of this School should consist of only those teachers whose reputation for scholarship and devotion is already established, and admission to the School should be given to a small number of students on the basis of merit alone. Before teaching starts at the School, courses in the various social science disciplines should be thoroughly revised so that students who study at it acquire the ability to undertake what is sometimes called "relevant research." As a scholar from the Philippines has pointed out: "It is of the highest priority that the teachers and practitioners in the social sciences in Asia emancipate themselves from the value bias of western concepts and postulates of reasoning... Asian social scientists should undergo a truly creative engagement with their own culture and society, making use, in the process, of frameworks that provide standards of relevance to the experience and aspirations of their own people."

The social scientists in Pakistan, it is hardly necessary to add, are also required to fully familiarise themselves with the true values of Islam. It is only then that social scientists of the proposed School will be able to find correct answers to the many issues before the country.

The final observation this writer would make is that the proposed School can function efficiently and successfully if the Government cooperates with it. Government's co-operation would be most useful if a certain percentage of senior positions in the departments dealing with such matters as foreign policy, economic planning, education, housing and health are reserved for those who complete their studies at this School, so that they have a share in policy making. Such an arrangement would greatly help in taking correct decisions.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Quoted in Norma D. Palmer and Howard C. Perkins, International Relations, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, Pakistan Reprint by the National Foundation, 1984, p.35.


3 Ibid.

4 Dawn, Karachi, 4 September 1986

5 A list of these books is given in UNESCO's Social Sciences in Asia: IV, Paris, 1980, p.21-22.


10 These figures have been taken from Walter R. Sharp and Grayson Kirk, Contemporary International Politics, Rinehart and Company, New York, 1947, p. 272.


14 M. Margret Ball and Hugh B. Killough, op.cit., p. 58.


16 Ibid, p. 21.


18 Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Foreign Policy, Publications division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1961, p. 22.

19 Ibid,p. 41.
20 Quoted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani, India, China and Pakistan, Council for Pakistan Studies, Karachi, 1967, p. 94.

21 Quoted in Latif Ahmed Sherwani et al., Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Allies Book Corporation, Karachi, 1964, p. 15.

22 Pakistan's Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1973, p. 92.

23 International Politics, op. cit., p. 367.


26 Mushtaq Ahmad, Pakistan's Foreign Policy, Space Publishers, Karachi, 1968, p. 38.


30 Politics Among Nations, op. cit., p. 372.


32 What follows in this paragraph is based upon a letter to the writer from his friend Phillips Talbot, a social scientist, who also served as U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and ambassador.

33 Saeed Shafqat in The Muslim, 22 August 1986.

34 Soedjatmoko, Rector, United Nations University, in his address to the Conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils on 2 September 1985.

Aims of Area Studies in General

Social science has now come to recognise the important influence of practical motives on the construction of social theory (Witness Brian Fay's Social Theory and Political Practice). Some problems of practical importance have even led to the creation of new disciplines. This is particularly true in the case of area studies. Apart from dissatisfaction with narrow-based and non-comparative nature of western social science at the time, area studies came into being in response to politico-military needs of the expanding western influence and domination in the continents of Asia and Africa. Need for knowledge of non-western world grew quite a lot after the First World War. But area studies programmes came to be given great prominence with the American involvement in international affairs, particularly after the Second World War. Knowledge of non-western cultures and lands and languages assumed a crucial importance in the successful conduct of international involvement.

The Scarborough Commission report of 1944 gives an indication of Britain's interest in area studies owing to her military, colonial, and imperial involvement. In the case of the United States, there were several reports, each concerned with different region. The one concerned with the Middle East was titled "A Programme for Near Eastern Studies in the United States" and was prepared by a 17-member Committee representing seven universities, two seminaries, the Library of Congress, and the Department of State.

The connection between area studies and the West's colonial and/or foreign policy interests, particularly after the Second World War, is summed up by L. Gray Cowan:

It was strongly impressed upon the minds, not only of officials of government, but also of the university faculties, that a reservoir of trained personnel must be created by continuing and expanding these
(area studies) programmes leading towards professional work in the field of international relations in the post-war era, so that never would the United States be caught critically short of the personnel necessary for the expanded operations of government agencies. Not only the needs of the war period but also the immensely expanding responsibilities of American foreign policy as foreseen even during the war called forth continued requirements for this type of personnel.

There is overwhelming evidence showing the connection between the rise of area studies and money spent by agencies interested in propaganda, sabotage, and socio-economic and political dominance. The point to be stressed is that a very salient feature of the area studies and, thereby, generation of authentic knowledge, was concerned primarily with the need to find proper basis for policy decisions, and implementation of such decisions.

The foregoing remarks indicate that there are two aspects involved in area studies as the latter have developed in the West. The cognitive aspect wherefore we acquire knowledge regarding the area and a practical aspect whereby the knowledge is used as a sort of skill in the designing and implementation of policies for the realisation of certain purposes.

Area studies programmes tend to work on the assumption that the people of a definable geographical sector, acting in their society and environment, offer an appropriate unit for scholarly attention. It is believed that systematised knowledge about such sectors can be established and imparted. As such, area studies are of two main types: (1) area studies in which one country undertakes the study of another country and there is the likelihood that the knowledge so gained would be used by the former mainly for its own benefit (2) A country may establish programme for an in depth study of itself. Here not only is knowledge gained but there is a hope that such knowledge would create/strengthen positive attitude among the populace toward the country concerned. In the case of the colonialist interest in area studies the likelihood is that knowledge gained would be used for administrative purposes: for better planning, better implementation, etc. As against the colonial interest for better administration, local interest in area studies is more likely to concentrate on the socialisation aspect. Area studies of the latter type are likely to envisage an effective outcome from teaching about their own country. A better understanding of the country among the populace of that country, it is hoped, would lead to affection for the country.

**Objective of Pakistan Studies**

Pakistan studies can be viewed from three aspects: Apart from cognitive and practical aspects it has an affective aspect as well. Cognitively, it is recognised in Pakistan that the main purpose of Pakistan Studies as a subject is to promote knowledge of the individual about himself, the country, and the world around him and the significance of programmes of socio-economic
In its affective aspect Pakistan Studies, it is hoped, will help in socialisation to national life, inculcation of patriotism and inculcation of Pakistani spirit. It is also hoped to lead to identification with endeavours needed for the betterment of the society as a whole, with confidence in the near and distant future of Pakistan. Pakistan Studies, that is, is seen as a major instrument to create a spirit of belonging to and love and loyalty for Pakistan; the discipline has teleological implications. Policy formulation may be based on cognitive and/or affective aspects. If both aspects are at work, policy is more likely to be accepted as right and implemented accordingly. Practical application of knowledge is smoother when it has an affective basis. In teaching Pakistan Studies there is an expectation that better informed policy makers, experts and administrators will be produced. Such people will be imbued with Pakistani spirit.

**Pakistan Studies - Institutional Framework**

Pakistan Studies, like most area studies, came into being at a time of crisis. The politico-military upheavals of 1971 set many persons to re-think a number of facets of national life in Pakistan. This seems to have led many thoughtful persons, both at political and academic levels, to the conclusion that there was need and feasibility/possibility to study Pakistani society in a manner that could contribute to our national cohesion and strength. The thinking about studying Pakistan with cognitive, affective and practical implications began to take shape with the establishment, in 1973, of a university department, Department of Pakistan Studies at the country's premier University - the Islamabad (later Quaid-i-Azam) University. Interest in Pakistan Studies as a discipline increased, and by 1976 a comprehensive programme for the promotion of Pakistan Studies was chalked out. Great interest was shown at the highest political level and the federal legislature enacted Pakistan Study Centres Act of 1976, which provided for the establishment of several autonomous institutions envisaged to be the proper instruments for the promotion of Pakistan Studies. At the same time much effort went into the development of curricula for the newly established subject of Pakistan Studies at the secondary level. Even that was adjudged as not enough and political interest was further expressed, in 1978, in the government's declaration to make Pakistan Studies a compulsory subject at all levels of education up to BA. Since then knowledge of Pakistan affairs has become a part and parcel of job tests and interviews practically in all government departments. The institutional framework for the growth and development of the discipline is furnished by the 1976 Act. The Act empowered the Federal Government to establish the National Institute of Pakistan Studies which it did at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad in 1983. The government could also establish Pakistan Study Centres at various universities and to-date Centres have been established, attached to respective universities, at Jamshoro, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. The Islamia University of Bahawalpur has established a Department of History and Pakistan Studies. Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan has a similar Department. The
Open University has also started a programme leading to Master's degree in Pakistan Studies.

The National Institute of Pakistan Studies and other Centres created under the Pakistan Study Centres Act each has its own Board of Governors responsible for the management, overall control and supervision of the affairs of the Centre. Academically, these institutions are affiliated with one or the other major university in Pakistan and Vice Chancellor of that university is the Chairman of the Board of Governors. Membership of the Board is drawn from the University Grants Commission, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Federal Ministry of Education, National Education Council plus Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the university in which the Institute/Centre is located, two experts in the discipline nominated by the Syndicate and the Academic Council of the university concerned, and Director of the Institute/Centre. The Director is the academic and administrative head of the Institute/Centre.

Each centre has an academic committee comprising of the Director of the Centre and two experts nominated by the University Grants Commission. The Committee can associate such other experts as it may consider necessary. The Committee prepares and submits to the Board of Governors the academic and research programme of the Institute/Centre.

**Teaching**

Teaching in Pakistan Studies has been going on at the post-graduate level since 1973 when the first department was opened at the Islamabad/Quaid-i-Azam University. By 1978, Pakistan Studies became a compulsory subject at all levels up to B.A. examination, including examinations for professional degrees like Medicine, Engineering, Commerce etc. Currently, the thinking is that Pakistan Studies be made an elective subject at the intermediate and B.A. levels.

The syllabus at the secondary level is divided into several sections. The section on Foundation of Pakistan deals with such topics as ideological basis of Pakistan stressing on the fundamentals of Muslim society, main causes of the downfall of Muslim rule in India and the later socio-political movements aimed at the amelioration of conditions in which Muslims found themselves, re-assertion of their bonds with Muslim peoples outsides India and, eventually, the Movement for Pakistan. It also deals with organisational aspects of the Pakistan Movement and the problems the country had to face at the time of its establishment. It further deals with the constitution and system of government in Pakistan. A further section is devoted to the land of Pakistan, and natural and industrial resources. The next section deals with demography, community development, culture and education in Pakistan. Two sections are devoted to Pakistan and world affairs and relations of Pakistan with Muslim countries. The last section is devoted to the study of welfare state as Pakistan's outlook for the
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future. There are several books which can prove useful but there is also a prescribed book for the course.

The syllabus for the higher secondary (intermediate) level consists of eight sections. The first two sections are concerned with selected topics from the advent of Islam in South Asia up to the initial problems faced by Pakistan in achieving consolidation and stability. Included are such topics as the impact of Islam on local cultures in South Asia, Pakistan seen as step towards revival of Islamic society, struggle for freedom (with attention to contribution from various regions), organised efforts under the Muslim League, Pakistan Resolution, internal problems in organising a government and external problems owing to a hostile neighbourhood.

The third section deals with steps towards creating an Islamic state (Objectives Resolution of 1949, Islamic provisions in constitutional documents and recent steps towards Islamisation). The fourth section is concerned with the Land of Pakistan, particularly the physical and politico-administrative regions. The fifth and sixth sections survey the varied aspects of Pakistani culture, cultural heritage, various languages of Pakistan and the importance of language as a vehicle of cultural integration and human relationship. The seventh section is concerned with planned economic development and the final section is devoted to Pakistan in comity of nations and deals with organisation of Islamic Countries, the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the Regional Co-operation for Development.

The syllabus for B.A. compulsory paper in Pakistan Studies contains several sections. The section on Ideology of Pakistan deals with the objectives of the creation of Pakistan with particular reference to the views of Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-i-Azam. The next section deals with the historical aspects of Pakistan's Ideology, including the post-1857 revivalist and reform movements and the political struggle (particularly the struggle for separate electorate) and the Khilafat Movement. The next section is devoted to the Pakistan Movement dealing with the Two-Nation Theory, Muslims and the Problem of Indian Independence, contribution of important personalities, The political scene in the late 1930s, Pakistan Resolution, the 1946 elections and transfer of power. The next section deals with the initial difficulties of Pakistan as a nation. A further section is devoted to the study of various efforts for Islamisation beginning with the 1949 Objectives Resolution to the latest measures. The next section is concerned with the land of Pakistan, particularly the natural and human resources and agriculture and industry. The final section is devoted to Pakistan and the Muslim World. Among the books recommended include I.H. Qureshi's The Struggle for Pakistan (Karachi, 1965), Ulema in Politics (Karachi, 1974), and A Short History of Pakistan (Book IV: "Alien Rule and rise of Muslim Nationalism," London: 1967). Also included are Richard Symond's The Making of Pakistan. (London: 1959) and Syed Hasan Riaz's book roughly translated as Pakistan was Inevitable.

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The following table gives the number of students who have taken Pakistan Studies as a compulsory course at various levels, excluding post-graduate level:12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Secondary School</th>
<th>Arts &amp; Science Colleges</th>
<th>Professional Colleges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>513,000</td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>67,296</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>511,000</td>
<td>253,000</td>
<td>72,479</td>
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<td>1980-81</td>
<td>549,000</td>
<td>270,000</td>
<td>77,662</td>
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<td>1981-82</td>
<td>588,000</td>
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<td>611,000</td>
<td>419,000</td>
<td>87,737</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984-85</td>
<td>623,000</td>
<td>452,000</td>
<td>92,185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the post-graduate level teaching activities have expanded greatly since the creation of various centres and the National Institute of Pakistan Studies at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. The Institute and a number of centres have undertaken two years' Master programme in the subject. Most of them are taught programmes. However, there is a stress on the development of research techniques among students whether in the form of thesis writing or in the form of courses in research methodology coupled with term papers in a number of courses.

M. Phil and Ph. D. programmes are in existence at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and University of Karachi.

