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THE POSTFIGURATIVE-COFIGURATIVE TRANSI-
TION IN A PAKISTANI VILLAGE:

A Case Study of Saidpur



A Thesis submitted to the Department of Anthro-
pology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad in
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FINAL APPROVAL OF THESIS

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CHAPTER-1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Fertile land and river valleys form the prominent relief of Pakistan. These are the areas of greater agricultural produce. Agriculture is the major source of production of the country. 72.3% (census: 1972) of the population is rural. The prevailing mode of agriculture in South Asia, requires the people to live near the fields. Hence the population is distributed throughout the country in small communities in the form of villages.

The small communities of Pakistan have long been recognized as traditional or folk societies (Wolf: 1966). The recent industrialization and related development in the country is resulting in the expansion of urban centers. This expansion has linked many villages into a close contact with urban ways of life. The new knowledge and the new institutions which characterize the city life, are accelerating the process of change in such villages, and thus provide living experiment conditions for the study of the phenomenon of social change.

Investigations into the phenomenon of social change have always been of special interest in Anthropology. Anthropologists have contributed significantly towards the development of theories in this regard. For example, change occurring in a society as a result of long term evolution or gradual adaptations, (Morgan: 1877, Tylor:1871) or through innovations resulting from diffusion of technology and other cultural traits (Barnett: 1953).

Most of the theories of social change emphasize technology as the indicators of change. Margret Mead has a different approach towards the study of cultures. She takes the non-material aspects of a culture, like values, group personality and child discipline practices, in other words the behavioural aspect of a culture, as main subjects of the study. Her orientation led to formulate a model of cultural change, presented in her book "Culture and Commitment (1975) in which she takes change in cultural transmission and difference in the experiences of successive generations as the indicator of change. The present research is based on her model of change from post-figurative to cofigurative culture.

The major distinction between the postfigurative and the cofigurative culture is that the former is the one in which. "children learn primarily from their forebears"



and the latter, "in which both adults and children learn from their peers" (Mead: 1975: 13). In a postfigurative culture the children are so reared that the life of the parents and grandparents postfigures the course of their own life. The transmission of culture in this manner brings stability within the culture. The change in a postfigurative culture is so slow, that it is almost imperceptible. (Mead:1975:30). The two major conditions for the maintenance of a postfigurative culture Mead believes, are the following:

1. Lack of questioning and;
2. Lack of (self) consciousness (Mead:1975:35)

These conditions, according to her, are attained through strict child discipline. The "agonizing" and "terrifying" child rearing practices used by the primitive people were to maintain intergenerational relationships. (Mead:1975:28). The very simple culture of people who have been isolated from others have postfigurative cultures. The conditions for change occur when people of such a culture come into contact with those of another.

Cofiguration has its beginning in a break in the postfigurative system. The following circumstances, are suggested by Margaret Mead, that can bring such a

break:

1. A catastrophe in which a whole population, but particularly the old who were essential to leadership is destroyed.
2. Development of new forms of technology in which the old are not experts.
3. Migration to a new place where elders are and will always be regarded as immigrants and strangers.
4. The after-math of military conquest in which subject population are required to learn the language and ways of the conqueror.
5. A result of religious conversion, when the adult converts try to bring up children and adolescents according to the new religion.
6. A purposeful step in a revolution that establish itself through the introduction of new and different life style for the young. (Mead: 1975: 39-40).

The conditions for change to a configurative type of culture became increasingly prevalent with the development of greater means of communication, as it made possible for the members of one society to migrate to another for the attainment of better living conditions (Mead:1975:40).

The first break with the parental style, according to Mead, comes about in connection with education, when parents elect a different type of education and new occupational goal for their children. When the number of school going children is large they become models for one another and rejecting the behaviour models of adults in the new environment treat elders and administrators as opposition forces to be outwitted, not to be followed (Mead:1975:46).

Mead believes that no culture can be completely cofigurative. Cofiguration occurs in a situation when the experience of the young generation is radically different from that of their parents, grandparents and older members of their immediate community. Their progenitor can provide them with no living models suitable for their age. They themselves must develop new style based on their own experience and provide models for their own peers. In such a situation the conflict between generations arises because the children do not develop the style of adulthood to which the first generation had hoped their children would follow. At the same time they desire to encourage their children to acquire the new culture which is necessary for the adjustment in a foreign land. In such a situation the grandparents are present but their influence is minimized. It is no longer expected that grandparents will be

models for their children or that parents will have firm control over adult children's marriages or career (Mead: 1975: 53). Margaret Mead gives the example of Immigrants to United States; when the young are required to behave in ways that are at sharp variance with the cultural behaviour of their forefathers, they treated their elders with lessened respect and with a kind of negligence that emphasize the fact that elders are no longer custodians of wisdom or models for the behaviour of the young (Mead:1975:31). Similarly, Mead believes that the mere condition of rapid change can produce equal results in nations such as India, Pakistan or the new countries of Africa ; children are also authorities on the new ways and parents lose their power to judge and control (Mead: 1975: 59).

In a cofigurative culture, young adults strike out for themselves and form new ties appropriate to a new life style. The ties through ancestral group are weakened. The nuclear family, a characteristic of cofigurative culture, is a highly flexible social group in situation in which large portion of a population or each generation in succession must learn new ways of living (Mead:1975:49).

The process of change from the postfigurative culture to the cofigurative culture, Margaret Mead believes,

is not always smooth. She suggests that there are two kinds of forces in a culture that is in a state of transition. One type of social force or people promote change and the other resist it. For example, when the parental group has to face a change in their children and grandchildren to a kind of behaviour that is already exemplified by some other group. In such a situation there are constraints by external forces or by the strength of their own desire of the new order. At the same time new ways of living may drastically affect the position of men who shift, for example, from full participation in a peasant community to anonymous life of the unskilled labourers (Mead:1975:61). But the conditions, Margaret Mead speculates may change very little for women as they continue to cook and rear their children as their mothers did. (Mead: 1975:55).

The criterion of change in Mead's Model are the specific changes in the behavioural patterns of the members of a society. She, therefore, perceives the changes in the group personality of cultures. The sequence of changes, that are from postfiguration to configuration, (each stage is characterized by specific behaviour patterns) she claims, are universal. (Barnouw: 1973:453). The purpose of the present research is to study the change, in Pakistani villages that are coming in the proximity of

cities, in the light of phenomenon specified by Mead. To find out how far her model of culture change can be recognized as universal.

1.2 THE PROBLEM: RE-TESTING MEAD'S MODEL

"A model is a more or less systematic inventory of the elements to which we must pay attention. It is not true or false; it is useful and adequate to varying degrees. A theory in contrast is a statement which can be proved true or false, about the causal weight and the relations of the elements of a Model". (Mills Wright:1962:36)

Starting a field-work with an existing theoretical model is useful, because it specifies phenomenon to be studied out of the general and thus saves the researcher from wasting time and energy in gathering unrelated data. The aim of the present research is to draw parallels between the phenomena specified by Margaret Mead and the actual field situation.

The postfigurative-cofigurative orientations include a very vast cultural field to be studied. It requires investigation into two different cultural eras, which was beyond the scope of the present research. To narrow the field of inquiry, I started the research with the supposi-

tion, based on the long history of isolation and self-sufficiency of the proposed village Saidpur, that its first generation had a postfigurative culture. The break in the postfiguration supposedly occurred twenty years back, when its habitat was suddenly disturbed by the construction of metal roads and concrete buildings and when the old occupation of the peasants were shattered, because the land was taken from them. The adults were forced to take new jobs away from the homestead to earn livelihood. The need to educate the children became more pressing as the only source for acquiring jobs in the changing surroundings. The children were sent to the city schools where they came into contact with the city bred children.

Starting with the above mentioned hypothetical conditions, I needed to investigate the following information, which I believe, is necessary to test the "Model."

1. To know exactly, what are the external factors, like education, mass media and contact with the city. That are breaking or has no effect on the postfigurative system of learning.
2. How far the traditional occupations of the village have changed as the

consequence of the external factor.

3. If the changes in the occupation of the second generation is a cause of any strain for the first generation.
4. Has the first generation lost its former status and control over the second and the third generation: For example, their control in making decision about the marriage and career for their children.
5. How the three generations are adjusting to the differences they face in each other? If they are adopting nuclear family as a solution to the problem.
6. Who are the persons that are inspiring the third generation? Whether they (the models) are the members of the older generation or their own generation?
7. If the third generation is spending more time with their peers and turning away from their parents and grandparents; to form their own age-group culture?
8. If the children are unquestioningly obeying their parents?

9. Whether or not, the three generations are conscious of the differences in their experiences?
10. What are the traditional cultural traits that remained unchanged in the midst of all the changes?

In addition to the above-mentioned areas of investigation, I consciously strived to uncover factors, other than those mentioned by Mead, that are leading to or are consequence of configuration.

1.3 THE SETTING

Saidpur is a small village situated at a distance of about one kilometer from the turning-off point at Margallah road of Islamabad. Saidpur was connected with Rawalpindi by a narrow uneven road. People had a poor contact with the city, mostly, as they say, because of their self-sufficiency. Saidpur consisted of landowners, artisans and agriculturalists. The land was utilized for growing grain, and gardens for fruits. The artisans produced such articles as clay pottery, leather goods, cloth, seed oil, wood work etc. With the establishment of Islamabad in 1961, the people of Saidpur had to make new adjustments in order to cope with the changing conditions. The society changed in

three principal ways:

1. The establishment of Islamabad offered work opportunities for both skilled and unskilled workers, which initiated a closer contact with the city.
2. As the result of land acquisition by the government, the land owning class had to adopt new ways of earning. Some of them started doing salaried jobs in Islamabad.
3. The school facilities of Islamabad, enabled the students of Saidpur to acquire further education, if they desire to.

All these conditions are some of the pre-requisites described by Margaret Mead to be present in a culture, that is in a state of postfigurative-cofigurative transition. Saidpur, therefore, was a perfect village for testing the model.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Every human group has a unique cultural context. The study of each group therefore, most often, requires a unique combination of techniques suitable for that particular

group . The methodological strategies often need modifications at every step of the field-work, to adjust to the requirements of the field. Very often anthropologists go in the field without any clearly defined research instruments, and thus have the liberty to chose methods that are most appropriate for the particular situation. The techniques used in the present research are the outcome of modifications and adjustments made during the period of field work.