The Master degree programme usually consists of twenty courses, with three credit hrs for each course or an equivalent arrangement, and is spread over two academic years or four semester work. Courses for the Master degree at the Institute and the various centres cover very similar ground. Here we shall give a detailed mention of the ones taught at the Institute and will note deviations from it at the centres. The Institute offers the following ten compulsory courses taught during the first academic year (of two semesters):13

1. Muslim Nationalism in South Asia (1857-1947)
2. Ideology of Pakistan
3. Geography of Pakistan
4. Political and Constitutional Developments in Pakistan: I (1947-69)
6. Economic Development in Pakistan
7. Foreign Relations of Pakistan
8. Pakistani Society and Culture
9. Pakistani Literature
10. Proficiency in one of the languages of Pakistan (a language other than the mother tongue of the student).

The elective courses are divided into several groups and include the following courses:
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

State and Government

1. Political Parties and Pressure Groups in Pakistan
2. Administrative and Legal System and Institutions
3. Bureaucracy, Military and Political System of Pakistan
4. Local Self-Government in Pakistan
5. Policy Making and Decision Making in Pakistan
6. Strategic Problems and Defence Policy of Pakistan
7. Economic Problems of Pakistan
8. Agricultural Economics of Pakistan
9. Money and Trade in Pakistan

Society and Culture

1. Cultural and Social Anthropology
2. Rural Life in Pakistan
3. Demographic Profile of Pakistan
4. Folklore, Arts and Crafts of Pakistan
5. Pre-Islamic Civilisations
6. Muslim Civilisation in South Asia
7. Continuity and Change in Pakistani Culture

Language and Literature

The group consists of nine courses. One course relates to Languages and Dialects of Pakistan and two courses each on Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi and Pushto literatures (one course devoted to pre-1947 period and another to developments following independence in 1947, in each case).

The centres offer courses very similar to the ones listed above. Minor deviations occur, both in organisation and the content of courses. For example, the Karachi centre has no elective courses. There are twenty courses in all and all of them compulsory. But content of the courses is very similar to those taught at the Institute. There is a course on research methodology, and a research report/thesis equal to one course. At the Institute this is covered by a course on Research Methodology as well as term papers during most of the semesters. At Peshawar, there are separate courses on Flora and Fauna of Pakistan, Sports in Pakistan and Philosophers of Pakistan. Although the last two are covered, at Institute/centres in their other courses, the course on Flora and Fauna is a unique one at Peshawar. In terms of organisation of course, Peshawar has six compulsory courses of one credit hour each relating to ideology of Pakistan, National Character of Pakistan, Religions and Ideology, Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Research Methodology. Then there is a list of twelve courses to choose four from for the first semester, and a list of nineteen to choose four from, for the second
semester. Most of such titles are similar to those available at the Institute and/or the Karachi Centre.

Reading materials for the M.Sc. courses are drawn from a variety of sources including books, articles, government documents, etc. Given below are certain books which frequently appear on the readings of a number of social science subjects.


Ahmad, Mushtaq, Government and Politics in Pakistan, Karachi.


Higher Degrees and Research

For M. Phil degree at the institute, a student will have to complete 50 credit hours course/research work, out of which 24 will be for the course work and 26 for the dissertation. A course normally consists of 3 credit hours. This means that some eight courses will have to be taken from the following list of compulsory and elective courses.

Compulsory Courses

- Allama Muhammad Iqbal: His Thought - Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah: His Life and Career - Islam and Pakistan -Research Methodology (an advanced course undertaking a critical study of various schools of social theory).

Elective Courses

- Constitution of Pakistan - Planning and Economic Growth in Pakistan - History of Pakistan Movement: 1940-47 - Interest Groups in Policy Making in Pakistan
(Elective) Seminars on

- Issues in Economic Development of Pakistan
- Religious Institutions
- Social Institutions
- Pakistani Culture
- Pakistani Literature
- Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai
- Khushhall Khan Khatak
- National Security

The Karachi centre offers six courses spread over two semesters divided into two parts: three core courses are given in the first semester and three courses in the field of student's specialisation in the second semester. Respective supervisors decide the relevant courses to be taken by the student. The second year is devoted to thesis writing, as at the Institute.

Here is a list of M. Phil theses which have been submitted or are in the process of being submitted in the near future at the National Institute at Islamabad:

1. Problems and Prospects of the Rehabilitation of Pakistani Emigrants
3. Islamisation in Pakistan (1977-85): An Analysis
5. Politics of Convention Muslim League (1962-69)
6. Political Development in Pakistan: 1969-71

Besides student research activity, teachers and Institute/Centres as institutions participate in research. One mode of participation consists in the publication of their research findings. The Pakistan Study Centre at Karachi publishes its Research Series. The Peshawar Centre has been publishing its bi-annual journal, Pakistan, since winter 1979. The Jamshoro (Sind) Centre publishes Grassroots. Publication of a journal devoted to Pakistan Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University was started as early as 1974, but owing to staff changes etc., the journal was merged with another journal being published by the Faculty of Social Sciences. The new journal is an inter-disciplinary one mostly devoted to Pakistan and is published under the title: Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences. It may be pertinent to mention here one foreign journal which is of great relevance to Pakistan and is subscribed to by a number of libraries in Islamabad. This is the Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies.

At the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, a teacher must have a research project besides his teaching duties. Such projects are approved by the Research and Publication Committee of the Institute and the teacher is provided, apart from stationary and clerical facilities, with travel and other facilities needed for research activities. Some teachers have published and/or submitted for publication their articles in Pakistani journals and/or journals
Titles of some of the research projects on which members of the faculty of the Institute are working include:

1. Pakistan's Linguistic and Cultural Heritage (Urdu)
2. Teaching of Pakistan Studies at the Secondary Level to Promote Patriotism
3. Islamisation in Pakistan
4. The Role of Education in National Development: A Case of Pakistan
6. Pakistan National Alliance's Movement 1977
7. Islamabad: Past and Present
8. Selected Documents on Pakistan's Relations with India since Simla Agreement.

Research environment in Pakistan is tolerable. Government of Pakistan has kept up one of the British traditions developed in the Indo-Pak subcontinent namely, the publication of deliberations of commissions set up to investigate into matters of public importance and reform in one or the other aspects of national life. Commissions were set up from time to time in a variety of fields including administration and bureaucracy, agriculture, commerce, education, constitution, law, family relations, etc. Added to such reports are published reports of a number of public corporation and other administrative institutions. Of course, a basic source material consists in the debates of the legislature which have been regularly published. Also published are the decisions of the superior courts and of tribunals. The statistical organisation at the national level was strengthened when Ayub Khan came into power and since then there has been a constant and regular flow of statistical publications in the form of annual economic survey, sample surveys regarding household incomes and other socio-economic conditions. All these are useful research tools. Library facilities are not as great as one would find in the well-established libraries in the United States, the United Kingdom and certain other countries in the West. But we do have some good libraries in the main cities and premier universities of Pakistan. At our Institute we have established what we call 'Union Catalogue': We have established this system on the basis of a survey of what was available in the main libraries of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. We indicate on the catalogue card of a book the various libraries in which that particular book is available. This serves a useful propose in the wherewithal of books on Pakistan, and researcher's task of locating material becomes somewhat easier.

In determining the quantity of research done in the discipline, one is not sure what to include and what to exclude of the literature on Pakistan. It seems desirable that any work included should have two related qualities i.e., it should give evidence of serious research and it should add to our understanding of Pakistan. On these criteria, quantitative performance does not seem to be up to the mark, and reasons are not far to seek. Pakistan Studies as a discipline came into being only a dozen years ago. The National Institute of Pakistan Studies was founded in 1983, merging the then existing Department of Pakistan Studies into it. The Institute and other Centres and Departments are actively...
engaged in the process of organising themselves in order to effectively perform the research tasks expected of them. During the past several years most Centres/Departments have worked under conditions not conducive to research activity. Even the Pakistan Studies Department at the Quaid-i-Azam University had, in 1983, a staff of six, out of which two had been appointed on ad hoc basis. Since then more staff has been recruited and a well-furnished Seminar Library has been organised. Financial problems still remain acute for most Centres both for recruitment of staff and for initiation/completion of research projects. It is to the credit of a number of Centres that they have already started publishing their research journals and at a recent workshop on the scope and problems of research on Pakistan, the teachers of Pakistan Studies at the University level chalked out a general programme of research to be carried out at Pakistan Study Centres.

Quantity of research done on Pakistan, outside the Institute and Centres of Pakistan Studies, whether undertaken by national or non-nationals, leaves room for a lot to be done. A number of Pakistan nationals living abroad in fact seem to be more active than those living inside Pakistan. The reason seems to be that those living abroad come to enjoy better research facilities. Research for a number of good books on Pakistani politics was probably also done outside Pakistan, either for doctoral degrees or otherwise. Most of the problems/topics remain either untouched or understudied. Few systematic works have appeared on the most important national problem, namely the problem of integration. Social structure remains woefully understudied. Business, farming, education, industrial labour, office staff, legal profession, student community all remain almost virgin fields for research.

Most of work done on, or relating to, Pakistan Studies upto the early 1970's has been annotated in a volume edited by W. Eric Gustafson titled: Pakistan and Bangladesh: Bibliographic Essays in Social Science. A more upto date list of publications within Pakistan is given in A Handbook on Research Activities of Learned Bodies, published by the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad.

**Pakistan Studies - Traditions of Research**

Three main traditions can be identified in research on Pakistan, and it may be pertinent to mention a few examples of each tradition. Historical - institutional analysis has dominated the field from the start in which some of the landmarks from British authors include Sir Ivor Jennings' Constitutional Problems in Pakistan, Karl Newman's Essay on Constitution of Pakistan and Gledhill's Pakistan: The Development of its Laws and Constitution. The now near classic work on the pre-1958 Pakistan is Keith Callard's Pakistan: An Political Study. Some well-known books by Pakistani authors in the historical - institutional analytic tradition include G.W. Choudhury's Constitutional Development in Pakistan, K. B. Sayeed's Pakistan: The Formative Phase and
The Political System of Pakistan. 27 This tradition of research is continuing and among the latest additions is Rafique Afzal's second volume of Political Parties in Pakistan, 1962-1969. 28

The second main tradition is the behaviourist one. The tradition started with a conscious opposition to historical - institutional analysis and conveyed two main ideas. It meant, first, that the stress should be on examining situations as they were empirically. The second main thrust of behaviouralism consisted in a programme of rigorous analysis making use of logic as well as data to discover regularities in behaviour which would lead us to a true understanding, and prediction, of socio-political events. Generalisations would be based on observation conducted by means of explicit, empirical, and predominantly inductive methods and use of mathematical and statistical techniques. In the case of Pakistan, not much rigour has been used. As examples in this tradition of research we may mention Karl von Vorys's Political Development in Pakistan, 29 Philip Jones' article, "Changing Party Structures in the Punjab," 30 Shahid Javed Burki's "Ayub's Fall: A Socio-Economic Explanation," 31 and Burki and Baxter's article "Socio-Economic Indicators of the People's Party Vote in the Punjab: A Study at the Tehsil Level." 32

Another tradition of research on Pakistan is represented by Marxist views, particularly those developed by Hamza Alavi emphasising the role of peripheral capital and relative autonomy of the state in its day to day decisions. 33 Alavi's own article is collected in Pakistan: The Unstable State 34 edited by Hassan Gardezi and Jamil Rashid. The two editors have also edited the book, Pakistan: Roots of Dictatorship, 35 published in London.

**Pakistan Studies - Some Problems of Scope and Methods Relating to the Discipline**

We have described the objectives of the Discipline, outlined the institutional framework for the growth and development of the Discipline, and traced the academic work done during the past fifteen years or so. We may ask the question: Is the Discipline achieving its objectives?

Teaching of Pakistan Studies has been going on at all educational levels since 1978. A research survey could be designed to find out the impact of Pakistan Studies on the student population in terms of cognitive, affective and practical aspects of the Discipline. The design should allow for testing broad understanding of the subject among the student population surveyed. Such a design should not be difficult. In research on the affective aspect of the Discipline, questions could be devised to know whether any changes occurred among students' emotions towards Pakistan which could be traced to the operation of the Discipline. No such study has been undertaken so far. In the absence of such a study we are unable to make any statement based on empirical data. Meanwhile there are certain other problems which we must attend to. Empirical study would help us in answering question whether our programmes do deliver the goods that we desire them to deliver. But more
fundamental questions could be raised. One such question is whether our programme can deliver goods. Certain things can hinder in the achievement of programme purposes but can be simply noted because most people would agree regarding their vital importance. Such things include finances, properly qualified staff, library facilities etc. We have dealt with them before. Here we are concerned with less mundane problems. Our concern is whether these programmes are suitable for producing the desired results. In this connection we want to know whether our programme can impart the necessary knowledge, can produce the necessary emotional impact, and whether they can place at our disposal skills that we can use in analysing the situation for policy choices. As in most new disciplines, in Pakistan Studies, too, we have to face the problem of scope and methods. That is, we have to face the basic problem about the subject-matter (some describe it as crisis of identity), and problem of methodology to be used to advance our knowledge about the subject-matter.

In both the matters, scope and methodology, it is convenient to start with the Act under which Pakistan Study Centres have been/will be created. The Act has its own view of both the scope and the method to be employed. According to the Act it was 'expedient for national cohesion to provide for the establishment of Pakistan Study Centres in the Universities for the study of languages, literature, social structure, customs, attitudes and motivations of the people of various regions of Pakistan'. The Act seems to restrict the scope of Pakistan Studies to things relevant to the problem of national cohesion. But the Act makes a mention of a number of literary-linguistic, politico-economic and socio-psychological aspects of national life, and, with a liberal interpretation put on the Act, the result is that Pakistan Studies has come to belong to area studies programmes which came into existence all over the world, particularly since the Second World War.