Entry into the community and establishment of first contacts is an important factor in conducting a field work. The success of the entire work mostly rests upon it. The first step in this relation is to be introduced to the people of the village. For this purpose, I acquired the help of an elderly female social-worker, who had done some social work in the village. On my first visit I was accompanied by her. She introduced me to a teacher of the Saidpur school and explained the purpose of my visit. I noticed that people were not very responsive to her. To get a better response, I realized that I needed¹ the assistance of some insider. With the help of a friend in Islamabad, a person was located, who was, though not a resident of Saidpur, practically knew everyone in the village. This man lives in a village on the other side of the Saidpur hills and works in

Islamabad. He received his education from the Saidpur school. Presently he has daily contact with the village, as he passes through it, every day, on his way to Islamabad. I approached him and explained as much as possible, the purpose and duration of my study in the village. He then, informed the lamerdars the school headmaster, the ex-Chairman of the village and many others. With the result that when next time I went to Saidpur all these people were expecting me. The school headmaster asked two girls to take me around to different mohallas. This is how I entered the community.

The initial period of two weeks was spent in taking notes randomly of everything that came across my observations. Besides that, I drank gallons of tea, ate all sorts of spinache, tried my hand on embroidery and participated with women in peeling vegetables.

During this period I observed that the houses are in the formation of well defined clusters. The cluster consists of the houses of relatives or baradari members who have some uniform occupation. On this observation, I decided to conduct cluster sampling. A few households from every cluster were taken randomly to gather data through questionnaire and interviews.

After some pre-testing of questions, I constructed a questionnaire to gather data on the household level and prepared interview guides for the three generations. First, the grandparents, second the parents and third the children. It was not possible to interview all the three generations in one visit to a household, because all the persons were not available at the same time. For children, I used to write their names to meet them at their school. For others, I used to inquire about their return to home so I could visit the house again. Sometimes if a person is in the neighbourhood or at the market place, I used to send a child to call him. Sometimes I left a message that I will come again, so that the person stays at that time. In this way sixty families were covered and 120 individuals were interviewed.

The ethnographic details of the village including its diachronic and synchronic aspects of social organization were gathered through the use of informants, non directive interviews and through direct observations. Sometimes data collected elsewhere in the morning, would be discussed with other friends in the village - hiding the identity of the informant when possible - in order to fully understand what it was that has been collected.

The most difficult task was the collection of demographic data. There has not been any census in the

village for a decade. The only records, available were those of Capital Development Authority (CDA) census of households and of population. For the collection of data on age distribution, I looked into the record of Ration Depot, but later I was informed that they were manipulated. I, therefore, decided to rely on the census data of randomly sampled houses of each cluster and made generalization on its basis.

After the completion of the work in the village. I spent sometime in CDA's Land Directive's office to look into the records of land payments by the government to the villagers.

The postfigurative-cofigurative orientations are very elusive to observe directly through structural interviews or quantitative techniques. It requires exhaustive research, which by its nature precludes psychological tests - i.e. the projective techniques such as, the Rorschach ink-blot test, the Thematic Apperceptive Test (TAT) the sentence-completion test etc. Because of the lack of the training in interpretation of these techniques, I mostly depended on interviews, consisted of indirect question. For instance, rather than directly asking children about the extent to which they capitulate to the demands or authority of their parents, I selected an

area of social behaviour which is frequently controlled by parents (e.g. dress style) and then asked children about the sources which influence their behaviour.

During the period of pre-testing and rapport leveling, I observed that my respondents of first generation were quite open in expressing their views about the second and the third generation and the second generation about the third, but the second and the third were very conscious in expressing their views towards the second and the first generation. Most probably, because respect of the elders is valued in their culture. Here, too, I had to adopt indirect measures. For example, in order to know who dictates authority in decision making, such indirect questions as, did they select their occupation by themselves?, were asked. I asked children about their future plans to know if they are adopting their parents and grandparents, or their agetates as models.

All the questions of the interview guide were open-ended, put in a way to initiate a sort of casual conversation with the respondent, allowing all type of information to come out. I also noted their hesitations, embarrassments and displeasure while discussing a particular subject.

The investigation into the problem of post-figurative-cofigurative transition requires an inquiry on two levels, first on family level and second on individual level. Information on family level cover the following areas:-

1. The household composition; the number of generations living together and their relative status, reflect the pattern of authority in a household. If the family is extended and grandparents have the most authority, the family, according to Mead, would be postfigurative oriented.
2. Education; the difference in attainment of formal education among the three generations, shows the gap in their learning experience. If the difference between the first and second generation is very less compared to the third generation, there will be a wider gap - in ideas, knowledge etc. - between the second and the third than between the first and the second.
3. Occupation; the discontinuity in the transmission of families traditional occupation, means a break in the post-figurative learning. The adoption of

new professions or occupations, that are radically different from the traditional, are often the outcome of contact with people other than the community elders.

4. Migratory Status; contact with the city, either for occupation or for education, results in bringing the people closer to their peers, belonging to different areas, and thus isolating them from the elder members of their own community, which breaks postfigurative system and initiates configuration.
5. Exposure to Mass Media; the possession of sources of mass media like radio, television, and newspapers by a household means that the family members, especially the women, who stay home most of the time, are exposed to country-wide information.

They are, therefore, more likely to adopt new ideas, from these medias than those of their elder's.

The inquiry on individual level is divided into three parts to cover all the three generations, grandparent,

parents and children.

The interview guide formulated for the first generation - the grandparents - was to cover the following information:-

- a. The educational level of the first generation and their exposure to outside world; either through a physical contact with the city or through medias of information, like radio, television, newspaper or movies. The more exposed a person is to the ways of people, other than of his community, the more readily he will accept them.
- b. Inter-generational Relationships:
 - i. The first generation's standard of obedience and respect which they expect from the second and the third generation and their views on the actual behaviour of their children and grand children.
 - ii. The amount of power exercised by the first generation in selecting the career for their children.
The decrease in power or authority of grandparents is accompanied

- by decrease in control, which results when the grandparents can no longer provide adequate models for the younger generations.
- iii. The possibility of any type of conflict arising out of the first generation's feeling of disappointment, because the second and the third generation is deviating from their standards.
 - c. The comparison of the first generation with the second and the third, in relation to their living arrangement - the proximity of generations; and pattern of authority in the household. To know if there has been any change in it.
 - d. The first generations views about the traditional arrangements or system of marriage. To know if they accept them without questionning as a part of their postfigurative learning.

The information, which was to be gathered from the second generation is as follow:-

1. The educational level and exposure to the outside world of the second generation; as an index of postfigurative or cofigurative orientations. (less exposed person is postfigurative oriented, as for him it is the only source of learning).
2. Occupation; A change in the second generation's occupation means a break in the postfigurative learning. The selection of a new occupation by the second generation can tell if they are adopting the different occupation to follow the model of their peers; a characteristic of cofiguration.
3. Intergenerational Relationships:
 - a. The second generation's comparison of their life style with the first generation. (The meaning of life style was the second generation's own interpretation) To find out if the former see themselves as different from the latter as the consequence of cofiguration.

b. The second generation's perception of change in the third generation; to know if the second generation feels that the third generation is having different type of early experiences, like different educational style, or greater association with their agemates. The second generation's consciousness of change in the third generation means that the latter is getting greater influence from their agemates.

4. The second generation's views about the traditional marriage system. To find out if their opinion has changed or continued to be the same as that of first generation.

My respondents of the third generation were boys and girls mostly of 9.5 years ^{average} / and few of 15.5 ^{year} / ^{average} age. The areas of information which were to be covered from them are as follows:-

1. Education and exposure to the outside world; through mass medias or contact

with the city. Education in the city school can be a vital source of configuration, because in this way, the village children come to share ideas and knowledge with the city children.

2. Intergenerational Relationship:

- a. The time spent by the third generation with the second and the first generation. If the third generation is most of the time isolated from their parents and grandparents and is having a close association among themselves; means that they are most of the time sharing ideas among themselves, rather than adopting whatever is passed on by their progenitor.
- b. How far the third generation capitulates to the authority of their parents. If they are not unquestioningly accepting the demands of their parents; it means that they are conscious of the ways other than those of their parents and grandparents.

3. The future plans of the third generation reflect their orientation. If their careers are marked by the parents; it means that they are postfigurative oriented, but if they are independently thinking about their future; means that ^{are} they/adopting ideas of people other than their elders.
4. The third generation's view on the traditional marriage system. To know if they are willing to accept it, as it is.

In summary, the major approaches involved in producing a well-rounded view of postfigurative-cofigurative transition were as follow:-

1. The external factors
 - a. Exposure to mass media
 - b. Education
 - c. Migratory status
2. occupation
3. The inter-generational relationships
4. The continuity or discontinuity of certain cultural traits transmission; from first generation to the second and to the third.

1.5 SUMMARY OF ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The model's validity is evaluated in regard to field evidence drawn from the village Saidpur. The second chapter, therefore, describes in detail the historical background of its culture. Changing environmental conditions and other ethnographic features.

The third chapter discusses the theoretical background and the valid position of Margaret Mead's model of culture change.