In area studies there is the assumption that people of a definable sector, acting in their society and environment, offer an appropriate unit for scholarly analysis. In the case of Pakistan, the Act seems to make a contrary recognition: It seems to recognise the existence of differences of language, literature, social structure, customs, attitudes and motivations in the various regions of Pakistan. and study of differences is seen as expedient for national cohesion. How can the study of differences make for cohesion? There can be three ways in which to look at the study of regional differences in this perspective.

1. Knowledge of differences leads to an attitude whereby existence of differences is treated with respect. An important function of knowledge is to remove ignorance, and removal of ignorance, is the first step to an appreciation of something previously unknown. While knowledge of differences can prove to be a first step in the appreciation, it can, also, accentuate differences. A feeling can grow that, after all, 'we' are different from 'them'. Knowledge of differences, therefore, does not necessarily lead to an attitude of liking those differences. For the development of that attitude a different emotional involvement is needed.
2. Differences are recognised to exist but at the same time under-currents of unity are also recognised. It is believed that a situation of unity in diversity exists. Indeed, this is believed to be the case in Pakistan. Pakistan is not only a pre-dominantly Muslim country, the recent past can also be seen in terms of common struggle for independence both from the British and from the Hindus. Regional literatures are seen as variants on the same/similar themes relating to God (the Hamd literature), to the Prophet (the Naat Literature), Islamic mysticism, the theme of Muslim unity, the themes of religious revival.

3. In a study of regional differences, differences can be deliberately subsumed under an agreed wider value. In the case of Pakistan such value exists in a number of forms. One form is, of course, that which emanates from the Muslim nationalist movement, eventually leading to the creation of Pakistan. Although there occurred a dismemberment of the original Pakistan, the present Pakistan inherits all the tradition of the nationalist movement and the dismemberment of 1971 has made no dent in that tradition. On the contrary, there have been attempts at giving effect to the true meaning of the movement in the public lives of the people in Pakistan. And this leads us to another form in which a wider value can manifest itself. This relates to a desire to mould public institutions in such a way as would help people to live according to the Holy Quran and Sunnah.

It would seem that in the case of Pakistan differences are recognised with the understanding that an underlying essential unity also exists. The belief in underlying unity then becomes a basis for exhorting people to subsume their differences in the name of the Muslim community which was able to carve for itself a country to exist as a separate nation. Differences are recognised at the level of language and dress etc., but this is taken to be a superficial level in relation to the content of literature and purposes of dress, which is the symbolic level. People may speak any language but as long as they are expressing the same notions and, indeed, sentiments, unity is taken to exist. And 'unity in diversity' then becomes a basis on which to resolve one aspect of the nature of Pakistan Studies. That is, the notion of 'unity in diversity' gives the study of Pakistan the character of an area studies programme.

Area studies is by nature an inter-disciplinary enterprise. The study of a particular geographical sector in its entirety is impossible to be handled by one discipline alone; it has to involve more than one discipline for a proper understanding of a given areal unit. Pakistan Study Centres Act (1976) points to a number of disciplines involved in undertaking a study of Pakistan. Such disciplines would include Linguistics, Humanities and Literature, Sociology, Economics, Anthropology, Psychology and Social Psychology and Geography.37

In inter-disciplinary enterprises, there are inter-discipline feuds involved, specially with regard to their integration. There are three ways in
which various disciplines are usually integrated, one with the other/others in an inter-disciplinary approach. A true integration of various disciplines would be a total unification, leading to the emergence of a completely new discipline. Such an integration would use the achievements of the existing disciplines in a selective manner, but it would employ concepts and perspectives not currently used by any of the existing disciplines. It would become a new discipline with its own methods, procedures, conceptual frameworks and knowledge. The development of a completely new discipline with its conceptual framework, corpus of knowledge and methods of research is certainly a goal of Pakistan Studies. It will take time to achieve this goal. It will certainly take a good deal of work and imagination before a true synthesis of diverse disciplines can be achieved. In spite of the sophistication achieved in the social sciences, scholars in the western countries even find it difficult to cope with problems of interdisciplinarity. A report on interdisciplinary approach in Canadian Studies in 1977, for example, described the attempt at interdisciplinary teaching to have been a disaster. The reason, said the report, was that teachers were not able to produce a synthesis of the material they taught. On the other hand, students were envisaged as responsible for making the synthesis among the material given to them, by various disciplines, on Canada.

True integration leading to the emergence of a new discipline being a rarity, there are two other types of interdisciplinary approach which are used. One such type preserves the discipline identification but weaves the academic subjects into a pattern that satisfies the particular purpose of the teacher. In teaching about federalism, for example, the teacher would focus on the problem as treated in Political Science but he may use examples from History, Sociology, etc. No formal connection is made between the disciplines.

Another type of interdisciplinary approach, short of true integration, would use concepts and generalisations from several disciplines to organise material. Such concepts/generalisations may be used without regard to maintain each discipline's identity. The result of such integration is a new course, which is very unlike the parent disciplines but draws upon concepts, generalisation and data that owe their origins to the several academic disciplines. A course on National Integration may be organised around such concepts as values, traditions, consensus, interdependencies, co-operation, difference, conflict, power, social control, modernisation, etc. We take the concrete example of a course on 'Politics and Constitutional Development in Pakistan' taught at the National Institute of Pakistan Studies. This course can be taught in historical terms by one teacher but can be approached in a conceptual manner by another teacher with inclination of interdisciplinary teaching. This is how the course was envisaged and taught by a social scientist with interdisciplinary bent:

The course will treat politics in terms of pursuits ranging from the satisfaction and furtherance of personal, regional/group interests to the achievement of high social ideals, all such interests/ideals envisaged to
be embodied in the constitution and/or laws/ordinances and realised by
such methods as the use of coercion, dispensation of material rewards
and invocation of symbols.

Notwithstanding the efforts being made, in case of Pakistan Studies, a
ture integration resulting in the emergence of a new discipline is still a remote
possibility. Meanwhile, we have to live with inter-discipline problems and we
will touch upon some of them specific to Pakistan Studies. One such problem is
concerned with emphasis put on a particular conventional discipline, making it
coterminous with Pakistan Studies as whole. This can give rise to controversy,
and such a controversy does exist in Pakistan, though at an unformulated,
embryonic stage. The controversy arises from the perception by some that
others equate Pakistan Studies with Pakistan Movement and/or Ideology of
Pakistan. Pakistan was the name of a movement which came to be based more
and more on Islamic ideology, which ideology could trace its history to the
advent of Islam in India in the early 8th century and further back (if in the study
of Islamic ideology we wished to go its roots) to the spread of Islam in the
Arabian Peninsula, and the characteristics of the early Islamic society
established at Madina al-Munawwarah. A study of the characteristics of that
society would take one to the religious principles on which that society was
based, and so forth. Moreover, the Pakistan Movement came to its completion
in British India, representing the distinctiveness of the Indian Muslim
community's existence in the medieval and modern Indian history. Revival of
the Indian Muslim community is a part of Indian history. Such revival took
place in an Indian environment. Therefore, history of the Muslim community in
India could not be divorced from the general Indian history. Now the question
arises: How far back can/should we go in history, whether Islamic or Indian, for
a proper understanding of present day Pakistan? The matter remains
problematic and various institutions in Pakistan have not been able to attempt
its solution in any uniform manner. The Peshawar centre teaches a series of
courses: "Pakistan through the Ages," beginning with the rise of Indus Valley
Civilisation through to creation of Pakistan in 1947. At the Karachi Centre,
twelve out of twenty courses relate to historical aspects of Pakistan. At the
National Institute of Pakistan Studies "Muslim Nationalism in South Asia
(1857-1947)" which is seemingly a history course, is not envisaged to be treated
in pure historical manner. It aims at an analytical and detailed study of the
factors leading to the creation of Pakistan.

Importance of history as a component of Pakistan Studies is not
diminished by the existence of problems connected with preordization, etc.
History by some is regarded as the master science among the disciplines
concerned with human society. For one thing, anthropology and historical
sociology can be subsumed under a proper study of history. Some authors have
claimed much larger and much more comprehensive role for historical
science:

In the search for universal values, history probably is the best social
science. History, being long range, contains lessons in a way that a
study of the contemporary aborigines of Australia does not. Macrohistory is the best social service a social scientist can do to mankind. This is the reason the Quran invites us again and again "to travel on the earth and see the end of nations."

In any area studies programme history does seem to have an important role. For one thing, it can help in building up a strong cognitive basis regarding an area. An expert on Canadian Studies writes:44

With deliberate application of an historical approach at the lower level, the higher level seminar is now free to concentrate on a selected list of contemporary issues.

At the National Institute of Pakistan Studies we have ten core courses and most of them are taught in historical descriptive terms in order to impart as much information as possible. One problem at the Institute is that we do not, in our admission policy, discriminate between students on the basis of their previous training. Often, there are applicants from sciences who gain admission but do not have the required background in various social science subjects, particularly history. Provision of factual information becomes necessary and a number of courses have to be taught in historical-descriptive terms. One methodological point should also be emphasised: Historical-institutional analysis is not devoid of concepts or models. No analysis can be undertaken without explicit or implicit models. In his study of Pakistan, Callard makes use of the democratic model:45

The political ideas of these [newly independent] countries are based largely on what they had learned from the colonial masters. These ideas were coloured for them by the experience gathered in the struggle for independence. They had learned to caricature the institutions of Western democracy and, in part to manipulate those institutions with a view to the embarrassment of their rulers... [Pakistan was] trying to operate a system that had its beginnings in a vastly different social and political environment.

Given this model, a characterisation of politics in Pakistan takes on familiar lines.

Also consider the following statement by a Pakistani historian regarding the performance of the Muslim League as a political party:46

The credit of leading the movement for a Muslim homeland in the subcontinent was an asset of the Muslim League; but its continued viability and the strengthening of its popular roots needed a systematic planned approach to the basic problems of the country. A promise of such an approach was evinced in the earlier phase of independence with the League proposals for land reform. However, the attempts to
implement the reforms were ineffectual and therefore were easily thwarted by the strong opposition of vested interests. The frustration engendered by such repeated failures left the party with only isolated and half-hearted supporters and it was never able to mobilising the public needed to press the reforms.

The statement has almost all the conceptual-theoretical elements regarding the study of political parties, namely, "popular roots," "systematic approach" (party programmes, such as land reform), "vested interests," "ineffectuality in realising the party programmes," "engendering frustration," leading to "loss of support' and, eventual inability to "mobilise" "public opinion." Moreover, the study of history is not as simple as the zealots of behaviourist movement made it out to be. History is hub of most of the controversies involved in social scientific enterprise-controversies relating to positive, interpretative and critical schools in social research. It is interesting to note that a sociologist writing about "Marxist Methodologies of History" also identifies three dimensions namely, the positive dimension, the hermeneutics or interpretative dimension and the critical dimension now current in the Marxist historical methodology.

Towards a Proper Approach to Pakistan Studies

The variety of traditions in research quite often stems from the variety of views regarding human nature. We agree with Martin Hollis that "all political and social theorists... depend on some model of man in explaining what moves people and accounts for institutions. Such models are sometimes hidden but never absent". Choice of methods - research traditions - are based on assumptions regarding the nature of man. Historically, a number of views about Human nature have been advanced but in social science methodology two views are very basic, viz., the view that regards man as part of nature wherein laws and regularities of human behaviour can be 'discovered' by empirical research and the view that regards man as agent and stresses human dignity and his uniqueness. In the first view, empirical approach is regarded as an adequate analysis of social action. It has deterministic implications. Laws or regularities of human behaviour are thought to precede in time the formation of decisions to act. Such laws and regularities are envisaged to constrain the will and judgement in the process and, thus, there is a possibility of scientific control of man. The second view represents a search for a form of methodology which can express freedom, man's dignity and uniqueness in nature. In such a methodology there is search of authentic man, the constructor of social worlds, the maker of moral and intellectual decisions. According to this view, the determination of man by social forces beyond his control is taken to be methodologically impossible; actions of a free agent cannot be taken to be determined.

However, both the determinist and voluntarist views regarding man's nature have one thing in common. They both over-emphasise one or the other
aspect of the nature of man. The Holy Quran seems to offer a view of man which is more in accord with reality. The Quranic view of man is one of free agent - vicegerent of God - but at the same time his actions are subject to 'laws', set patterns, ordained by God which are not changeable. How is this so? This is so because the Holy Quran views man as a creature of God, though not an ordinary one. Man is viewed as an extraordinary creature endowed with the capacity to distinguish between the pious and the impious act, and make his choice between the two. He is absolutely free to make his decisions. Apart from the inherent capacity to choose between the pious and the impious, right and wrong, and the freedom to make his own choice, man has been provided with divine guidance (in the form of messages by His Prophets) to conduct his life. Man is also free to choose whether he acts according to the guidance or not. Although man has the freedom to decide, he cannot control results of his decisions. Such results would work out according to 'set pattern'. If, for example, men decide to be uncooperative with one another, they cannot hope to reap benefits which would have accrued if they had been cooperative and worked in a concerted manner. Writing about the relative character of free will and necessity in relation to each, Gordon Leff has made a remark which seems relevant in the context of our discussion. He writes:

An act is free only because it consists in deciding to do one thing rather than another; and the very act of choosing eliminates the alternatives in which its freedom consisted. Those that next arise will be in the new context determined by the previous action.

Pakistan Studies and Quranic View of Man

The Quranic view stresses the absolute freedom of choice, but it also warns that the impiety shown in the exercise of the choice will later result in consequences which would be bitter but will have to be borne. Man has the responsibility to exercise his choice with utmost care. The Quran indicates three possible distractions which can influence man's choice: Conceitedness, primordial ties and wealth and worldly luxuries. If man succumbs to these he would be making choices against morality, and decisions against morality will result in like consequences. It is this Quranic view of man supplemented by other notions that we put forward as the basis for a proper methodology to be adopted for the advancement of Pakistan Studies as a discipline.