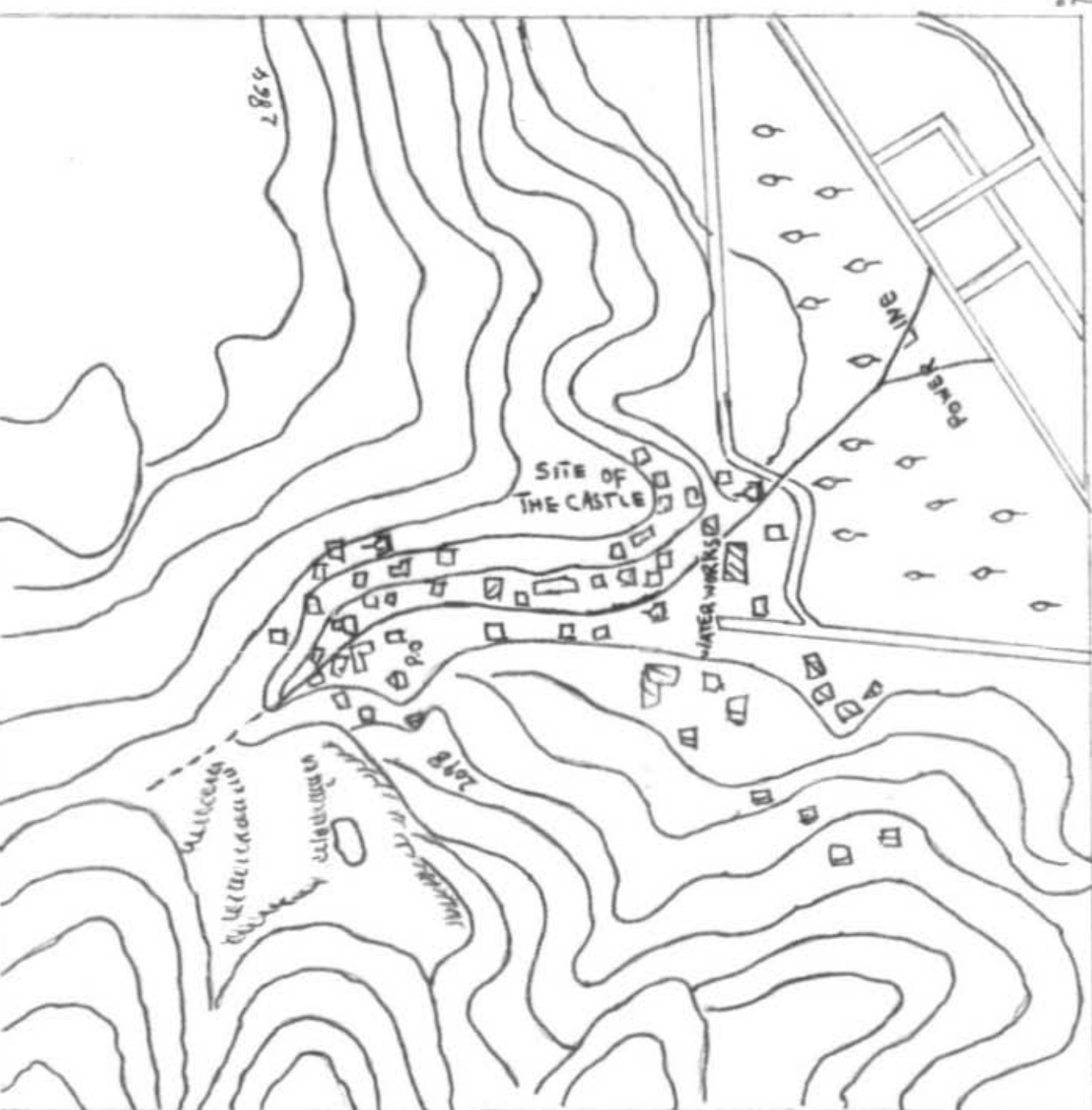
Chapter four analyzes the data with reference to the purposed model. Chapter five sums up conclusions of the research and identifies the validity of the model.

CHAPTER-2

THE VILLAGE

2.1 INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

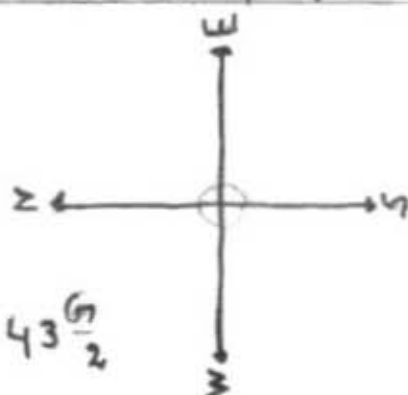
Saidpur village is approached by a narrow metalled road, about one kilometer from the turn off point at Margallah Road (or the Khayaban-illIqbal, the present name). While turning to Saidpur, one notices a sudden change in the surroundings. The eyes shift from the most modern houses of Islamabad to small mud houses along the Saidpur road. The geographical features of the land play a visible role on the physical characteristics of the village. Except for a few lately built brick houses, the houses near the approach of the village are almost all made of mud, because of the availability of clay in the area. The house built between the rocks, however, are made of rocks of the hills. The latter portion of the village is walled by the hills from the east, north and west. It is the oldest part of Saidpur. A stream passes down the middle and turns towards east as it nears the plain land. There use to be an iron bridge over it, giving an access to the old Hindu Temple. It was auctioned a few years ago, when a rock crushing



TOPOGRAPHIC MAP
OF
SAIDPUR

TOPO SHEET No $43\frac{6}{1}$, $43\frac{6}{2}$

Enlarged five times



plant was constructed on the top of the hill. So the trucks or trailers can use the shallow water-course to reach the crusher.

Water is in abundance in the down-stream. The upstream portion of the water-course remains dry most part of the year. The river is fullest during the months of July and August, when there are heavy rains. It mostly flows underground. It surfaces partially, just parallel to the "Sakhi Zandah Pir's Bathek," situated at the west side hills. Water increases as it reaches the point where it turns. (Here, the CDA has built water tanks for the storage and supply of water to Islamabad). The people of Saidpur believe that the abundant supply of water in the area is the blessing of Sakhi Zandha Pir - the patron Saint of waters. The "Bathek" (sitting place or the room for receiving visitors) according to an old barber - is about 250 to 300 years old. Sakhi Zandha Pir (Zandha: alive) is believed to be alive, though no one has seen him. People have heard from their elders that he was the first person to come to this place. The Saint disappeared, but people believe that he never died. Hence the place is known as a "Bathek" instead of Zairat or shrine. There is another Bathek of the same Saint near Hasanabdal. One or two disciples at the latter Bathek claim that they

have seen the Saint. People come to them for prayers. At present there is no disciple at the Saidpur Bathek.

As told by Gakkhars - a local tribe of Saidpur - the history of the settlement of the village goes back to the Gakkhar Sultans, Fateh Khan and his son Said Khan. Sultan Fateh Khan lived in a castel in Rawalpindi, known as "Purana Kalah." In those days Rawalpindi was on the highway used by the warriors of the armies of Moghals and other kings. The Gakkhars had to serve these warriors, because of the fear of their strength. They were not happy with this state of affairs. Once a certain prince of Kabul, who was expelled from Kabul, took refuge among them. He suggested that Sultan Fateh Khan should leave Rawalpindi and shift to the valley of Margallah hills. (The valley was previously a hunting ground) When the Gakkhars came to the valley, they made a dam on the stream to make a pond, which they called "Fatehpur Bowli" (Bowli: water pond or well) after the name of Sultan Fateh Khan. It was the first name of the village. After the death of Sultan Fateh Khan his son Sultan Said Khan became the leader of the village. During this period, the settlement expanded. Families of artisans, like potters, shoemakers, oil seed pressers, weavers and agriculturalists were brought into the village for settlement. They were provided with land

for houses and other facilities. It was the period when the village probably came to be known as Saidpur.

Potters have another version. They claim that they were brought to the village not by the Gakkhars but by a Hindu Deputy, Ammi Chand. They were reportedly given house tax exemptions by the British, who recognised them as the original inhabitants of the place. Deputy Ammi Chand had pleaded their case to the British Government for the tax exemption.

There is little evidence to validate their claim, except that the portion of the village they presently occupy is the oldest part and is quite central. The shoe-makers and the barbers also occupy a central place, whereas the oil seed pressers and the weavers live at the outskirts of the village. If the locale reflects order of settlement, the weavers and oil seed pressers settled later in Saidpur.

Throughout most part of the history the land was owned primarily by the families of Gakkhars. Fruits, vegetables and grains were the main crops. The stream was the source of irrigation. The "Arian" or agriculturalist, worked on the land. Side by side they grew orchards on the small plots of land owned by the Gakkhars, and were given

half of the total harvest in return of their labour. The artisans produced goods which were exchanged with others for grain. They were provided with grain at the time of harvest, i.e. twice a year. It was a sort of economic exchange known as sepy system in Punjabi villages and Jajmani system in India; described in great detail by William Wiser (1936), Scarlet Epstein (1967) and many other anthropologists.

Hindus reportedly came later to do trade in Saidpur, and all of the shops of the market place were previously owned by them. They economically excelled from the other castes.

Sikhs came to rule in Saidpur during the period of the expansion of their territory from Punjab to Peshawar (1834). They used forced labour to build a castle on the top of the eastern hills. They selected the place as ideal for watching the whole village from the top. Presently there is no trace of the castle, but the levelled top of the hill and old trees provide some evidence of the Sikh rule. People of Saidpur have heard from their elders that the Sikh rule was very strict. They levied heavy land tax, which Gakkhars refused to pay. Thus hostilities developed between Sikhs and Gakkhars. People of other castes were also unhappy, hence they sided the Gakkhars.

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The Sikh rule lasted only for six months. They lost their power after an incident of tripple murder. According to Raja Latif, the Lamberdar, three Sikh males once tried to rape a Syed girl. A few Gakhars saw them. They drew their swords and killed the culprits on the spot. This incident frightened the Sikhs and hence they fled from Saidpur.

Another event, people of Saidpur remember is the raid of 1926. The story goes that a man from a village on the other side of the Saidpur hills was murdered by a Hindu. The people of his village took revenge by raiding Saidpur because, here many Hindus lived. They looted their shops and burnt their houses. Nobody was killed during the raid because the Hindus took refuge in the houses of Gakkhars.

During the period of British rule in India, the Gakkhars showed no resistance against them. This is probably due, in no small way, to the fact that the British succeeded the Sikhs, whom people hated most. The British appointed "Zaildars" (Zaildar: Revenue Collector) from the Gakkhars, who at that time already had the Lamberdari, or informal hereditary leadership of the village. The collection of the revenue, according to the Rawalpindi District Gazetteer, was assigned to them in 1906, and the

village had a "chawkidar," who kept the records of deaths and births.

In 1947, the time of partition of Indo-Pak subcontinent, the Hindus left the village migrated to India. The immigrants who came to Saidpur, were from Kashmir. Three extended families of Kashmiris are settled in Saidpur. They preferred to settle in the village than in Rawalpindi City, because of the geographical similarity of Saidpur with the land, they had left behind.

The settlement of Saidpur continued to expand gradually, as the people from the neighbouring villages were attracted to settle here, because of fertile lands and availability of skilled people. The increase in the settlement came to a halt, when the area of the village was included in the master plan for the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad.

In 1961, during Ayub Khan's regime, the government decided to construct a city for the capital of Pakistan, on the area that stretches out at the step of Margalla Hills range. This area was dotted with many villages, which were evacuated to acquire the land for the construction of the city. The area, which was required for immediate construction was evacuated earlier, while the remaining one was left undisturbed till the construction work reaches its boundaries.

Among other villages, Saidpur was the largest which was greatly affected by the construction of Islamabad. Its agricultural land was acquired immediately. The inhabited area was also bought by the Capital Development Authority (CDA), but it remained intact because ^{it} has yet not brought under any scheme of the C.D.A. There are, however, many plans for it. One of them is to make it a model village. Recently President Zia-ul-Haq suggested that the place should be turned into a National Park.

The land of Saidpur village was bought by the Capital Development Authority in four different periods.

TABLE-1

AREAS OF LAND AND THE AMOUNT
PAID BY THE CDA

Year	Acres	Type of Land	Amount Paid (Rs.)
1961	500	Agricultural	84,455
1962	936	Agricultural	30,81,876
1963	3	Forest	83,683
1967	618	Land, including the houses	13,85,415
Total Land 2057		Total Amount 46,35,429	

Alternate Source: agricultural land, was also provided elsewhere to big land owners. Some of them sold their share, others brought it under cultivation through contractors, and hence did not leave their native village Saidpur.

A number of villagers who received money for their land bought property in cities, like Rawalpindi and Islamabad. But residentially remained in the village. Probably, because it is in the nature of man to become

habitually accustomed to a particular type of habitat after a certain period of time.

2.2 THE DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Saidpur is a large village. Its population, according to a survey done by the Capital Development Authority (November, 1979) is 2353 distributed into 652 houses. A house to house survey of the village was not possible in the limited period of field-work. Moreover the demographic details required for the present research, have to be based on the relative strength of each generation in the village instead of age categories in the village population. For having an overview of the total population of Saidpur, I relied on the census reports of various government departments.

TABLE -2

DIFFERENT CENSUS REPORTS ON THE VILLAGE

Year	Department	No.of houses/ Families	Population
1977	C.D.A.	652 Houses	-
1977	Food Deptt:	409 Families	4049
1979	C.D.A.	652 Houses	2353

Data collected on generational level for the 60 families included in the sample is detailed hereunder:

TABLE-3

RATIOS BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT
GENERATIONS

No. of Families	G-I		G-II		G-III		TOTAL
	G.Fa	G.Ma	Fa	Ma	So	Da	
60	24	32	91	86	137	101	452
	0.4	0.533	1.516	1.416	2.28	1.683	

Average per family = 7.533

The above mentioned census of the population is based on "family" as a basic unit, instead of "household" which means the number of people living in one house; having one store or cooking arrangement. Most of the families in Saidpur are of extended type i.e. one or more married sons and their off-springs living in the adjoining rooms of the same house, but having separate cooking arrangements. Therefore, the average number of person i.e. 7.5 for a family is higher than the universal average for a household i.e. 5 persons. The ration between the first, the second and the third generation in each family shows the relative strength of each generation.

2.3 ETHNOGRAPHY

Saidpur village is presently under the jurisdiction of Islamabad District. The nearest Police Station, for the law informcement in the village, is in the Kohsar market, Islamabad. The older systems of political control, like Zaildari or Lamberdari are no longer officially existing, but, still people recognize Raja Latif, a person whose father was a Lamberdar, as the present Lamberdar of the village. Raja Munir, a cousin of Raja Latif is also called Lamberdar Munir. Raja Latif told me that he is supposed to take the Lamberdari for one year and his cousin for the next, and hence it rotates between the two persons. At present they only have the status but not the role of Lamberdars. Even their status, though recognized, is taken for granted by the people.

In addition to Gakkhars, the other major castes of the village today are Syeds, Moghals, Junjewa Rajputs and Qutab Shahi Awans. There are different occupations traditionally associated to each caste.

TABLE-

OCCUPATIONS BY THE CASTE
GROUPS

Sr. No.	Caste group	Occupations
1.	Gakkhars	Land owners and political leaders
2.	Syeds	Pirs
3.	Qutab Shahi Awans	Agriculturalists
4.	Janjewa Rajputs	Weavers
5.	Moghals	Potters, shoemakers, barbers and oil seed pressers
6.	Mirza (one family)	Tailors
7.	Kashmiris	Agriculturalists
8.	Musali(one family)	Carpenters

There is little or no public segregation of different castes. The only restriction that strengthens the caste boundaries is the rule of endogamy. Marriages between the first cousins, both parallel and cross, are very common. The Gakkhars no longer have the privileges they use to have when they had land; but still they are respected by the other castes.

The occupational castes, such as weavers, potters, shoemakers, barbers and oil seed pressers do not like to be called by the name of their traditional occupation. They prefer to be known as Rajputs or Moghals, though most of potters, shoemakers and barbers are still engaged in their traditional occupations. None of the oil seed pressers and only two or three weavers are doing their traditional occupation. Today, the majority of the people from all castes go to Islamabad for work. Those with some education are employed in government or the private sector. The others are day labourers. A few women are also employed as house-maids in Islamabad. Some regularly do needle work and make garments for the Saidpur Behbood Center, which markets local wares in Islamabad.

The availability of occupations on the basis of personal achievement has reduced the distinction between the Zamindars and the Kammies, (the landowner and the worker castes) which were previously very strong. Now the people can raise their standard of living by attaining education. One shoemaker, for instance, has two sons who have completed twelve years of education and are employed as clerks in Islamabad. They have a newly built house, with curtains on the doors. They also have a T.V. set and socialize little with the people of their own caste.

Besides endogamy the other distinction between the different castes is the physical boundaries of their houses. Although people are rarely called Moochies (shoemakers) or Telies (Oil seed Pressers), the clusters of houses where they live are known as Moochi Mohallah or "Teli Mohalla" and throughout most of the village clear caste-bounded residence areas stand out.

The village has electricity. A few houses have hand-pumps, but women mostly get water from water tanks. The only exception ^{are} / Gakkhar women who observe "Pardah." In their case, Mashkees (Mashkee: the man who brings water) are hired for this job. Those who cannot afford mashkees, rely on the men of the household to get the water. Children too, do this job. The water tanks are located at a central place, which is quite near to most of the houses. Women can get water any time they need. Every morning, then several times during the day, they carry small containers to get water; to wash clothes or to take a bath. Some women who live just on the sides of the stream, wash their dishes and sometimes their clothes in the stream. Once a woman was seen washing her hair and legs at the stream, while men were working nearby.

There is no permanent dispensary or clinic in the village. A little medical care is provided by the volun-

teer doctors from Islamabad who hold a camp clinic, in the village, every monday besides that, there is one person, who works in Islamabad in the morning and practices 'Hakmit' (indigenous system of medicine) in the evening. Most of the people, however, go to Islamabad to consult a doctor and get medicine. The health conditions of the people are not good. In every house one or two persons are suffering from one ailment or the other. The most frequent reason of their visit to the city, besides occupation, is to see a doctor.

About 40 percent of the houses of Saidpur are of rocks, forty percent are of mud and twenty percent are of bricks. Most of the houses are built near to each other, clustered in Muhallahs, with a narrow and often rocky lane cutting through. The lanes are often dirty in contrast to the houses which are clean. The houses of Gakkhars are relatively large, with more specious courtyards. Three of them have separate one or two rooms (Batheks) out side the enclosure of the main house for receiving visitors. All the houses are single storied. The only double storied structure is the old Hindu temple, presently used by the school, post office and Behbud Center. The houses are built at different levels of the hills. Sometimes the roof of one house is the courtyard of another. Here and

there in vacant places new houses are under construction. People build the houses by themselves. Some of the houses are built as rental property. People who come from far-off villages to work in Islamabad often rent a house or a room in Saidpur, because the cost of living is very high in Islamabad. The houses do not have numbers, but are known instead, by the name of the household's head. The rental houses are known by the name of the owner. Thus, the postal address consists of, name of the person, in care-of the head of the house or the owner of the house, and the name of Mohallah.

Most of the houses consist of two or three low-roofed rooms, an outside kitchen, and a courtyard with a tree where animals are tethered. Sometimes a couple of houses, usually those of relatives are built around a single courtyard. Sheep are kept by almost every household. Man and sheep live together. They share the same compound and sometimes the same room.

Each room has a metal shelf, with moulded design that often is coloured and decorated with pieces of mirrors. On this rests crockery and glassware. The finer string charpoys are kept indoors, spread with embroidered sheets. A chair or two with embroidered

cushions and chair backs, a high square table with a cover, trunks piled up and covered with emboidered cloth, comprise the furniture of a typical household. A few houses have sofa sets and dressing tables, usually brought by brides in their dowries.

Most of the houses do not have latrines. People go out to nearby shrubs for toilet. Men bathe at the water tanks. There are three walled enclosures for this purpose. Women bathe at home behind a charpoy, set up on its side in a corner of the house and covered with a cloth to serve as a screen. Most of the women wash their hair on day and bathe on another.

Married sons live in the same house with their parents. They are provided with separate rooms, usually one for each couple. Sometimes, if a house is small, a new room is built before bringing in the son's bride. When a son's wife starts having her own cooking arrangement, she is regarded as separated from the rest of the family. Cordial relations between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law are very rare. Often they are not on talking terms, though they face each other every day. The houses of the relatives - uncles, aunts, cousins etc. are mostly clustered at one place. Men call their paternal

cousins, (i.e. from the same paternal grandfather) their "brothers". They marry their daughters with the sons of their brothers and hence the family remains within the boundaries of a cluster.

Marriages are almost invariably arranged. The boy and the girl are rarely asked for their approval. They could have seen each other beforehand on occasions such as marriages in the family. Marriage ceremonies were previously very extravagant, spread over a period of four or five days with drum music, dancing and feasting. But presently a few village leaders, like the Lamberdar and Haji Sharif - a religious leader - have banned the four day festivity. Now only two meals are given. One by the girl's parents at the time of receiving the "Barat" and the other by the boy's parents on the following day of the marriage. It is called the "Valima". The ceremonies of "Ganna" and "Mehndi" before the wedding, which they previously practiced are now considered as against "Shariah" (Shariah: the Islamic Law). A few families still have these ceremonies, but people in general do not approve such ceremonies (e.g. one out caste family of Raja Jahangir had all the ceremonies on the marriage of his daughter).