How can we justify a methodology based on the Quranic view of man in Pakistan Studies as a Discipline? One level of justification is the conceptual level which we have touched upon and which stresses that the Quranic view neither over emphasises the complete autonomy of man, nor does it sacrifice the dignity of man. It strikes a healthy balance whereby man is seen as autonomous in decisions/choices but then he will have to bear consequences of those choices. The other level of justification may be called the existential level, i.e., there exist in Pakistan certain conditions which establish the feasibility of this
methodology. In a previous section we underlined the importance of the notion of 'unity in diversity' in the case of Pakistan. This unity, we indicated, consists in the Islamic religion of the population and a further resolve to Islamise our public life, as well as enabling individuals to live an Islamic life. The main constitutional issue has been, and still continues to be, the place of Islam in the constitution. There seem to be four periods in the history of Pakistan with regard to the place of Islam in the constitution. Whatever the real intentions of the constitution-makers the period till around 1953-1954 was one of a great promise of Islam being the constitution of Pakistan. The next period is 1954-1971. The 1956 constitution preserved the promise but introduced certain ambiguities. During Ayub regime, notwithstanding the renaming of the state from the 'Republic of Pakistan' to the 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' by politicians, political opportunists and civil-military bureaucracy were in the ascendancy and an institute of Islamic research and an advisory council of Islamic ideology signified the public role of Islam in national life. The next period spans the rule of the Pakistan People's Party, and the Party did not put forward any coherent philosophy either supporting or contradicting the Islamic basis of Pakistani society. The period after the PPP rule has seen the pursuit of an active policy of Islamisation but with ineffectual implementation and resultant frustration.  

However, there has been a heightening of Islamic consciousness and much work has been done at the intellectual level; most of that work is relevant to Pakistan Studies as a discipline. For example, the Council of Islamic Ideology, a constitutional body to advise on Islamisation in Pakistan has defined an Islamic state as a "state wherein the Muslims enjoy ruling power, submitting themselves to the sovereignty of Allah, and as the vicegerent of Allah, enforce and practice the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah and wherein the Islamic laws are held supreme to all other laws." This is a well-formulated definition of the Islamic state and seems to contain most of the important notions required for a conceptual - theoretical reorientation of Pakistan Studies on Quranic lines.

Man in the Quranic conception is destined to be vicegerent of God but at the same time is prone to worldly distractions. The Quranic view stresses moral-immoral dimensions of human action in the framework of God's message, revealed through His Prophets, to guide man in the conduct of his individual and collective life. We have noted earlier three important methodologies in social science research. Apart from the positivist social theory, there are the interpretative and the critical schools of social theory. The interpretative theory emphasises the subjectivist, moral side of man. Indeed, there is an increasing trend to look at social science as moral inquiry. In such a moral inquiry, one theorist has emphasised that the analytic process of social science be constituted and regulated by values: A value-explicit social science, "an outspoken moral political science" it is contended, has the capacity to become a human science. The raison d'être of social science is directed positively toward a good society and negatively toward a bad society. With articulation of concepts of good and bad societies social science, it is further contended, would gain in cognitive-analytic capacity. This is because, says our
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

Theorist, "A formulated moral concept is necessary to discover, to analyse, to judge, and to imagine any alternative modes of production and organisation."58

The Holy Quran argues from history, from personal human experience and from manifestations of nature for the acceptance of the ethic which it lays down for the establishment and maintenance of good society. Those who come to accept such an ethic commit themselves to follow the Quran and Sunnah (words and deeds of the Prophet S.A.W). Good society is then envisaged in terms of the application of Shari'a in public life. Given this as the frame of reference in Pakistan, teaching and research in Pakistan Studies will have to be reoriented accordingly. If we need to fix moral responsibility for certain actions, it may be more useful to identify the decision makers and their motives in terms of moral dimensions rather than supposed socio-psychological and economic determinants of their actions. This would involve research into individual and collective deviations from the Shari'a, and further research to determine whether such deviations were intentional or they were product of misjudgement. Over time, the nature of demand for Pakistan has become an issue, and several interpretations have so far been advanced. Whatever the number of interpretations, there seem to be involved two main views concerning the role of Muslims in the creation of Pakistan:

i) that Pakistan's creation owed to socio-economic forces. This sort of argument excludes the role of non-economic factors such as moral ideas, etc. Even if such ideas are taken into account it is claimed that, in the last analysis economic factors are the predominant ones.

ii) that the creation of Pakistan had as its basis ideas/ideals having religion-moral content. Although socio-economic factors are not excluded from discussion, they are subsumed under religion, moral ideology.

It is not the place to go into a detailed discussion of the either view. It may be sufficient here to observe that the first view can be quickly disposed of. This is because this view recognises the overwhelming importance of the religious factor but dismisses it on the plea that the dominant economic forces manipulated the religious feelings. Such a recognition is an admission enough that the most effective factor in the creation of Pakistan was the religious factor. The problem which needs further research has to do with the existence of several religious groups whose attitude to the idea of Pakistan ranged from indifference to active hostility. The problem is to explain the existence of such groups and at the same time the claim that Pakistan was created on the basis of an essentially religious ideology. The various Muslim groups - all had religion-moral content on which they based their ideologies. But it would seem that each was exercising its own judgement regarding the condition of the Muslim community in India and how best one could help Muslims in the amelioration of such condition. The ideology which crystallised into a demand for Pakistan
was the one seen as most able to clarify, symbolise, and elevate to structured consciousness the urges that were stirring within most of the Muslims in India. It shaped and directed those urges to a goal which most could understand, accept, and work for. It is interesting to note that no voice from a religious platform ever condemned Pakistan after it has been created.

Reorientation of research is needed in other areas as well - history and politics since 1947, for example. Probably, in this connection, we could work on the lines on which one of the social scientists teaches the course titled "Political and Constitutional Development in Pakistan." As we have indicated in our discussion on problems of integration of several disciplines, this course looks at politics in terms of pursuits ranging from the satisfaction and furtherance of personal, regional/group interests to the achievement of high social ideals. This formulation has moral overtones, personal and regional/group interests being low and social ideals (ideals good for the whole society) being high in moral terms. The words 'satisfaction' and 'achievement' also seem to have been used with moral notions in mind. In the field of economics much work is being done in Islamic Economics and certain of its concepts are very likely to find their applications in Pakistan studies.

Our aim is an Islamic indigenisation of social science.
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47 J. Dennis Willigan in Historical Methods, Vol. 17, (Fall 1984), 219-20.


49 This characterization is based on Susan Steadman Jones' article, "Kantian Philosophy and Sociological Methodology" in Sociology, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1980), 99-111.

50 The Holy Quran, 2:3.

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54 A perceptive student of Pakistan Affairs has rightly pointed out that despite ups and downs in Pakistan's chequered history, Pakistan is "still the symbol of unrealised dreams." By this he means that promise of Pakistan was establishment of social democracy by returning to the original purity of Islam. See Khalid Bin Sayeed in his review of Ayesha Jalal's book, The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, The Muslims and the Demand for Pakistan in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 46 (August 1987), p. 5.


Wolfe-Dieter Narr, "Reflections on the Form and Content of Social Science: Toward a Consciously Political and Moral Social Science," in Ibid., p. 278.

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In the middle of the sixteenth century, Bernal Diaz de Castillo, an old, deaf and blind Spanish soldier decided to write an account of Mexico in the wake of conquests by Hernando Cortes as he himself observed: "Unfortunately, I have gained no wealth to leave to my children and descendants except his story, which is a remarkable one." He was, in a way, mourning the depletion and annihilation of the socio-cultural and economic edifices of the Mayas, Aztecs and Incas at the hands of the conquistadores like Cortes, Pizzaro and many more in post-Columbian discovery of new routes to the Western Hemisphere.¹ The Spanish soldier, unknowingly, had become a trend-setter in his own right of the field that we take so modern, so wide and equally so divisive within the academic premise of American Studies. Dealing with the heterogeneity as well as the homogeneity of the Western Hemisphere, the basic creed of the discipline, in its early formative stages, centred around the themes like: Who is an American? and, What makes an American? Over the centuries, these two main issues resulted into a mushrooming of socio-political, literary, psycho-economic, regional or geo-strategic themes not merely within the Americas but in the outside world as well. Narrowing it down to North America and that too to the United States given her economic vitality and global involvement in post-World War II years have been apparently a recent development though not in a historical sense.

American Studies in US

J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur (1735-1813), an American farmer of French descent and subsequently the French Counsel in New York, raised the pertinent question exactly two hundred years ago about the origin of an American in his passionate and intriguing contemporary study of his adopted country. Devoting perhaps the most pivotal chapter of his autobiographical study and itself the earliest landmark in American Studies, Crevecoeur, epitomising Enlightenment's Idea of Progress, himself noted: "He [an American] is arrived on a new continent; a modern society offers itself to his contemplation, different from what he had hitherto seen. It is not composed, as
in Europe, of great lords who possess everything, and of a herd of people who have nothing. Such have-nots of European 'ethnics,' running away from the political and religious profession and economic deprivation of Europe had found an "asylum" that resulted into a new curious character, as he observed: "He is an American who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new ranks he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of man, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the Western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle." Crevecoeur enthusiastically felt optimistic towards America's future though he felt uneasy with the frontier men, whom in distress, he called half-farmers, half hunters - the unsettled fortune-seekers. Simultaneously, the French-American felt indignant over the horrors of slavery in the South.

Jeffersonian liberalism, based on agrarian innocence mingled with urbane, intellectual sophistication gave respectable image of an American. Earlier, the Puritan forefathers, preoccupied with the question of salvation had carved a "City Upon Hill" by combining religion with economic pursuits - a curious mixture symbolised by the dictum on American currency unit: "In God we Trust." The Puritans were the separatists from the Mother Country, yet their "New Canaan" proved to be American flourishing the dual yet mutual inclusive themes of Protestantism and Capitalism.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), and Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), both representing Enlightenment in America, typified two Americas poles apart, yet with something similar in grain as well. Religion and worldliness were to remain strange bedfellows in the American context in all the successive decades. Benjamin Franklin was the Yankee American--thanks to his multifarious qualities as a printer, journalist, scientist, librarian, academic, philosopher and diplomat. Carlyle called him "the father of all the Yankees" yet D. H. Lawrence felt uneasy, as he wrote: "Pioneers, oh Pioneers, Benjamin was one of the greatest pioneers of the United States... The pattern American, this day, moral, utilitarian, little democrat, has done more to ruin the old Europe than any Russian nihilist. He has done it by slow attrition, like a son who has stayed at home and obeyed his parents, all the while silently hating their authority, and silently, in his soul destroying not only their authority but their whole existence."

The birth of a modern USA in Ante-Bellum America accompanied with all the positive and negative developments helped the young republic in the evolution of its national, cultural and literary identity. The Americans were growing into a more heterogeneous society with expanding frontiers, unbound resourcefulness, ethnic pluralism and the most of all, a youthful energy as is evidenced in Westward Movement or through the flowering of its nascent
literacy traditions. While racism and regionalism persisted as bloody scars, the unbound energies of the pioneers exhausted the inter-coastal vistas, as witnessed by Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859). Walt Whitman (1819-1892) sang of this young, exuberant and prosperous American whereas Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) and other Transcendentalists and the Utopians dissented while trying to question the contemporary dominant materialist and mundane values. "Pursuit of Happiness" was shrouded in "the gilded age" and "rags to riches" was not an ever-true dream. The question about the very identity of an "American" re-emerged at a time when the frontiers lay exhausted; industrialism and resultant developments had engulfed urban America and the Populist and Progressive Movements started highlighting the serious weakness in American socio-economic and cultural edifices. Such developments coincided with the debate between the realists and idealists on US foreign relations. The urgency to probe the American identity attained an intellectual urgency with a nostalgic emphasis on traditional values. Frederick Jackson turner (1861-1932), Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin and Harvard, presented his historic statement on frontier in 1893 at Chicago taking it as the demarcation point between Europe and America and a meeting point for civilisation and savagery and thus the basis for an American character.

Addressing the same question, Parrington and Beard brought out their monumental works in the early twentieth century at a time when American individualism and similar other norms were under a severe attack by an influential section of American elite. The emergence of American imperialism after the war with Spain and disgust with Europe at large in post-Paris Peace Settlement created massive outpourings from "The Nervous Generation." In the 1920s, when a conservative political isolationism resurfaced within the U.S., the American business and bankers came out of isolation with an economic-oriented foreign policy that faltered due to its over inherent contradictions as experienced in the Great Depression. The forces for anarchism and socialism were temporarily strengthened in the 1930s yet were overruled with American entry into the War.

The decade of the 1950s dawned on America as an era of prosperity and global involvement characterised by cold war evidenced in McCarthyism. The contradictions within the society resulted into socio-political outbursts in the 1960s generally known as the Age of Protest. 'Going ethnic' was the fad of the time as the minorities started campaigning for their rights. The Civil Rights Movement gathered momentum for 'hyphenated' Americans whereas the Vietnam War provided a focal point for a new generation that felt uncomfortable with the superimposed middle class values. The dualism in American grain came on the forefront and it seemed that counter culture was no more a mere students' outburst. Paul Goodman, Allen Ginsberg, Norman Mailer, Jack Kerouac, Ken Kesey, Jerry Rubin, Eldrige Cleaver, and numerous other activists joined Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. or Malcolm X (Shabaz-ul-Mulk) and strong organisations like NOW (National Organisation of Women),

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AIM (American Indian Movement), the Nation of Islam or Black Panthers took upon themselves to redefine America where new genre in art and literature created an urge for pluralist co-existence. More recently, the decades of the seventies and eighties have been a period of readjustment, re-evaluation and persistence of back-to-roots orientation.