Besides the "Baradri" members, (Baradri: larger kin group or clan)neighbours and other important persons of

the village, like the Lamberdar and the school teachers, are invited to weddings. But the wedding is primarily for the baradri members. The bridegroom, on his way to the girl's house, stops at the lambarbar's 'Bathek' to pay his respects. The lambarbar on this occasion gives him some money, say five or ten rupees. The women who do not attend the marriage, visit the wedding house after a few days to see the bride and to give her some money, which is mostly taken by her mother-in-law, who is supposed to pay a similar amount or more at the time of marriage in the giver's house. This exchange of money is called "Behji," a ritual exchange which expresses sentiments of solidarity and binds baradari member together.

Although people claim that they treat male and female children equally, but boys are given prerogative in many ways. They are given more to eat and more to wear. Men take a heavy breakfast consisting of "Parathas" (loaf of bread baked in butter oil) and tea, women take only tea. Women, children and men, who do not go to the city for work, take their lunch at twelve O'clock. It mostly consists of Rotis and vegetable curry. Potatoes and varieties of spinach are commonly eaten. Tea is frequently taken during the day and guests are nearly always served tea. Supper is taken at 6 O'clock in the evening. This is the time when

everyone returns home from work, with the exception of those who have night duties, like the watchman. Men and women do not take meals together. Men are usually served first. After the meal the family members spend time talking and sleep quite late at night. Special foods are cooked and distributed on religious occasions. Little boys and girls themselves go to the houses of relatives and neighbours and collect their family's share.

There is only one primary school in the village where 170 boys and girls are enrolled. It is run by the government. The faculty consists of four teachers and headmaster. Three of the teachers are educated upto Intermediate - i.e. twelve years of education - and hold diplomas in teaching. The fourth is only a matriculate - i.e. ten years of schooling. The headmaster has an M.A. degree in Political Science. Education is free in Saidpur, but people complain that their children are asked by the teacher to bring money for different funds. The standard of education of the school is very low. An average boy of fifth class can read Urdu with some difficulty, but cannot write much. The children often perform household errands for the teacher.

A number of children go to Islamabad schools both for primary and higher education. Children who go to Islamabad schools after completing primary education in the village school

face great difficulty in keeping up with the standard of education of the city children due to the substantial change in the standard. Some of them simply drop out. Hence those who can afford, try to send their children to Islamabad schools from the very beginning. Parents are very anxious to educate their boys, but not particularly anxious to educate their girls. A few girls attend the Saidpur school, and even less go to Islamabad schools. A girl who attends a school after completing her primary education is thought to be of bad character. Boys are sent to schools, even by the parents who can hardly afford it, with the intentions that their sons will get better jobs in offices and that they will escape the hardships of labour. But strangely enough neither the parents nor the boys have any clear idea of the kind of jobs they expect to get.

Children
 /who go to Islamabad schools from the Kindergarden are very well adjusted in the city school compared to those who go after completing their primary education.

People with skilled professions, like the barbers, the potters and the shoemakers do not want their sons to adopt these professions. But the boys who fail to continue their studies start working with their fathers and learn the skill. The boys, whose fathers work in Islamabad as peons, watchmen or as sweepers, start doing similar jobs with the help of

their fathers. Relatives also use their influence or resources to provide jobs to their younger kin. Salaried jobs are given preference over skilled professions. Professions like pottery making, shoemaking and barbering are declining. Tailoring, on the other hand, is rising up. There is no caste of tailors, but the sons of shoemakers, weavers, barbers, and oil seed persons are learning this profession. It pays more than their father's profession and offers upward mobility. From one house of tailors, newly built and equipped with a television has come sons who previously worked with their father but now own a Ration Depot in Islamabad. The grandsons are attending Islamabad schools. One, when asked, "What will you do when you will grow up," replied, that he never thought about it, but was prompted by one of his friends, that he will work at the Ration Depot.

Every morning a large number of villagers leave Saidpur for Islamabad. They include men women and children. They go by Suzuki Wagons (some of them are owned by the villagers), on bicycles, and on foot. School children accompany their father or mother, as the latter go for work. There is no regular bus service in the village. The children return home at three O'clock in the afternoon. They take their meal and go to the mosque to learn Quran.

There are four mosques in the village. One of the mosque is attached to the "Mudrassa Talemul Quran". It has a boarding house, where only boys come to live and learn the Quran and Hadiths. They are also taught the preliminary skills of reading and writing. All the expenses of the Madrassa, including food and clothing are shared by the people who give donations. Haji Sharif, a shop owner and an informal religious leader is the founder of the school or the Mudrassa. He manages its funds and also donates a large amount himself. All the students have come from other places, some are from far off places like Kashmir and Afghanistan. People of Saidpur are proud of having this institution in the village.

Children start learning the recitation of Quran at the age of four or five. They go to mosques and also to the Mudrassa Talemul Quran. Quranic education is generally free in the Mudrassa and in Mosque, though there is one mosque where children pay twenty rupees each to the Molvi.

Children also do some household tasks. Boys bring wood from the hills for the house fuel. They take out the sheep for grazing. They also go to the market to bring provisions (usually in small quantity) for the house. Little girls help their mothers in washing dishes and clothes and in sweeping the house. They carry their younger siblings. They, too,

go to the market to buy things.

There are a number of vacant plots between the cluster of houses where children play. The favourite games of boys are "Guli-danda" (Guli: a small stick with both ends sharpened, Danda: a long stick with one sharpened end), "Akkhrot" (wallnut), marbels, football, cricket and hockey. Girls play with dolls. Besides these games, sometimes children play games in which they pretend different roles, and act accordingly. One of such games is "school" which is very popular, among the children. To play a group of children gather. One of them becomes the teacher and the rest pretend to be his students. The teacher gives the students school work and punishes those who are misheivious. Sometimes a group of children gather to play "school", one of them becomes the teacher and the rest of them pretend to be his students. He gives them work to do and punishes those who are mischevious.

Teenage boys who do not attend any school stay with their fathers most of the time, helping them work and learning their skills. Most of the teenage girls do not attend schools. They stay home and learn embroidering. They make things for the house, for their dowry and also for money. A number of girls and older women go to the

Behbud Centre, where they get cloth, thread and designs. They do the embroidery at their homes and take the end product to the centre where they get paid. The Behbud Centre is run by the women of the city in one of the rooms of the school. These women do not teach embroidering. They only give the material to those who already know the skill. The girls mostly learn the skill from their mothers, aunts or from their agetates. They do very fine needle work, which has caused some of them to wear power glasses.

Men who are employed in government offices return from work at three or four O'clock in the afternoon. The labourers return late in the evening. After returning from work most of them stay home with their families. Sometimes they visit their relatives or neighbours. Women do not accompany their husbands, they visit the relatives and neighbours in the day time.

Most of the men have a holiday on Friday. On this day, they do things for the household; such as mending objects that need repairs or get wood from the hills. They also visit the market where they meet their friends and other people. The Saidpur market is a fairly important place. It has about 40 shops, five of them are for meat. Meat is not consumed much by the villagers, but good meat is one of the Saidpur's specialities for which many city people come to Saidpur. There

is also a fruit and vegetable market. The fruit and vegetables are bought from the Rawalpindi market and sold to the Islamabad consumers. City people come to Saidpur every day to buy groceries, but Fridays have the largest crowds. They are very well received by the villagers, who try to make personal contacts with them for getting jobs in Islamabad. It is reported that many people, at present employed in the city, got their jobs with the help of their customers; and in return the city people often come to find employees through their contacts in the village market.

Another speciality of Saidpur is its clay-pottery. In addition to clay utensils, the potters make very fine decorative pieces^{or}/crafts. These show pieces are mostly bought by foreigners. When they come to buy the crafts, they also see the clay model of a train. Its about 6 feet long and one foot high, and has all the details of a real train. It was made by a potter who died several years ago. Presently it is with one of his sons. He receives the money, given by the people as a token of appreciation.

Saidpur is an important village among the neighbouring villages, because of its crafts and market, and also because of its location. People from the villages on the

other side of the Saidpur hills, come to Saidpur first, from where they go to the city. A number of milkmen from the neighbouring villages, who go to Islamabad to deliver milk, keep their bicycles free of charge at the lamberdar's place, because there is no road to their villages. They also do their buying at the market before returning home.

There are no noticeable family functions in the village. The crime rate is very low. Not a single case of robbery or murder has been reported in the last five decades. The only purported evil is gambling and drinking, a cause for frequent police raids and heavy fines.

Saidpur's long history of settlement and isolation due to its self-sufficiency, are the two pre-requisites for the development of its indigenous culture. The environmental changes, due to the proximity of nations modern capital, are breaking through the core of its culture. This makes Saidpur a link between the past and the present. It is, therefore, an ideal field for testing different theories of socio-cultural change.

CHAPTER-3

CULTURAL CHANGE THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 A GENERAL PERSPECTIVE

Cultural change has been generally defined as "... any modification in the ways of life of a people whether consequent to internal development or to contact between two peoples with unlike ways." (Spindler, 1959: 37) Culture remains the central concept in anthropology. Adamson Hoebel defines culture as "... the integrated system of learned behaviour patterns which are characteristics of the members of a society and which are not the result of biological inheritance." (Hoebel, 1972: 6) In other words culture is passed on from generation to generation through the process of socialization, it is shared by the members of the group, and its essential features vary from society to society. This conceptualization of culture, according to Goodenough (1961) does not explain individual variability in behaviour, attitudes and belief. To resolve this conceptual difficulty he makes a distinction between culture as "Patterns of behaviour and culture, as "Patterns for behaviour" (Goodenough, 1961: 524). It means that culture provides the individual with appropriate rules for behaviour in various

situational contexts. Some of these "rules" are idiosyncratic to the individual, some are shared with some members of the group, and others with most members of the group. Those which are shared with most members of the group, lead to behaviour patterns characteristics of the group and comprise culture in the traditional sense. So culture, hence, is shared but not completely. From this point of view culture change consists of modifications in these rules and the behavioural correlates they prescribe. This conceptualization also focusses on the real unit of change - the individual. (Goodenough, 1961:528)

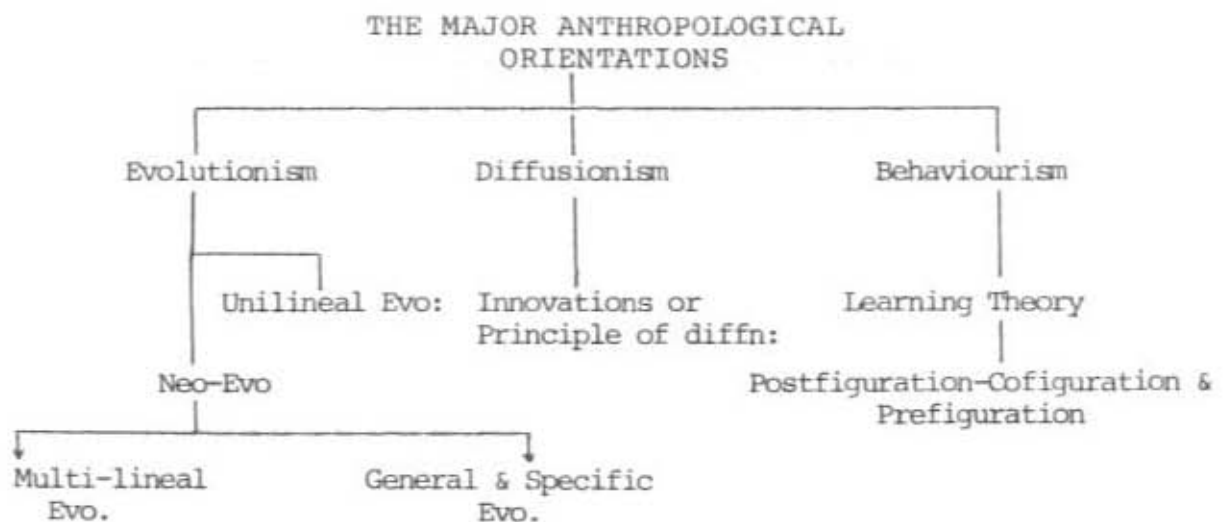
Another conceptual distinction which is often made, is between culture change and social change, culture may be defined as "prescriptions for living; society refers to the organized aggregate of people who follow these prescriptions and social system to the patterns of social interaction which occur." (wood, 1975: XIII) Social change refers to a modification in the structure or function of the social system. An example would be the change in family, say from extended to nuclear. Such a change is accompanied by culture change, concerning the family would be the break down of grandparents authority and in decision making, greater independence for parents in child rearing, greater efficiency in household work accomplishment. Culture and social change are so closely related that the distinction is commonly ignored. Sociologists use the term social change, whereas, anthropologists prefer to use the term cultural change.

Anthropologists orientation towards the study of culture change is based on three main interests:

1. To grasp the processes of change
2. To develop law and theories of change, and
3. To plan or direct change on the basis of their conceptual understanding

The present research is meant to understand change in the light of a model proposed by Margerret Mead. In this chapter, I will, therefore, discuss the theoretical background of Mead's Model and of other current theories of change.

Most of the anthropological theories of change are based on the following major orientations of the discipline:-



3.2 EVOLUTIONISM

The early theories of cultural evolution are inspired by Darwin's Theory of biological evolution. Edward B. Tylor (1871) in London and Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) in America provided explanations for the development of all cultures every where on the basis of a single scheme. An example can be taken from the work of Morgan, who proposed that all societies everywhere pass through the same stages - from savagery to barbarism to civilization - and they do so in unilineal fashion; every culture progresses through the same predetermined stages in all parts of the world. This was explained by the fact that human beings everywhere share same mental processes - referred to by Taylor as the "Psychic Unity of mankind." (Tylor 1871) The method of proof for Morgan was the existence of a few technologically related traits present at each stage of progression. Savagery and barbarism with or without pottery. (Morgan 1877) A number of unilineal evolutionary theories were proposed by Tylor, Morgan and other evolutionists. The evolution of culture from primitive to civilized was supposedly accompanied by the progression from magic to religion to science; from promiscuity from polytheism to monotheism; from community property to private property and so on.

The weakness of unilineal evolutionary theories were felt by many anthropologists Robert Lowie, for instance, criticized Morgan for relying on a very incomplete data base. He believes that, while culture does evolve and there is some truth to the assumption of the "Psychic unity of mankind," all cultures do not pass through the same unilineal stages; independent invention is vastly overestimated by the evolutionists, and contact between people with resulting borrowing of cultural traits is largely ignored. He also believes that Morgan and others misrepresented data of the world on the basis of a prior scheme and made sweeping generalizations of a scant and unreliable data. (Lowie, 1937) In short, the evolutionary theories were rejected in the beginning of nineteenth century. Anthropologists like Boas, Malinowski, Lowie, Strauss and Red Cliff Brown used structural and functional approach to the study of culture.

A renewed interest in evolution was started by neo-evolutionists like Laslie White (1959) and Julian Steward (1946-58), and later by Marshall Sahlins (1960) and Elman R. Service (1960). The theoretical framework of White and others is similar to that of the classical evolution i.e. they see broad scale trends in the succession of cultural forms as demonstrable, but they do not take the extreme position that every culture goes through the same unilineal stages. Culture,

they believed, evolves according to its own laws, thereby individuals do not play a significant role in the process of culture change, but the cultural systems like the technology, the sociological and ideological, interplay to produce a change. White's theory of cultural evolution is based on the expanded use of energy by cultures through the evolution of technology. According to him, the history of civilization is based on the attempt to control nature. The more energy a culture is able to extract from nature, the more evolved a culture is bound to be. This is formulated in a law of culture evolution that, "as the amount of energy harnessed by socio-cultural systems increase per capita per year, the systems not only increase in size, but become more highly evolved, i.e.... more differentiated structurally and more specialized functionally" (White: 1959: 39-40).

Julian Steward; a contemporary of white developed, somewhat similar approach of evolution. According to him, the key is the "adaptation approach" to the study of technology is a cultur's ecology. The cultural ecological study has three aspects: 1) the analysis of the methods of production in the environment, 2) the pattern of human behaviour that is part of these methods, 3) and the relationship of production techniques to the other elements of the culture. (Bohannon and Glazer, 1973:321).

Steward differs from White in the sense that he did not develop any law of cultural evolution, but only searched for significant cross-cultural regularities in cultural change. That is his theory of Multilinear Evolution, based on the assumption that like causes will produce similar effects even though the cultural setting may be separate in time, space and life ways (Wood; 1975:7).

Marshall Sahlins and Elman Service, both the students of White and Steward accepted both the approaches as valid for the study of change. Sahlins makes distinction between general and specific evolution attributing former to White and latter to Steward. Kaplan and Manners sum up their theory that, "systems exhibiting greater complexity and all round adaptability are process of general evolution. The emergence of new cultural types, as they undergo an inevitable process of radiation and adaptation to their specific total environment are the process or aspect of specific evolution". (Kaplan and Manners, 1972: 48-49).

The theories of neo-evolutionists, according to Harris, are over coloured by the importance of technology; and hence, promote cultural materialism to measure progress. But progress does not enhance the understanding of conditions under which culture energy systems evolve to higher level of productivity. (Harris: 1968: 653).

3.3 DIFFUSIONISM

Boas (1858-1942) used the concept "diffusion" to explain culture change as the result of large scale borrowing. Thinking in these lines gave rise to school of diffusionism. Diffusionist developed the notion of *Kulturkreise* or culture circles; "large complexes of traits which had lost their former geographical unity and were now dispersed throughout the world." (Harris, 1968: 313). The developmental implications of the culture area concept were elaborated by Boas's student Clark Wissler. He proposed that: 1) the most dense clustering of similar traits and complexes occur at the centre of the culture area where most favourable niche for the particular pattern exists 2) the most favourable ecological niche is also the centre of the greatest elaboration of the cultural pattern and where dominant pattern are absorbed, recreated and radiated outward and finally 3) those traits and complexes found furthest from the centre of dispersal were older and therefore diffused earlier than those closer to the centre. The later proposition has been referred to age-area hypothesis (Wissler; 1926: XV).

The English diffusionists G. Ellist Smith (1928) and W.J. Perry (1923), were the most extreme. They proposed

that the culture must have developed only once under extremely favourable circumstances and then spread throughout the world. These circumstances, they felt, existed only in ancient Egypt. With the rise of navigation the elements of this civilization were spread to the rest of the world, but became more and more diluted as they reached the outposts of mankind. As the proof of their theory they relied primarily on the existence of three basic diagnostic features; stone tombs, stone idols and munification. Since these features were all present in ancient Egypt, they must have diffused from there to other parts of the world.

The shortcomings in the approach of diffusionists were later pointed out by other anthropologists. Wood, for instance, believes that diffusionists over emphasized the importance of borrowing and completely ignored the inventive nature of man. (Wood; 1975: 5).

Innovations

In the contemporary anthropological theories, diffusion is regarded as one of the main factors of innovations within a culture. (Barnett; 1953: 7) The other factors are discovery and invention which are not very common.

The basic factors that are responsible for the diffusion of a particular cultural trait, are its relative advantage, complexity, trialability and observability in the receiving culture. (Rogers; 1971: 22-23) The further elaboration of these factors is provided by wood. According to him, "Relative advantage, refers to the degree to which an innovation is perceived as superior to the trait it replaces. Compatibility, is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as consistent with existing values, experience and needs. Complexity, is the degree to which an innovation is perceived as difficult to understand and use, and trialability the extent to which the innovation can be experimented with, on a limited basis. The degree to which positive results of an innovation can be seen by others, refers to its observability." (Wood; 1975: 17)

The negation of these principles according to wood, tend to slow down, if not prohibit altogether the acceptance of a particular innovation. Diffusion, therefore, is a selected process. It is effected by the duration and intensity of contact, similarity of two groups and relative cultural integration. (Wood, 1975: 25) Culture change resulting from innovations within a culture can, thus, be studied on the above mentioned principles of diffusion.

3.4 BEHAVIOURISM

The trend towards the study of man's "Mental Life" in anthropological analysis started during the interval between the two world wars. Freud was the main inspiration for behavioural or psychological approach. Because of this influence the emphasis upon history and diffusion was decreased, and the result was the American version of "synchronic functionalism; Culture and personality Studies." (Harris; 1969: 393) The development of psycho-cultural analysis among the anthropologists diverted their attention more towards individual's responsibility for frustrations and anxieties and consequent turning away from the techno-environmental", "techno-economic," and social and political conditions (Harris;1968: 394)

Ruth Benedict, was the first anthropologist who applied culture and personality theory to the study of culture. She proposed that the discription of entire cultures might be integrated around one or two major psychological traits. This approach is the basis of her study of cultures, which she presents in her book "Patterns of Cutlure" (1934).