To sum, American Studies, in its present context, is a multi-disciplinary activity encompassing a variety of academic disciplines. Both for the Americans and outsiders, it is to acquaint one with the American national experience as well as heritage which matured from its simplistic inception to a complex, plural, historical, multi-ethnic, literary and politico-economic dynamics. In addition, linguistics, education, religious studies, Anthropology and Archaeology, make part and parcel of the program consisting of "diverse disciplines engaged in studying the United States, usually off in their separate corners of the campus and the mind."[11]

American Studies - Outside US

American Studies program outside the United States developed in the post-Second World War era essentially due to America’s global pre-eminence and thus it usually revolves around geo-political themes. Such an academic preference still remains unsurpassed, though literature, ethnicity and economic themes have been lately supplanted as additional areas in the curriculum. With the media revolution since the 1960s and a trans-Atlantic "onslaught" in popular culture American Studies Program has attained new, all pervasive dimensions. Launching of the Fulbright Program in the mid-1950s -- at the height of the alliance age--proved an active push factor in the furtherance of the discipline which was restrengthened by a more energetic USIS and newly established agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation or the Asia Foundation, pursuing public diplomacy.

The formal launching of the program in Pakistan took place in late 1973 with the opening of the Department of US Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University, which went on only for a couple of years due to understandable handicaps like the lack of full-time trained faculty besides the scarcity of jobs for intending graduates. The presence of an American professor on the Fulbright and that too for only ten months could not meet the academic needs of the Department. Eventually, the Department was closed with the library holdings apportioned to other departments in the University. During the period, the National Assembly of Pakistan passed an act stipulating the establishment of area study programs on campuses in Pakistan and the Quaid-i-Azam University was accredited with the Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America. The Centre formally opened in 1978 on the borrowed premises with the inauguration of formal M.Phil classes in 1979. Since then, it has produced a handsome number of M.Phils in U.S. Studies along with holding a number of national and international seminars. Its inter-disciplinary biannual, the Pakistan Journal of American Studies (PJAS) has been appearing regularly

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since 1983 with a cross-cultural scholarship, readership and subscription. So far the Centre has been concentrating on American Studies program through teaching, library resources, publications and seminars, but with the availability of trained faculty in other areas and with its own building, it plans to undertake both teaching and research on Latin America and Africa.

Both the USA and South Asian sub-continent over the centuries have been two worlds apart geographically and culturally, but there remained certain segments on both sides imbued with an idealistic curiosity for each other. In the 1940s, bilateralism became multi-channelled due to the War until an almost simultaneous emergence of an independent Sub-continent and the US as a global power. Since independence, and more particularly after Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's visit to the USA, Pakistan and the US have enjoyed ever-increasing relationship in economic, diplomatic, military and cultural fields, the areas which need full-length academic probe. Excepting a few scattered works, there is still a dire need of full-length historical study on U.S.-Pakistan relationship. In its intellectual, historical, geo-political, economic, and cultural aspects US-South Asian relations need to be explored more exhaustively. Similarly, US literary and media influences on Pakistan or parallels between ethnic scenarios or federalism need to be viewed analytically. So far, Pakistani social scientists and to be exact, the political scientists or diplomatic historians have concentrated on issue-oriented geo-political subjects whereas economic, literary, social and cultural areas have been rather ignored persistently. Pakistan needs to address itself to the need of developing its own school of thought on such vital regions of the world where social scientists could engage themselves in collaborative efforts. Such a multi-disciplinary approach will provide holistic, broad-based and multi-dimensional feedback on a complex, contemporary and ever-changing world without of course challenging the 'traditionally' established disciplines in social sciences.

Pakistani Perspective on the United States

The major academic occupation for a Pakistani social scientist remains predominantly concerned with geo-political realities in the wake of a number of hypotheses and perceptions emanating from both ideals and self-interests, which are basically interpretations of the US-Pakistan bilateralism extended over a period of four decades. In Pakistan, from academic circles to a layman, one finds a constant bewilderment about the ambiguities and uncertainties sometimes hastily characterised as "ups and downs" traditionally governing US-Pakistan relations. Even at the height of bilateralism in the mid 1950s and now in the 1980s, the dilemma remained very persistent raising a number of hypotheses like: (a) that the US interests in South Asia have been traditionally governed by her global objectives; (b) that the US Government does not want to embroil itself in complex Indo-Pakistan quagmire, at the most in early stages, it wanted an improvement in tensions in the region, which erroneously have led Venkataramani and other Indian diplomatic historians to believe as if the US
was playing a definite role "in" Pakistan. It is held that the US desires that India's unchallenged leadership in the region be accepted by its neighbours, though still, it would not encourage a Monroe Doctrine-type scenario prevailing in South Asia; (c) that the US needs Pakistan given its prominent position in the Muslim world and perhaps in "balancing" an overambitious India, (d) that Pakistan's geographical and cultural location as a historic cross-road between Western and Central Asia on the one hand, and its position within the Middle East and South Asia while sitting on the vital and equally volatile Gulf with an impressive military potential, make it indispensable for the North; (e) that Pakistan's massive labour exodus to the Near East along with its elite (both civil and military personnel) in the Mideast make a significant consideration for both the Super Powers and, of course, Israel; (f) that Pakistan's persistent and bold stance of Afghanistan against the rival Super Power and its resultant influence among the Afghans and Muslim Umma have been persistent realities that allow Pakistan a distinguished position which both the Super Powers find hard to ignore; (g) that Pakistan's sizeable westernised elite both in civil and military cadres, with her record of persistent massive struggle for democracy, despite long authoritarian interludes create Pakistan's image as a prospective viable, alert and dynamic society. Its legal, educational and economic traditions, deeply influenced and fashioned on western models, despite all the ideological rhetoric pro and against, are additive considerations where Pakistanis appear as a mobile, increasingly urban and competitively proto-western society trying to cross the long-held barrier of tribal-feudal nomenclature.

On the other hand, most of the Pakistanis view the US as a "traditional" friend more prone to fluctuating policies given the American "changing" objectives and interests. The growing number of powerful elite with some training or exposure to the US institutions added with massive military and economic aid have been the evidence of successful and enduring American influence. No wonder, the folks and intelligentsia, one way or the other, view every major domestic or regional reshuffle in terms of some "American connection." Excluding a few pronounced political leaders, the fact remains unchallenged, that among the rightists, leftists or ethnics, the US factor is not merely a convenient scapegoat.

The occasional criticism of the US from various forums or quarters and the anti-American outbursts pinpoint the acknowledgement of an enduring US factor vis-à-vis Pakistan. However, it is curious to see that quite a few critics of American policies are the alumni of some known American universities or at least, have been the grantees of the Ford Foundation, Asia Foundation, Fulbright Program and lately the US AID. In addition, one finds following major perceptions of the US prevalent in Pakistani opinion groups:

1. The Americans have always talked high of their ideals yet it is their interests that matter. Pakistan has been ditched time and again by them and the patterns would never change in future.
2. A strong pro-India lobby added by a powerful Jewish lobby has been operative in America against Pakistan and the Muslim world where Kashmir, Palestine or Cyprus are considered as mere irritants. Pakistan would never be able to match these lobbies.

3. The American support for military regime has been viewed as a global tactic much to the detriment of democratic forces and processes in the Third World.

4. The support for democratisation in Pakistan and enormous aid programs including American support for Afghan resistance have considerably improved Pakistani images of the United States. However, US criticism of Pakistani nuclear program and her tacit recognition of India's enhanced regional role as evidenced in Sri Lanka, have been creating uneasiness among alert Pakistanis.

5. The nationalists would like to derive maximum benefits from US-Pakistan relations, in most cases, without compromising our non-aligned status besides the locus standi in the Muslim world.

6. Cultural onslaught from the US in audio-visual form as well as in academics has been a massive and perhaps the most pervasive reality in bilateralism. The quest for our national identity (qaumi tashakhus) has raised serious eyebrows in many quarters on this issue. The libraries, books stalls and even Pakistani media reflect the continuum of feedback from across the Atlantic. The life-styles, mostly in Pakistani urban areas, as reflected in both individual and group behaviour prove the triumph of 'Americanism', intensifying the debate on our own cultural vitality. Could we withstand this massive influence by creating a "China wall" or despite our multifarious dependence can we still be selective in accepting or rejecting the "alien" culture? So far, we seem to be simply receptive from dress-styles to our entertainment; our academic ethos to our urban planning; our printed matter to our fast food stalls and even in our dwellings. Higher echelons of Pakistani society are greatly infatuated with "Green card+by-pass+training workshop" clichés. From commercial products like computers, cosmetics to sensual female characters in the commercial ads on television (including the new genre of pairing American heroines with Pakistani actors in certain serials) speak for the least-analysed vistas of US-Pakistan bilateralism.

Analysis

Given the above main undercurrents and images as seen in the Rubinstein's model of influence relationship between a Super Power and a developing country, geographically and culturally poles apart, necessitate the
urgency to determine how simple contacts underlined by mutual aloofness developed into contemporary complex, multi-channel relationship.

Firstly, the American missionaries all the way from their arrival in the Sub-continent in 1813 until their institutionalisation in forms of hospitals, schools and publications in the later years proved as the pioneers in establishing mutual images and misimages. They found a formidable opponent in Islam in their efforts for conversion and evangelization. Secondly, the American diplomatic posts, since the establishment of the earliest in 1794, have been growing both in number and activities. The regular reportage on South Asian political affairs in the American press started in the late 1930s. Thirdly, American limited trade activity in the region started in 1784 with the arrival of the first American ship, the United States, at Calcutta. The Second World War further added geo-political factor in the 1940s. The momentum in the US-South Asian relations occurred after the departure of the British in the wake of the Cold War. Finally, the cultural influx started as a curious fantasy for American exotica at the turn of the century with the still, sound and then the colour productions from the Hollywood. Since the 1920s, the media factor was added when American news agencies started sending their correspondents to the subcontinent.

The limited number of Muslim immigrants in North America underscored the lack of feedback on Pakistan in the 1940s. The urban elite usually supported the Indian Congress viewpoint with Gandhi and Nehru receiving maximum attention. No wonder, Emanuel Celler, the Representative from New York at the time of South Asian independence, persistently spoke against Pakistan. On June 4, 1947, in a Congressional debate he characterised Pakistan "a mistake... and a rank appeasement of Jinnah..." and expressed his skepticism about its survival. On June 19, 1947, he thundered: "As I said before, Pakistan is an engraved invitation to His Majesty's government to remain in India. India should remain one nation. Its salvation and its progress depend upon the unity of India. Pakistan is a menacing and overshadowing cloud." Thus, Pakistan came into existence without any favourable lobby in spite of the fact that one comes across occasional references favourable to South Asian Muslims or Pakistan. For instance, as early as 1923, Claude Van Tyne has observed in his well-known India in Ferment: "The Muslims, 70 million of them in India, are to all intents a nation and the Government had to regard them as such." Whereas Time in December 1939 published the portrait of the Quaid describing him "the greatest single force for disunity in all disunited India." A secret document prepared for the US Government in 1942, now in the archives of Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, took a very critical view of the Quaid and the League in South Asian Politics. In 1946-47, the State Department, in its dispatches and directives to its representatives in the Subcontinent, (mostly penned by Dean Acheson) supported idea of an independent Indian Federation, patterned on Cabinet Mission Plan. Eventually, it agreed to the concept of two republics without putting up any resistance. After President Roosevelt's demise, Truman proved a novice for this part of the world, so State Department mostly dealt with such issues. In British India, Mountbatten had
secretly tried through US officials in the sub-continent like Grady and Merrell to persuade Jinnah to accept the last Indian Viceroy concurrently as the Governor-General of Pakistan, which the Quaid resisted.21

However, the lack of pro-Pakistan lobby, coupled with multiple problems that the young republic had to face, caused a series of diplomatic initiatives between the US and Pakistan which later on resulted into mutual alliance system. During the Cold War, Pakistan remained a major strategic consideration for the US until Indo-Chinese war made the Americans support India massively. India's traditional image as "the centre of civilisation" and bastion of democracy flourished whereas Pakistan relapsed into a non-priority position. The exodus of skilled Indians to the U.S. strengthened pro-India feelings in strong urban sections in America. Pakistan rather lagged behind in its image-building efforts in the country with which it had enjoyed such a vital relationship. Bangladesh crisis seriously damaged its prestige, which, lately, seems to have improved largely due to its help for Afghans.22 Still, there is need to organise the efforts to counter anti-Pakistan lobbying. Such a multi-pronged activity has bright prospects given the number of Pakistanis in North America along with a sizeable and influential Muslim community, which has been gradually increasing in number and is predominantly pro-Pakistan. One must keep in view the recent influx of about fifty thousand Afghans into North America who by and large share similar perceptions on bilateralism. In league with public diplomacy, policy makers in Pakistan dealing with North America can see to it that through the available forums like Quaid-i-Azam chairs or community clubs and by building viable contacts with the American elite interested in South Asia, Pakistan can be projected in a healthy way. The restoration of a democratic order under Benazir Bhutto, a youthful charismatic and populist leader, Pakistan has obtained new respectable dimensions in North America. Being elected as the first-ever woman Prime Minister in any Muslim country, Bhutto through her constitutionalism and a policy of continuity and accommodation, has made bilateralism more meaningful in all its politico-cultural and geo-intellectual aspects. New realities within Pakistan ushering an era of hope and vitality can go a long way in strengthening American Studies in Pakistan simultaneous with Pakistan Studies in North America.
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3 Ibid., p. 39.

4 This Weberian thesis was further elaborated by his academic disciples in the early twentieth century. See R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, New York, 1926. The Puritans ideas, as the Founding Fathers in traditions and institutions received a notable favour among some of the leading American academics in the present century, otherwise they did not enjoy a good reputation or were at the most a dilemma to later-day onlookers like Nathaniel Hawthorne. For a detailed analysis, see, Perry Miller, "The Half-way Covenant," New England Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 4, December, 1933, pp. 676-715; Robert Middlehauf, "Piety and Intellect in Puritanism," William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 22, No.1 January 1965, pp. 450-470, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, (A novel), New York, 1968 (reprint).


6 D. H. Lawrence, Studies in Classical American Literature, New York, 1951, p. 60.


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21 For details, see Dean Acheson to Gallman, November 30, 1946, Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1946, pp. 97-98; Acheson to Gallman, December 3, 1946, Ibid, pp. 99-100; and Acheson to Merrell, December 7, 1946, Ibid., pp. 100-101.

Ch. 18

AFRICAN STUDIES IN PAKISTAN

Rukhsana A. Siddiqui

Johan Galtung, from the Scandinavian Institute of Peace Research in his "Structural Theory of Imperialism" (1971:81-119) describes aptly the relations between developed and developing nations. He says "only imperfect, amateurish imperialism needs weapons; professional imperialism is based on structural rather than direct violence."

African Studies - Centre Orientation

This is structural violence manifests itself in the field of culture and education through a feudal interaction structure between Centre i.e. developed nations and Periphery i.e. underdeveloped ones. In simple words through the old political maxim "divide and rule." How could for example-- a foggy island like United Kingdom rule over one quarter of the world? Well, by isolating the periphery nations from one another; by having separate deals with them in particularistic ways; and by making it difficult for periphery nations to interact with each other. A classic example of this persists in that a phone call from Niger has to go through Paris to reach Tanzania.

The Centre produces decisions, the Peripheries supply obedience. If the Centre always provides the teachers and the definition of what is worthy of being taught and the Periphery always provides the learners, there exist a pattern which smacks of structural imperialism. All Peripheral nations know well that noting flatters the Centre more than being seen as a model or a teacher. That the periphery will get little but aggression, if it starts teaching like Czechoslovakia, who started lecturing the Soviets on socialism. (Ibid.)

Third World Studies in general, and African Studies in particular, in our country can be described as suffering from the consequences of such a Centre oriented education. It is in the light of the above that most of my observations on the "State of African Studies" in Pakistan are based.

African Studies Pakistani Image of Africa

To most Pakistani's -- Africa still conjures up only two images. First that of a continent convulsed by famine revolutionary, anti-colonial and anti-racial
wars, and second, that of a land full of dark skinned people, thick jungles and wild animals. The press in general, gives little coverage to Africa except when a coup, or a political assassination makes it news-worthy. All such stereotypes are not only removed from objective reality but are also inimical to the understanding of Africa. On the diplomatic front Pakistan's gestures towards Africa merely remain symbolic. It is deplorable, how ignorant the average Pakistani is about Africa.

Scholars in African studies (not only in Pakistan), often seem to believe that they are lonely. They complain frequently about the ignorance and indifference of the public, the media and the politicians. Whether their complaints are justified or not, their sense of isolation is a reality.

The fact that African study was limited in the last 19th century reflects a "division of intellectual labour" of that time. Modern European states were predominantly studied by economists, historians, political scientists, and sociologist. Non-western cultures with a "written tradition" and world religion were studied by so called "orientalists," and "backward peoples" by anthropologists.

In a world that was de-colonising, African Studies became drastically redefined. Independent African states now exhibited political, economic, and social processes which made them the normal domain of political scientists, economists and sociologists. There was concurrently a drastic shift in the composition of Africa scholars. A field that was previously composed exclusively of citizens of colonial powers now has been transformed by two massive groups - American scholars of Africa and Africans themselves, and to a small degree non-African scholars.

Proponents of Africa Studies pitch their claim, at the most general level, on the drawing of attention to the lack of "international awareness" vis-à-vis, Africa. Four fundamental questions that plague Africanist's are:

What is the cultural and intellectual mission of African Studies?

What political, social, professional and intellectual commitments are implied by this mission especially with reference to sowing problems particular to the African condition.

How should Africa be interpreted and who should be the interpreter.

What is the role of a non-African scholar in Africa?

One could answer these questions as follows:

In the wake of a rising third World consciousness; the New International Economic Order; the non-aligned Movement; the South-South dialogue and the Dependency School's struggle against Centre-Oriented research, scholars of African studies have a primary obligation to define, assess and
pursue their government's foreign policy interests in Africa which could
gauge research priorities and scholarly work.

African Studies could increase our country's understanding of African
societies and their problems.

One obligation and justification of African Studies is to contribute to the
conceptual sophistication of established academic disciplines. Majority of
such disciplines have been in the social sciences, for example,
anthropology, sociology and political science. But any discipline trying to
develop a universal, abstract body of theory by means of comparative
study might evolve such a relationship with an Area study field.

African studies should assist in the formulation, independent
implementation, and evaluation of policies concerned with increasing
standards of living and expanded opportunities in African and Third
World countries.

Africanists should articulate, defend, and promote interest groups
suffering oppression, injustice and deprivation in Africa.

One of the most interesting results of the above is that, research in Africa
provides the social scientist with the opportunity to test theories based on other
social context and to gain fresh perspective in the discovery of new societies. In
confronting the exotic materials of underdeveloped areas, students of politics have
been forced to pay more careful attention to the organising concepts of political
science, forced to encompass activity of political relevance which might have been
overlooked with categories based solely on Western institutional forms. (Staniland,
1983:86)


In the seventies at least six Area Studies Centres were established by the
University Grants Commission(U.G.C) all over Pakistan. Quaid-i- Azam
University has the honour of having at its premises the Area Study Centre for
Africa, North and South America. The Director of this Centre at the time in a
correspondence with the UGC on May 23, 1984 requested the UGC to take away
Africa as it was impossible to run three continents by one Centre. UGC declined
the request.

As of today, the Centre has less than 200 books on Africa. The Centre,
however, does not publish on Africa unless it is "U.S. related." There are no
courses being taught either on M.A. or M. Phil level on Africa. Although one M.
Phil student is presently finishing his thesis entitled "U.S. Policy Towards
Apartheid in South Africa." There are two optional courses offered on African
Politics at the Department of International Relations at QAU. The QAU library has
perhaps 20 books and 2 journals on Africa. The Institute of Modern Languages
does not offer any African language courses.

Needless to mention that Pakistan shares with Africa many cultural,
political and religious legacies. Islam in Africa has served as an historical
anti-imperialist force. Africa has produced countless figures who are shared heroes
of the Muslim world in particular, and Third World in general. To name a few
would be Mahdi-el-Sudani, Omar Mukhtar of Cyrenacia, Ahmed ben Bella, Gemal
Nasser, Moammar Gaddafi, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwameh Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere,
Frantz Fanon, Ernest Mandela, Amilcar Cabral, Samora Machel, Nnambi Azikwe,
and last but not least Wole Shoyinka of Nigeria who was awarded the Nobel Prize
for literature. Any talk of Third World solidarity without Africa seems absurd. For
Africa’s contribution to the South-South commitment is awesome. To be a
fore-runner in Third World issues Pakistan must shed its apathy in the field of
African studies. To shake us out of this indifference one of the simplest thing to do,
is to look at Indian accomplishments in African Studies:

Dr. Anirudha Gupta, Chairperson, Indian School of International Studies
in an article published in the Journal of African Affairs from London (April
1970:173) mentions:

"In 1963 a conference of Indian diplomats in Africa was held in New
Delhi where it was decided that India should launch an all-out
propaganda offensive against both China and Pakistan."

India competes with Pakistan for her traditional market in Africa for inter
mediary goods. There are about half a million people of Indian origin
within Africa whom Mrs. Gandhi described as "ambassadors of India."

In the realm of African Studies, the Indian offensive has been impressive.
The March 1986 issue of the Los Angeles, Africa Studies Association
NEWSLETTER has an entire section devoted to "African Studies in India.” Using
this issue as my source I learned that:

India has Africa Studies Centres and Africa related courses taught at the
following Universities:

Jawaharlal University
Delhi University
University of Gujarat at Ahmedabad
Jamia Millia Osmania, Hyderabad
University of Jaipur, Rajasthan and
Calcutta University.

To date Delhi University alone has supervised 17 Ph.D. and 67 M. Phil.
theses on Africa. It offers certificate and diploma courses in Swahili language and
its library alone holds 25,000 volumes on Africa. In 1959 the Indian foreign
Ministry founded the Indian Council for Africa - a clearinghouse of information on Africa which now publishes a prestigious journal called Africa Quarterly. Jawaharlal Nehru University's Centre for African Studies as of 1984 awarded 6 Ph.D.'s and 19 M.Phil. degrees on African topics. The centre has several hundred African students. Bombay University publishes extensively on Africa and publishes a journal Africa Currents. Jamia-Millia Osmania has two Muslim professors leading African studies. In 1986 the Area Studies Centre in East Africa sponsored an impressive seminar on "Issues in Urban Planning in East Africa" which was hosted in Lusaka by the University of Zambia. Some 200 colleges in Indian Universities have introduced Africa related courses. In 1982 the ICCR founded the African Studies Society of India of which Mrs. Sadiq Ali is president.

**Proposal for improving African Studies in Pakistan**

The next question that comes in one's mind is what proposals can be offered to improve the status of African Studies in Pakistan.

I can use this forum to invoke the interest of the University Grants Commission as well as other institutions that could help African Studies in Pakistan to speed up its state of "convalescence." Some of my recommendations to our patrons, then would be:

1. Four years is a long time to keep Africa section in the freezer. UGC and Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America - QAU, could perhaps expedite the de-frosting of the Africa part in the Area - Study Centre so that teaching, publishing and research on Africa could commence immediately.

2. Courses on Africa should be offered in Pakistani Universities and training institutes. Afro-Asian studies and Third World Studies should be encouraged.

3. The Institute of Modern Languages could help by offering instruction in African languages.

4. There are ample funds for Technical Assistance to Africa Programme in M.F.A and E.A.D. It could be requested from both Ministries that some funds ought to be for academic research and scholastic improvement in the field.

5. Inter-departmental co-operation between UGC, Area Studies Centres and Africa Desk and Africans themselves would prove fruitful.

6. Linkage programmes with African Universities could promote faculty student exchange as well as improve understanding of each other.
7. Grants and funding for attending Africa related conferences or research fellowships is an other area of untapped resources.

8. Joint publishing in the field of African studies with either western, Africa oriented publishing houses or publishers in Africa itself, would help us expand our publishing on Africa.

9. Pakistani libraries ought to be encouraged to subscribe to African Studies Journals published all over the world.

In essence my entire paper is a request to our academic system especially the Social Sciences to re-consider its over-emphasised "Centre directedness" and indifference towards scholastic liaison and connectedness between and among Peripheral nations of developing countries.

With a note of thanks to the University Grants Commission, Q.A.U. Dean, of our faculty and respected audience I end with a small message of a black poet Joseph Poilus from Martinique. It is called "Awakening" (Polius, 1970:87)

three centuries dragged their boots over your night black face
and left great pools of pain ...
by lashes of leather
and handcuffs of nickel...
ah but now the time has come
my people
when you have
to wash your wounds...
when you have
to run from the master's carnival
and plunge your ebony arms
into the clay flesh of your path...
and listen for the message
of all the galaxies.
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The planning exercise in Pakistan, now well institutionalised, is conducted with considerable regularity. We prepare five year plans and Annual Plans at the national level while Annual Development Programmes are made at the national as well as the Provincial level. The five year plan encompasses all sectors and sub-sectors of national life. It reviews performance of the previous years, identifies shortcomings and makes recommendations for the future. It also establishes targets, both physical and financial, and attempts to relate resource allocation to physical progress. Then there are annual reviews to measure performance and to reallocate resources. Such exercises are conducted at the national as well as provincial level and sometimes go down even to the district level. However the means for conducting this analysis are largely confined to the Government machinery, i.e., Ministries and Departments with their affiliates. The consequences of this are both positive as well as negative. The positive consequences are obvious. The machinery of administration being in continuous contact with the people in real life situations, throws up a fair amount of data which are the basis of our plan activity. But the planning system does not often seek inputs from experts outside the Government, capable of giving a detached critique of what is happening.

The object of this paper is to highlight certain areas in which this additional effort has not been made and the consequences of this failure. It will also attempt to show some of the rationalities that could have been expected if such effort were made.

Recent Planning Experience:

Let us take a quick look at some specific and critical factors which emerged in the recent planning experience of Pakistan, such as:

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1 The author is grateful to Prof. Vaqar Ahmad, Director, Course of Studies, Pakistan Administrative Staff College, Lahore and Mr. Fasihuddin, Economic Consultant, Ministry of Commerce for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
a) Overwhelming importance given to the construction of new works at the cost of almost total neglect of essential maintenance and repair function.

b) Constraints imposed by the definition of development and non-development expenditure.

c) Grant of responsibility to district councils (that were re-created in 1979) over health and education sector together with powers for transfer of staff and approval of schemes.

d) Barriers in giving adequate compensation to skilled personnel appointed to operate and maintain expensive equipment, with the result that valuable capital assets are often allowed to deteriorate rapidly.

The sociological implications involved in these have not been considered at length in planning literature; the issues have either not been addressed squarely at all or have been disposed of summarily, so that the difficulties brought to the surface have remained neglected. This inevitably happens when a limited view is taken from the narrow administrative standpoint. We will examine only the first two in this paper. We will then discuss the inadequacy of governmental action in respect of user charges and the total failure of programmes that aim to change human behaviour because those actions and those programmes are not sustained by sound analysis of the factors that influence both. Finally we will show, how the governments information about its own affinity is deficient and how badly it needs an effective MIS.

I

The Maintenance Crisis:

When old buildings are not kept in a good state of repair, they deteriorate and crumble. The obvious and ready explanation that comes to mind is the financial crunch. But this is not the complete explanation. When the demand for maintenance and repair grows or the criticism becomes loud and persistent, (as is periodically the case with certain departments that affect people directly) the provision of funds tends to increase year by year. There have been phases of such activist interest in maintenance and repair: but it has tended to be sectoral in character. Dilapidated courts, tehsil buildings, patwar khanas, rural dispensaries and schools have received such attention from time to time. Roads and bridges generally are given more than others. But as resources are limited, only a small part of the demand can be met. Under these circumstances the more urgent requirements take up whatever limited resources are provided, and the relatively minor requirements (or, as is often the case, the requirements of relatively "minor" departments) have to be carried forward.
Developmental vs. Non Development Expenditure

It is usually assumed that the first application of available resources should be for the most important (which also happen to be the most glamorous) uses, i.e., construction of new projects, and only residual resources go for maintenance of old buildings and old machinery. The departmental hierarchy in the ordinary course of its work neither has the time nor the inclination to look beyond this simple formulation. It is considered enough to say that we have no money and, therefore, nothing can be done to repair the old college. But, then, how do you justify the expenditure of large sums of money, in the same month and in the same year, on the new expensive college building being constructed in the open space near to the old structure which will perhaps soon reach the same sorry fate?