Other psychologists who influenced anthropological theories, besides Freud, were Clark Hull and B.F. Skinner.

Their learning theories were adopted by anthropologists like John Whiting, A. Kardiner and I.L. Child (1953). The learning theory's Anthropological version is as follow:

"Maintenance Systems — child training practices — personality variables — projective systems" (Harris; 1968: 450)

"Maintenance Systems" are the primary institutions like economic, political and social organizations etc. According to this theory, child training system of a society is directly related to adult practices. For example, there is a correlation between harsh parental treatment and the belief that the spirit world is harsh and aggressive. (Harris; 1968: 450-51).

Margaret Mead, influenced by psychological approach, did a great deal of psychological study of youth of pacific areas. Her books, "Growing up in new Guinea" (1930) and "Coming of Age in Samoa" (1928) deal with child disciplin practices in pacific cultures and their influence on their adult personality.

The use of learning of theories in anthropology was critisized by Harris. According to him, "the learning theories, though explain the varying adult personality of

different cultures it ignores to explain to what extent does the existence of a particular monetary feedback between basic institutions and basic personality limit the rate and direction of cultural evolution". (Harris; 1968: 55).

Margaret Mead provides some solution to this problem in one of her last books, "Culture and Commitment" (1975). She got the opportunity to revisit New Guinea (Manus) after twenty five years of her first visit, to study cultural change, which was the outcome of second world war, mostly because of the invasion of the foreign armies; the American and Japanies, who brought with them the new technology and their cultural values. The change for Manus was a complete transformation from primitive or stone-age culture to contemporary culture. Such a change usually take centuries to occur, but for Manus the period was condensed into twenty five years (Mead;1959).

The phenomena of abrupt change is becoming wide spread, due to the development of means of communication and mass media. Primitive cultures, because of the lack of isolation are changing rapidly. The change might not be a complete duplication of the modern culture, but the development of unique combination or configuration of its

own. There are, however, some common denominators which are shared by all cultures that undergo such a change.

Margaret Mead, on the basis of her study of cultural transformation of Manus in particular and her wide range knowledge of cultures of the world, formulated a model of cultural change. Her analysis is based on the "learning theory." The stages of change, she suggested are as follow:

- ↑ Prefigurative culture: when the elders have to learn from the children about the experiences, which they never had.
- ↑ Cofigurative culture; The present is the guide to future expektations.
- ↑ Postfigurative culture; when the future repeats the past.

(Mead, 1975: 13)

She categorizes preliterate societies, like that of Samoa or of polynesia or of the Mountain Arapesh of New Guinea or the Balinese, as having postfigurative culture (Mead; 1975: 19). In such cultures, the experiences of the elders functioned as the text for the children. The past of the adults was the future of each new generation, their lives provided the ground plan. Each individual, according to age, sex, intelligence and temperament,

embodied the whole culture. (Mead: 1975: 15).

Postfigurative culture, according to Mead, is generational. It depends for continuity upon the adults being able to see parents who reared them as they rear their own children in the way they themselves were reared. (Mead; 1975: 17). In other words the three generations — the grandparents, the parents and the children — live in a close proximity, which is one of the main factors that makes the total cultural transmission from older generation to the younger.

In contemporary societies, with developed means of communication and medias of information, the conditions for the continuity^{of} postfigurative culture ceased to exist. Each generation is now exposed to all types of informations from the outside world. In these conditions, Mead believes that every generation receives different kind of learning experience. Hence, the variation that occurs from generation to generation, brings rapidity in changing a culture. (Mead; 1975: 43).

The next transition, suggested by Mead, is pre-figuration. It is a characteristic of those societies, where the pace of development of technology and related change, is so fast that the children gain authority on new inventions

discoveries and knowledge. The elders, in order to up-to-date themselves, have to learn from their younger generation (Mead; 1975: 83).

To sum up, it can be said, that in Margaret Mead's Model of cultural change, factors like discovery, invention or diffusion are, though, not completely ignored, but treated as a part of general development. Her main concern are the consequences, of this development, that affect behavioural pattern of the individual of a society. The variation in the behavioural patterns from generation to generation, then itself becomes a cause of overall cultural change in a society.

Margaret Mead's "Model" is, criticized by Victor Barnouw, as impressionistic; based upon reading and conversation and not on any organized interviews or questions (Barnouw; 1973: 454). However the study of culture change in a society through postfigurative-cofigurative perspective I believe, is useful, because through it both the process of diffusion, which has become a world-wide phenomena in present time due to the expansion of means of communication and mass-medias, and the resulting behavioural re-adjustment between the individuals of the society can be studied. The study of Saidpur, through the application of this model, hence, has utility, in providing a clearer picture of overall change at a micro level.

CHAPTER-4

4.1 THE POSTFIGURATIVE ROOTS OF SAIDPUR

To view Saidpur in a postfigurative cultural set up, it requires to go back atleast fifty years in time period; when the present first generation was in its youth. The earlier set-up of the village is traced, for the present research, through investigations into its traditional systems of socio-economic and occupational learning, marriage, housing arrangements and proximity of generations. A discription of these systems, in the following pages, will point out if the set up can be categorized as postfigurative.

4.1.1 The Traditional Socio-economic Set up and Occupational Learning:

As/has been mentioned earlier (see chapter-2) ^{it} the settlement of Saidpur is about 250 to 300 years old. Its earliest population consisted of extended families, with traditional occupational skills, like pottery making, shoe-making, weaving, barbering and seed oil pressing. In addition to the skilled people, there were landowner, Syeds - the

religious practitioners or Pirs, and agriculturalists. The skills were passed on from the older generation to the younger generation in a close familial circle. In the families of landowners, the land was the heritage, which required the children to follow the footsteps of the parents, in order to learn their future role, which would be no different from their fathers or grandfather's role. Even in the families of Syeds; recognized as Pirs (saints), the pir-hood ran in the family. The piety of a person was recognized as his father's or grandfather's heritage passed on to him.

The presence of land and skills are the proves of village's self-sufficiency, and the reason for which it remained isolated from the outside world for quite some time. Another reason for its isolation was the poor means of communication. Earlier, there was only an uneven dirt path which connected Saidpur with Rawalpindi City. The travel was only possible by the "tongas." (cart, pulled by a horse) The tongas were owned by a few landowners, who sometimes, used them to sell their surplus agricultural produce to the city. The selling of grain or fruit was not present in earliest period, when the agricultural production of the village was consumed by the village people. The surplus was either not cultivated or went waste. Similarly handicrafts like, clay pottery, shoes, cloth, herb oils etc. were produced

for its consumption in Saidpur and in few surrounding villages; and exchange for grain or the other products. A little barter exchange is present in Saidpur, even today. For example, there is only one weaver left in the village, who still weaves woolen chadars or shawls, for which he sometimes receives grain as the payment. The grain is used for the payments by the people of nearby villages, who own the land and do cultivation.

The earliest economic system of Saidpur was similar to the Hindu Jajmani system (Wiser: 1936) or the Sepy system of Punjab. The services of artisans were rendered through out the year, for which they were paid in kind twice a year at the time of harvest. Besides the economic exchange of goods and services; the system was characterized by a network of social obligation. The landowner, for instance, patronized his functionaries and the latter in return showed their faithfulness towards the former. The patron and client both supported each other at the time of need. This type of relationship remained constant from generation to generation. The sons of landowners inherit the land and the sons of artisans inherit the job. Hence it was the family, and not the individuals, that remained attached in the network of socio-economic relations. Some traces of such relationships are still existing in Saidpur. For instance, when a kumhar's (potter's)

son needed admission in the city school, the kumhar asked the 'Rajas' (former landowners) to use their influence in getting the admission. Although, now both, the Kumhars and the Rajas, are economically independent of each other.

The socio-economic system, described above, had a built-in social stability. The future of a child was the present of his parents and grandparents; because it is the only way through which he could earn a livelihood. In a set up, when there were no alternatives for children to adopt, the parents and grandparents were the only sources of learning the future role.

The process of learning in such a set up can be categorized as postfigurative, as the parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, elder brothers, sisters and cousins act as teachers. How their experience is conveyed to the younger generation, is different in different castes. Kumhars, for instance, say that they learnt pottery making, not through strict training, but through their own childhood curiosity. The Kumhars have their pottery making wheels close to their houses. Their children play near by when the former are at work. As they grow a little older, they are told to do small jobs like, putting the wet pots in the sun or to add water

TRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS



A BARBER



WEAVER; Grandmother with her
spinning wheel



SHOE MAKERS

in the clay. When the wheel is not being used by the elders, the children imitating their elders, try their hand on the wheel and make small pots, just for playing purpose. Such type of play is not discouraged, but rather appreciated by the elders. As the child grows up his skill improves through practice. Hence by play, and helping a bit, the skill is learnt. A boy usually learns to make pots, when he is seventeen or eighteen.

The women of kumhars also help in making pottery. They grind the clay; and separate hard stones from it; help men in painting the decorative pots. In one of the kumhar's families I observed the father putting one colour on pots the mother painting another and their five years old daughter was dipping her finger in a third colour and making small dots, included in the design. Her mother was making those dots, from where she took the job. She was neither told, nor stopped by anybody to do this work. It was her childhood curiosity which led her to take part in what was being done by the people around her.

Unlike potters, of whom a majority of second generation and few of third generation are engaged in their traditional occupation, there are only one or two weavers who still do weaving. According to one of them, learning the skill of weaving use to start early - at the age of fourteen to fifteen -

for a son of weaver. It was through becoming an apprentice to his father, grandfather or to any of his uncles, who was better in skill from the others. It use to take one year to fully learn weaving. Before the actual learning the boys did odd jobs for the family. For example, fetching wool to their grandmothers, who made the thread on the spinning wheel. The children use to gather around their grandmother while she spinned the wheel. She told them stories with morals and made them help a little bit. When the boys grew older, they use to start doing outdoor errands, like fetching woods from the forest or taking the sheep for grazing. The girls use to learn to spin thread and later, to cook from their mothers.

A girl after marriage was expected to do the cleaning and cooking for the family of her husband. Her these responsibilities were transfered to her daughter-in-law after her son's marriage. She, then, spent most of the time on spinning wheel.