An answer has to be found, partly because the old structures that are rapidly disintegrating demand urgent attention, and partly because the rapidity with which new buildings are being put up cannot be sustained indefinitely. To pursue this example further, we have to go back to the definition of development expenditure. There is a certain overlap between the traditional classification inherited from the British rule of revenue expenditure and capital expenditure, on the one hand, and the more recently introduced classification of development and non-development expenditure, on the other. "Capital" expenditure has been defined as expenditure for the creation of assets of permanent value. A certain sanctity attaches to capital expenditure. Development expenditure covers all development schemes, but also includes special items such as scholarships.

Whenever cuts are imposed for the purpose of economy, the development expenditure is protected because it is considered to be directed at activities of a higher order, as compared to expenditure for repair of existing buildings.

The logic in this is clear but it becomes strange in practice. Funds are provided rather liberally for building new schools and colleges, but are subject to very stringent scrutiny when demanded for the maintenance of existing schools and colleges. The result is that a large new building would come up through an expenditure of Rs. 200 to 400 per sq. ft., whereas an expenditure of say Rs. 20,000 in all on urgent repairs of an old building standing next door becomes difficult to meet. Thus, older buildings continue to decline while new buildings spring up.

The second dimension of this problem relates to the procedures and attitudes of agencies responsible for maintenance and repair. Their codes and manuals were prepared at a time when developmental activity was neither widespread nor urgent. Maintenance of buildings was the primary responsibility of the Public Works Department (PWD), and one must assume that in those days they performed this function rather well. With manifold increase in the
number of new works being constructed every year, the maintenance function is now a small part of the total responsibility that PWD has to shoulder. The groups of buildings they have to maintain are varied. Primary schools and even high schools take low priority as compared to other buildings, such as district hospitals or district courts or the inspection bungalow.

**Attempt at an Answer:**

This crisis situation requires a revolutionary answer. An attempt was made in the NWFP sometime ago to provide this answer by adopting a three-fold strategy:

a) Dividing the responsibility for maintenance between the user department and PWD, so that the smaller repairs can be carried out by the user department itself (e.g., replacing a broken window pane) and leaving the major repair (such as repair of a wall) to the PWD.

b) Dividing the maintenance grant in such a way that minimal requirement of the user department can be met by it directly.

c) Making realistic budget estimates for maintenance of very old works.

Since the first two parts of this strategy challenged established practice, it was roundly condemned for making a severe and unacceptable violation of the sacred code. It was argued that the user department does not have the technical expertise to carry out the repairs and, therefore, cannot be trusted with the expenditure of even a small sum of money which was contemplated in this kind of division of functions. In fact even the white washing of schoolrooms is a technical function - so the argument went - which can be performed only under the supervision of an expert.

There was lengthy discussion, as always happens in such cases, but nevertheless it was found possible to continue the experiment, even against heavy odds, and at the end of the first year it appeared that the gain was substantial. In the first place, the head-master of a primary school or a junior doctor anchorage of the primary health unit was suddenly made aware that he had a grant even if a small one-being no more than Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 and the decision to replace a broken bolt lay in his hands. This apparently simple step forward was a major achievement, considering the fact that under the old system in many primary schools not a single bolt had been replaced for decades. Secondly, the PWD were asked to prepare a proper repair and maintenance plan. This was, again, a revolution. The choice to spend any part of the repair budget wherever they wish is no longer with PWD. The decentralisation of responsibility for repair and maintenance to the user thus led to the direct involvement of the head master and the inspector of schools in the decision-making process to choose the building which requires repair. This, in turn,
created a built-in incentive for better performance all around. It was also provided in the new procedure that the final payment can be authorised only if the user department certifies its satisfaction. This very simple innovation which had the effect of removing a major deadlock in the planning function was achieved quite by chance after many years of wasteful and frustrating exercises. It should really have been brought about by exploring the areas of concern systematically.

Why can't the social scientist help actively in identifying such problems (which are numerous) and suggesting remedies? Why did he not, for example, focus on the poor state of repair of schools, and work his way to a solution? The lack of information on his part about this problem can obviously not be pleaded as an excuse, because all social scientists, no matter how eminent, passed through schools and many of them through rural schools. If they were to argue that on reaching the university level they no longer have a clear memory of broken window panes, leaking roofs and creaky shutters in their old schools, their ignorance is doubly regrettable. Or is it our inability to see a problem at our very doorstep?

Similarly, decline in the efficiency of the canal irrigation system is attributed to inadequacy of funds for cleaning of canals and water courses. We have really two distinct factors here. First, the traditional system of organised local effort to clear the water courses has broken down leaving water courses to gradually silt up. A second limitation flows from the ratio of capital cost that has been fixed as the annual maintenance grant; and since most capital works were constructed many years ago (some of them many decades ago) their book value is often in thousands and some times in lakhs of rupees, so that the annual maintenance grant at the rate of 2% of the capital cost (i.e., book value) does not amount to very much and cannot provide any substantial level of services.

A large input of sociology and some quick computation is needed for a clear understanding of these two factors. An irrigation channel having lived its full life, is now conveying some 34% of the water that it was originally intended to carry. The amount provided for its maintenance is still the same figure that was once a substantial sum: now it is no more than a token. Is it rational to supplement this depleted assets by creating an additional channel at 20 times or perhaps 100 times the cost originally incurred on the existing channel? Or should some means be found for reviewing the design and structure of the existing channel so that it can perform at a higher level of efficiency? This latter course would still involve heavy capital expenditure for re-modelling of the structure, but is preferable to the first. A second approach would be to adjust the capital cost of the original work in current prices and then use the adjusted capital cost as the basis for working out the annual maintenance grant so that we can provide adequate funds to at least maintain (if not improve) efficiency. In other words, the yardstick as laid down in the code has to be modified through careful analysis of current costs in order to maximise public welfare. When such modification was made in the NWFP, the need for special
Another example would help in reinforcing the same point. There are constant complaints about inadequate supply of medicines in government hospitals. Unfortunately these complaints are voiced in general terms and the response as well is very general. The systems of budgetary scrutiny are such that it is only when situations of neglect become unbearable that ad hoc or special grant is given to clear the pending bills that the hospital has accumulated. And sometimes recurring increase in the amount for purchase of annual medicines is also allowed. This need for budgetary increase or the pendency of bills is not analysed in terms of occupancy of beds or increase in out patients or the measured expansion in the use of hospital facilities. The only yardstick currently being used is hospital beds per thousand of population; even this yardstick is not subjected to detailed analysis. In the zeal to build new hospitals we often overlook the need to operate and utilise existing hospitals at optimum capacity.

Again one would like to revert to the question previously asked: why have social scientists been content to look at textbook situations (borrowed? alien?) for their daily analysis? and why have they not, instead, searched for the innumerable paradoxes that abound in the field of our own planning experience?

II

User Charges:

The major issue being currently debated is resource mobilisation in the context of the Seventh Five Year Plan. We are locked in a debate between two contending requirements. The first is to raise additional resources which obviously require more taxation and imposition of user charges on services provided by the government. On the other hand there is a strong point of view that no fresh tax or charges be imposed. These two points of view are being discussed and debated more in the nature of slogans and less as well argued propositions. The extent of new taxation is, of course, a political decision: but the political leaders have to be given adequate information for arriving at this decision. For this purpose the social scientist must work out the effects of each measure on consumer income, demand, investment, employment, etc., and indicate the limits to which government can go without creating distortions. This kind of exercise has seldom been undertaken, except by the government itself. There has also been discussion of user charges, the most outstanding example of which are water rate and power tariff. These involve weighty considerations of policy and are beset with many difficulties of a political character. Therefore, let us take up for consideration one of the simpler and less important charges, namely, fee for visiting government hospitals.
Historically, the visiting patient was required to pay one anna and subsequently 10 paisa for visiting the OPD. This created a small fund which the hospital administration could use for helping patients that were really poor. Later on this fee was increased to 25 paisa, and in some cases to 50 paisa. But subsequently it was abolished on the general argument that government hospitals should not levy any charge whatsoever. During the 1970s two developments took place. The inflation as a result of petroleum price increase led to such rapid expansion in costs that the budget for each department had to be increased manifold. There was a massive increase in electricity bills, cost of films for the X-ray department as well as medicines. The matter was taken up for designing a new policy for hospitals in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP). In the case of one 500-bed hospital, for example, the annual grant for medicines which had been fluctuating around Rs. 30,000 suddenly increased to Rs. 1,50,000. So heavy were the pending unpaid bills that the "normal" grant for the year would be exhausted within a month or so. At the same time, there was rapid increase in the number of hospitals and dispensaries. While the government made every effort to meet the increasing expenditure, it was felt that users should also make a contribution towards the rising cost. Therefore, after considerable discussion it was decided to impose a fee of rupee one for every OPD visit and Rs. 6 for admission to the general ward. At the same time full powers were given to the Medical Superintendent of each hospital to reduce or waive this fee for any patient. The OPD fee was very, very nominal - being a fraction of the cheapest cinema ticket prevailing at the time; and, to make one other comparison, no more than the cost of one cup of tea at the roadside tea stall. This measure helped in generating an income of several lakhs which was ploughed back to the hospital for its own internal use. But, suddenly, the government decided a few years later that this fee was undesirable and abolished it.

The social scientists must examine whether a charge of this kind is seen by the citizen as a burden. After all the familiar argument about the willingness of the consumer to pay for "quality" service is not without its logic. If the consumer is willing to pay, then why should he not be willing to pay to the government? We may also look at two possible explanations. The first, the easier one, is that the fee was abolished as a measure of relief at a time when other kinds of relief could not be granted. In other words, the need for reducing the unfavourable impact of certain other measures required this sacrifice. There could be yet another explanation, and more this is interesting. When visiting outdoor patients made no payments, records of their visits were informal, indeed often there were no records. But when the patients paid a fee, even if only Re. 1, the accounting of this fee created a record which was more reliable than was previously the case. Secondly patients who pay a fee, even if a small fee, tend to be demanding. They demand attention and they demand services. This was an important change in attitude which, perhaps, the hospital administration found an un-welcome imposition and wanted to do away with it. It was, therefore, all too easy for the hospital administration as well as the
government to wash away the important innovative measure that had painstakingly been built in the direction of rationalising user charge.

There is another example, again a small one, which illustrates the same point. Government incurs a large sum on producing each doctor. Entry in the medical college has always been competitive; but the tuition fee charged during five years of college had long been only Rs. 11 per month and was raised to Rs. 20 per month. While we agree that basic education should be free, it is difficult to sustain the argument that professional education of the very highest level which requires expensive inputs, and entry into which is furiously competitive, should be nearly free - the more so when we know that the facilities for medical students are inadequate because government does not have finances to provide facilities of the kind they require. Thus are we better off with the present low fee structure and a grossly inadequate teaching hospital? or would the society accept a higher level of fees so that the hospitals can be better equipped? Can a formula not be designed to raise the level of fees while making provision for liberal scholarships so that those unable to pay the fees are not denied admission on that score? Can we experiment with a three-tier fee structure, whereby one-third of the students pay the full "market" cost, one third pay the present nominal fee and the remainder pay the average of these two slab? The wide-ranging debate on de-nationalisation has largely been conducted in clichés. No wonder, then, that progress has been slow. Governments are always hesitant in breaking new ground. Social scientists have to show the way.

The third example comes from a different background altogether. When the GTS service started plying on the difficult route between Dir and Chitral in 1982, the fare was fixed @Rs. 36 per seat based on the rate of 30 paisa per K.M. per seat. The overcrowded private jeeps had been charging up to Rs. 75. The fares are regulated by government which had prescribed the upper limit of 11 paisa per K.M. per seat. Thus, the GTS fare was nearly three times as high against what the government had laid down. Under the circumstances it should have been expected that the cost incurred by GTS would be fully covered. Government increased the upper limit of the fare four times but only one increase was made in the GTS fare from Rs. 36 to Rs. 40. GTS continued to incur losses on this route (as it did on many other routes) and claimed subsidy from the government to make up those losses. On the one hand, GTS did not abide by the limits imposed by the government while, on the other, it did not aim at achieving financial stability either. What it was trying to do was, perhaps, its own version of social welfare. But, this proved ineffective or inadequate on both. Gradually, GTS has also been losing passengers. Should it continue in this declining trend of worn out buses and mounting losses, or should it rationalise its fare structure? Can this nationalisation enable it to achieve financial viability or should this viability not even be attempted? While government grapples with the heaved decisions, is it not entitled to analytical support from the social scientist?
Projects Seeking Change in Patterns of Behaviour:

Development seeks to bring about change. Change can be of many kinds. Establishing a factory, or building a hospital is one kind of change. The costs are no doubt heavy, but once found can be raised, it is not difficult to buy technology, employ consultants who can prepare the design, award contract for construction, purchase equipment and even hire management consultants who can operate the facility. You can thus start producing engineering goods which were considered beyond reach only a few years ago. But there is another kind of development which necessitates change in human attitude and behaviour. It is easy to set up a new hospital but it is difficult to maintain: it is sometimes even difficult to use a hospital facility properly. It is certainly not easy to use a photo-stat machine, modern lifts or computer based MIS.

The most difficult task confronting development planners is that where human behaviour is to be altered. Making workers or teachers or farmers change from one kind of activity or one way of doing something to another is more difficult and frustrating than the task of completing a road or establishing a fertiliser factory. There are development projects which aim at all kinds of change, e.g., re-organisation of resources available to the farming community to enable equal access for all and application of inputs even on the small forms. The examples which readily come to mind are:

a) Rural development of the community (even more than of the area).

b) Improved management of Agricultural Extension Programme, so that the results of modern technology can be transmitted quickly and effectively to the small farmer.

c) On farm water management.

d) Change in eating habits aimed at winning acceptance of the Roti produced on automatic plants.

Project costs in the above examples are not always as heavy as in the case of capital intensive projects. The inputs, of course, have to be provided: but the main thrust of the project is on effective management of the system and, above all, on organising individuals and motivating them in a manner in which they can perform up to the required standard. The evaluation of such projects has also, therefore, to place maximum emphasis on the latter aspects, namely, the success achieved in improving the management of the programme, in improving training and motivating individuals up to the level where they can use the new techniques effectively.
Programmes which fall in this group have generally not done well - like the cooperative movement in Pakistan which has been notoriously unsuccessful.

These programmes are essentially motivational. Their main emphasis is not so much on the creation of physical assets; it is rather on the creation of a motivational framework which can enable individuals and groups to perform at a higher level of achievement. Less emphasis on materials and machines, greater emphasis on human resources and even more on their adaptation. Technology, in the mechanical sense, plays a lesser role than management, and more than anything else it is management in relation to the manpower employed and even more in relation to the manpower which is the stated beneficiary of the entire exercise. In a word, it is human behaviour which becomes critical and, therefore, the design of such projects as well as their evaluation has to be rooted in authoritative sociological analysis. The planning system in Pakistan seems to have overlooked this vital requirement.

Rural Development

One area in which social scientists could have led the way is the area of rural development. The four milestones of our recent history are:

a) Village aid programme (pre 1950).

b) Rural works programme (1960s).

c) Integrated rural development programme (1970s).

d) Rural development through union councils and district councils (1980s).

Unfortunately each phase attracted attention and support from the government at a very high level and was sustained for long spells through liberal financial support. Each tended to identify with a specific political complexion and as soon as a change occurred at the national level, the entire edifice of the programme was cast away, to be replaced by something new and distinctively different. The rural development initiatives have all failed: they seem to work only so long as heavy injection of resources is forthcoming. The moment these external inflows stop the programme comes to an end, and even the assets created in the past (school buildings, Union Council offices, irrigation channels, village roads) became the victims of neglect. The motivation which the programme is assumed to build up for the move forward, i.e., for creating new assets, disappears up to a point where even the repair and maintenance of existing assets is seen as a burden which the local community finds itself unwilling to carry.
Many reviews have been conducted to identify successes and failures of each programme, but these have been mostly done through ministries and concerned departments. Unfortunately, they have not received as detailed and in-depth analysis from our social scientists as would appear to be warranted by the critical nature of this subject. This seems to imply that even a programme of such fundamental importance which affects the people at the most basic level of individual and group performance, and which not only requires the total involvement of the people but also a national commitment to transform society itself, has not stimulated the imagination of our intellectuals. Social scientists have not, for example, experimented to develop alternative courses that the government could undertake.

**Failure in Agriculture Extension**

Let us take a quick look at the system of Agriculture Extension. This system seeks to convey the results of agricultural research carried out in laboratories and on experimental farms to the small farmer so that he can be helped to use those results for increasing his own output. The extension service, therefore, should be receiving the results of the research very quickly; the results should have been proven beyond any doubt; the message should be in a language which the illiterate, small farmer can understand easily; and it should be such that he can use without having to make extensive new investment.

In fact, however, the agricultural Extension service works in quite the opposite way. Its package of technology is not regarded highly by the farmers and often is suspect. The Agricultural Extension worker is "the least visible element" in the village: he does not have a message to convey which the farmer should be eager to learn. His mobility is so limited that he cannot ravel in the area within his jurisdiction and is often dependent upon the good will and even the financial support of the notables: this alienates him from the small farmer - his target group. Even if he was knowledgeable and technically competent, his services tend to be monopolised by the big landlord - the familiar pattern of the role played by elite. An attempt to overcome these constraints was made by adapting the famous Benor model. But that model, again, has not succeeded because the rigid discipline which was its central organisational feature could not be replicated in our conditions. Indeed the requirement was not so much of his material equipment as mobility, training and discipline. Consequently after undertaking substantial expenditure on expanding the Agriculture Extension service we still have not been able to increase its effectiveness.

Let us try to identify the weaknesses. First of all, the whole system forms part of the non-development budget of the department and, in the strict sense, is outside the development programme. Secondly, the results of agricultural research, even if themselves of high quality, are not transmitted quickly and effectively. We have to determine the precise content of the message, reduced to a slogan, which can be repeated again and again, in a form...
the small farmer can understand. We have to ensure that this message is considered by him to be of value. This is an extremely difficult thing to do. Nor can this be done over night; but until this is done the extension worker in the field will not be taken seriously.

These wide range of problems are only partly technical; they do involve the results of scientific research, but their application has sociological implications. The agent who is to bring about change is not looked upon with any respect. The message he has for the farmer is not considered to be of value. His ability to bring about improvement in the agricultural output is not established. The individual who is the agent for change is, in fact, a non-entity in the village. It is only if he controls certain essential supplies (such as pesticides) that any one would even listen to him. The real challenge for development planning is, therefore, not so much the development of a package of technology (which, of course, is the essential starting point) but the development of a system which can convey that technology to the small farmer. Government ingenuity has failed on this bad work. It is, therefore, imperative that the social scientist should address this specific problem and suggest a viable mechanism for delivery.

**On Farm Water Management**

The programme of improved management of irrigated water which is being implemented through lining of water courses, precision levelling of farms and educating the farmers to organise themselves to maintain the works so that their productive life is extended, aims at the impossible. Water courses get silted up and, therefore, they convey lesser quantity of water. The process of silting will not end after the water courses have been lined. Effort will still be needed to organise locals into teams to clear the water courses on voluntary basis - an activity they used to undertake regularly and voluntarily. This activity disappeared and gradually demands were made to provide budgetary grants for cleaning the water courses by the department through hired labour. Incidentally, this change in human behaviour is not reflected in any study of rural society, nor has it been made the subject of analysis for the purpose of investigating changes in agricultural output.

The project is also focusing on another concept unknown in this part of the world, namely, the levelling of land in each farm with such precision that irrigation water should flow from one end to another without ever flooding any point or leaving any point dry. Initially, of course, the levelling is done through technical and financial support from the project: but external resources of the project for such financing will not last forever. This technology would have to be learnt by the farmers so that they can implement it on their own. What are the chances of success in perpetuating this behaviour - considering that the familiar task of cleaning the water courses has itself fallen in disuse?
The State of Social Sciences in Pakistan

Roti Corporation

We have another, very interesting major innovative project attempting to change the eating habits of middle class and lower middle class homes through the provision of "roti" baked on automatic plants. A detailed feasibility was prepared by consultants which brought out many advantages that were to be gained, and on the basis of those assumptions a large investment was made to establish 16 plants in different parts of the country. An expenditure of Rs. 85 lakhs was also incurred in the first year of operation to promote sales. To begin with, the new product did find some degree of acceptance, whether from its sheer novelty or on account of its inherent advantages. One cannot say over the years, however, the operations declined. Seven plants have closed down because of losses. In a desperate bid new products such as rusks, bread and buns were introduced. This attempt at diversification of dividends; indeed, the sales pattern in 987-88 shows that 73% of the revenues of the Roti Corporation come from bread and only 7% from roti. Nevertheless the Roti Corporation of Pakistan continued to lose and has accumulated losses of Rs. 154 million. This, despite the fact that the entire capital of the corporation has been provided by the government as grant and for many years the annual losses were also subsidised.

We may well ignore the fact that the initial feasibility was perhaps not entirely reliable and the decision to set up the corporation may have been hasty. But we must nevertheless ask as to why serious efforts were not made in subsequent years to re-test public response to the product ("roti") both as an effort at market appraisal and an attempt to measure the readiness with which the average middle class consumer is, or is not, inclined to change his eating habits. This simple exercise, which a private entrepreneur regards as essential and which even for the public sector enterprises is taken as the norm, has not been attempted. And the result is that it now seems that of the 9 plants that are still functioning, perhaps another 4 have to be closed down. From the commercial point of view, a large sum of money has been lost and a large workforce rendered jobless after several years of stable employment. From the larger perspective of trying to bring about planned change in individual and social behaviour, the losses appear to be even more substantial. The project had aimed at saving labour costs, increasing efficiency and providing additional leisure to women, thus enabling them to engage in gainful employment. None of that has been achieved.

We also have the fundamental sociological aspect to consider. Given our social and economic circumstances, should we be trying to bring about this kind of change? Did that single feasibility some two decades ago settle for us all the related issues, and has social science really nothing more to say? An important opportunity to test the motivation for change in human behaviour has been lost.
IV

Management Information System (MIS) for Development Schemes:

We made a good beginning in establishing the PC-III which was intended as a quarterly report on project performance. However, a random survey shows that out of 1,000 projects, PC-III was submitted in respect of only 4. The quarterly report for the others was not being filled in. However, the problem of financial constraints and the consequent requirement for monthly review of expenditure created an over-lapping system whereby expenditure statements are now being compiled every month, and in far greater detail every quarter, which are used for forecasting the requirement of funds. One aspect of the failure to send in PC III forms has thus been overcome. But the other requirements of the PC III for keeping track of project performance, for identifying constraints and, above all, decision making to overcome those constraints have been forgotten. The result is that money may well be spent, buildings may come up and the machinery may be installed but the project may not be fulfilling the objective it intended to achieve.

On the other hand we have developed considerable capability for measuring performance and we also have machines which can record and tabulate such data quickly. But these capabilities and these systems are not being used to monitor performance of projects effectively. This is an area where social scientists can help in, first of all, examining sociological and attitudinal factors on account of which the PC-III has been cast aside as an instrument for report and, secondly, in designing an alternative which can overcome those factors and bring together timely information on what is happening in the field. It must be admitted that the establishment of a Management Information System (MIS) is an extremely difficult task, especially in the conditions of Pakistan. Reports are delayed; they are erratic: they skip over many important items; and they are often inconsistent.

Years of experimentation and a network of reporting channels created at considerable expense by the Experts Advisory Cell has now given us an up to date and accurate reporting system on the public sector industry. This has been a magnificent achievement. Similar systems exist in WAPDA which were developed under the contracting and reporting requirements of the World Bank.

The challenge to social scientists is to design a simple system for use in other sectors (especially the social sectors) where basic units that generate information are small but wide-spread, where the technical capability of such units is limited, but where the impact of their performance on overall national and social achievements is very great. It is not necessary here to go into details of the notorious example of the three parallel estimates of cultivable area for a certain part of the country, which were 5.4 million acres, 4.3 million acres, and 3.2 million acres made by three different agencies. The use of such
contradictory data for working out production of wheat, demand for fertiliser, or
the requirements for water can well be imagined. We have even more complex
problems with regard to the social sectors.

The need for an effective MIS is great, and not for project management
alone. The administrative department or even the planning and development
department have only a general, often inaccurate, notion of performance.
Further, the format of those reports is cumbersome: lay readers would easily be
discouraged. The Minister and the Secretary should be able to get a simple,
precise and up to date report of what his ministry has achieved. This will enable
effective monitoring and assist in improved performance. The current debate on
accountability loses much of its impact when the Chief Executive's access to
information is limited and uncertain.

Such an MIS would also help educate the interested outsider. External
comment on performance by the government machinery would be more
authoritative (and, therefore, more useful) Clearer analysis of achievements and
tabulation of constraints would improve the image of the project implementing
agency and protect it against unfair criticism.

At present expertise to design MIS for Departments and Ministries
does not exist. It has to be developed. Expertise to use an MIS does not exist
either. That too has to be developed. Hence the dependence of government on
outside help is great.

One would like to suggest that in this plan primary emphasis should be
placed on developing accurate systems to report and tabulate information
relating to on-going projects so that policy making can become more rational.

V

Undoing Urban Bias of the Planners

Questions are being asked about the raw deal that the rural poor have
been receiving on account of urban bias of the planners. One might take a step
further and ask whether the urban poor have not, similarly, been at the receiving
end on account of the bias of the planners who have not lived and worked where
the urban poor do. Our rural poor are in any case the most disadvantaged group
we have. There is a bias each planner carries from previous experience which
can sometimes be a stark disability on account of the limitations of his
background. These have all to be neutralised. It is for social scientists to help
redress the bias. For one thing it is the rural poor who must be asked to speak
up. Our planners have not shown that they know how to capitalise on that
resource. The strategies of rural development have so far been unable to
mobilise the one expert that we have, namely, the small farmer himself.
The re-settlement of the homeless under the plan for building 7-marla houses under the Prime Minister's programme is an extremely urgent task. But the objective should be that we build exactly what the shelter-less people want and need, rather than dwelling units that are un-liveable (as are the concrete oven-hot four-storey flats built for class IV employees). There is another danger, a shade less serious: they may put on rent their 7 marla houses and go back to their traditional ways. There is also a real danger that low cost housing may turn out to be the very opposite of what the planners intend them to be - minor slums from the very beginning. This objective can not be fulfilled by town planners alone. This has to involve in depth social analysis, focussed on their ways of living, their attitudes and their preferences. We would like to hope that the programme is taking all these factors into account.

How can we enlist the much needed support of social scientists? Distinguished researchers, with long lists of academic attainments, may not take to this role easily. Despite motivation on their part, they cannot inter-act productively with the planning machinery unless a dialogue has first been developed between them over a reasonable period of time. This can work best if designated academic institutions were to “adopt,” as it were, certain projects or even sectors for detailed and continuing study. The social scientists could thus became a corps of consultants, capable of presenting an informed, non-governmental, non-political but authoritative point of view. The absence of such an input is a serious deficiency, which cannot be made good by isolated assignments to professionals who may not possess adequate background in the specific field of specialisation to which the project relates. The academic linkage has to be developed and nurtured for it to be fully productive. Being a new initiative, it will also have to be developed carefully. Once attitudes and systems are created for this kind of a relationship, it could be mutually rewarding.
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