The shoe-makers, like the weavers, use to acquire their skill by becoming apprentice to the father or sometimes to an older brother. Learning to make shoes was considered to be a tedious job. It use to take more than two years to acquire the skill. A moochi or shoe-maker, like the potter, did most of the work in his house. Hence, it was the house where the learning use to take place.

Barbers on the other hand, go out to do hair cutting etc. A barber's son use to start accompanying his father on the job when he reached the age of ten or twelve. For couple of years he just watched his father doing the job and helped him carrying the instruments. After that period he use to do some barbering under the guidance of his father. He continued to work with his father for quite some time before he began working independently.

There is not a single Teli or oil see presser, who is engaged in the traditional occupation of producing herb oil. But the present first generation knows the skill, according to them, oil seed pressing did not require prolong skill learning; instead, it required strength to move the wheel; (kohloo) to press the seeds or herbs in order to produce oil.

The processes, in learning the above mentioned skills did not involve, much of strict discipline or use of agonizing methods like beating, which Mead believed were essential for this type of learning (Mead, 1975: 28). In Saidpur the postfigurative learning was transmitted in two conditions, first was the close association between the generations and second, the early conveyance of the skill. Besides these conditions, the childhood stories with morals like, "God never forgives a person whose father was unhappy with him"

or "A person who respected his elders always achieved success," also helped to make the children obey their elders.

In the families of landowners the parental role learning was conveyed through threats of disinheritance. For them, it was the fear of losing their share in land and being out casted by the rest of the family; that made them respect their parents and grandparents and follow their foot prints.

The process of learning, in Saidpur, was a part of growing up. Parents did not create any anxiety in their children, through strictness in teaching, that the later had to achieve a certain status through learning, because the status was already insured by the social structure, that was based on the status of families and not on the individual's achievement.

4.1.2 The Traditional Marriage System

Marriages in Saidpur, two generation ago, were invariably arranged by the parents or more often by the grandparents. Marriages among the first cousins both parallel and cross were most common. The marriages were done at an early age - 18 to 20 years for boys and 13 to 15 years for girls.

The decision about the marriage of a girl and boy was taken even earlier. One of the common practice was, to take such a decision, at the birth of a girl. As children, the boy and the girl (being in the same family) play together, they were told off and on by the elders about the particular relation, they will enter, when they will grow up. Hence the feelings of attachment were postfigured by the older generation. When they grew older they stop seeing each other, because of the restriction imposed by the elders. But they, probably develop greater feelings of attachment, based on the memory of childhood togetherness that made such marriage very smooth. Hence, it was the conveying of an arrangement early in life which made the arranged marriages, acceptable for the spouses.

4.1.3 The Housing Arrangement and Proximity of Generations

The housing arrangement in Saidpur, about two generation earlier was mostly the joint system, where all the members of an extended family lived jointly. There was a common pooling of resources because of family's unified occupation and joint earning. The traces of this type of family systems are most evident from the structure of houses that are present these days. A number of houses share a single courtyard and an entrance. Some of the houses have

more than one enterances; one from the outside and others from the adjoining houses. The adjoining houses are always of relatives, like, of father's brothers or of mother's brothers. Originally, these clustered houses were parts of a single house, used by one extended family, consisting of grandparents, parents, paternal uncles and aunts, and cousins. The male cousins called each other "brothers" and female cousins recognized each other as "sisters". There use to be a common cooking place and a common "Tundur" (Oven made of clay and dug in a corner of a courtyard.)

As accounted by the members of present first generation, the reason for having one cooking place, was because of a common occupation of the family which was usually administered by the eldest male head of the family like grandfather or if the grandfather had died, the father's elder brother, who received and allocated the family's earnings unlike, today, when most of the male members have their independent fixed salaries.

The occupational structure had its implications on the family type and both, the family and occupation, were the reasons by which the three generations were placed in a situation of constant interaction.

The responsibility of disciplining the children was shared by the every elder member of the family. If a child

disobeyed his father, the uncle use to scold him or tried to make him understand his fault. A lot of respect for elders, was expected from the children. Most of the members of today's first generation agree that they respected their elders, especially the eldest male head of the joint family, to the extent that they rarely spoke to them directly, and even if they did, they never looked at them straight in the eyes.

The stability of occupations, from generation to generation, and the close proximity of generations in the traditional marriage and family system were the conditions prevalent in Saidpur's earlier set up, in which the children, not being aware of any alternatives, unquestioningly adopted what ever was passed on from their parents and grandparents at an early age.

4.2 THE TRANSITIONAL CONDITIONS

The process of transition from postfiguration to configuration started quite before the establishment of Islamabad. It was very gradual in the beginning, the establishment of Islamabad has, however, accelerated this process.

The major conditions of postfigurative-configuration transition in Saidpur, are as follow:

- a. The breakdown of traditional occupational system due to industrialization.
- b. The introduction of formal education.
- c. The introduction of mass media.
- d. The acquisition of the agricultural land.
- e. Proximity of Islamabad - the capital city of Pakistan.

The order of the presentation of conditions, mentioned above, is also the sequence in which they occurred. For some people a single condition brought a break in the postfigurative learning and for some it was the interplay of two or more conditions. To analyze the effect of each condition, I will, here, discuss them individually.

4.2.1 The breakdown of traditional occupational System Due to Industrialization

People with skills like weaving, shoe-making etc., experienced an early break or discontinuity in the transmission of their skills from the older generation to the younger generation. With the establishment of Industries in the country, the commodities like cloth or shoes were started to be manufactured in abundance and of good quality by the factories. Although a few shoe-makers and even a few weavers are skilled

and practising their profession presently, but they are not teaching the skill to their children or grandchildren. They say, that the factory made shoes or cloth, are both cheaper and of good quality than the hand made ones.

Relinquishing a traditional occupation, means the adoption of a new one. The transition towards the new occupations ^{for} weavers, for instance, was most varied. The following case studies will exemplify the particular change for a particular family or families of weavers.

A cluster of ten houses, consisted of the families of weavers, are presently known as 'Lohars' or ironsmiths. Most of the males belonging to that cluster are engaged in iron work at the construction of the houses. The story of the adoption of iron work goes back to Mr. X an elderly man of the first generation. According to him, weavers, like other functionary castes in the village, worked in the fields at the time of harvest and ploughing. Mr. X use to work in the fields at the time of ploughing, where he noticed that the iron plough and other agricultural impliments required frequent repairing for which he had to take them to Rawalpindi to an ironsmith, who charged heavily to fix them. Mr. X figured out that he could earn that money, if he could learn and start doing the job himself. He therefore became an apprentice to that ironsmith, and learnd the skill. After learning

the profession he returned to the village and taught the work to his close relatives - the paternal cousins who then started to do the fixing of agricultural implements for the village's need.

In 1961 when the land was acquired, the village's agricultural production was stopped and so was the work for ironsmiths. In these circumstances, the construction work in Islamabad opened a new opportunity for them to use the skill of iron work. They started working in construction business to lay the iron frame for the roof ladders of the buildings.

Work in the city meant a constant contact with urbanities. Jobs like peons, watchman or similar of urbanities, seemed more attractive, to the ironworker, because of the fixed salary and less strenuous work required of them. Some of them got such job, by their contacts in the city.

The transition for this particular group of weavers was, thus, from weavers to ironsmiths, then to masons, then to peons or fixed salaried jobs. The next shift would be towards clerical jobs, because most of the children of the cluster are getting education upto Matric or F.A. Presently most of the males of the cluster are masons of ironwork, a few are peons or on similar grade jobs, and only one person is a clerk.

The second case of particular transition for the weavers after relinquishing weaving, is of the males of a cluster of 13 houses. Most of the males of this cluster are doing fruit vending in Islamabad when these people stopped weaving cloth - due to the industrialization. They began cutting wood from the forest and selling it at Raja's timber shops. They also worked in fruit gardens at the time of the picking of fruits and selling it in the Rawalpindi market. At the time of the establishment of Islamabad, the forest area was also acquired. The wood cutters from then started selling fruits in Islamabad. They buy it on wholesale from the Rawalpindi market and take it to Islamabad city in big baskets for selling. Their experience in picking fruits and awareness of the market where it was sold, enabled them to acquire fruit vending as a profession to earn living in the new circumstances.

There are four persons, belonging to this particular cluster, who are peons or on similar jobs. They obtained these jobs through their contact with the city because of fruit selling. The transition for the people of this cluster of weaver can be put in the preceding generational sequence that the great grandfather was a weaver, the grandfather was a wood cutter but later became a fruit vender, the father is fruit vender and the father's brother is a peon,

the grandsons are going to schools, some of them will probably become clerks.

In the above mentioned cases, the break in the postfiguration learning was the result of industrialization but the continuity in the transition is due to other factors like the proximity of Islamabad or education etc.

4.2.2 The Introduction of Formal Education

Formal education through schools is one of the major conditions for transition towards configuration, because it isolates children from the parents and enhance greater association among the age-mates. The system of separate classes based on age gradation of the students, segregates even the older children from their younger siblings. Besides that, higher education is a source of acquiring better job, which results in changing the status of a generation from their progenitors.

A primary school in Saidpur was introduced in 1931. The children who attended the school in those days were mostly of landowners or of Syeds. The trend of acquiring education in the skilled castes developed quite late. In the beginning, although the school education meant, only the

acquisition of skills, like reading and writing, but it too resulted in breaking the postfigurative learning. Mr. Y - a son of Syeds recognized as Pirs and a member of present first generation - for instance, was admitted to a school by his father, who being a religious saint, was well versed in Quran and also knew writing. Mr. Y was send to school to learn reading and writing, but he use to sneak out from the school, and therefore he could not learn the religious knowledge either from school or from his father. When he grew up he struggled to get some job. With the help of a friend in the city he learnt driving and became a truck driver. Thus, the change indirectly brought(- by the school - by isolating the father from his son -) was from Piry Mureedy, (Mureeds: the follower) to truck driving. But strangely enough, the mureeds, after the death of his father started coming to him. He says, that people have faith in him, though, he has no knowledge of the religion at all. He does not know how to write, but when the Mureeds ask him to write "Taveez" (amulets) he makes some signs with a pen on the paper instead of writing words from the Quran which the latter take happily as a "Taveez" or amulet.

The change of status through higher education can be exemplified by the case of shoe-makers. In Saidpur, shoe making is considered to be the lowest occupation. Whereas, working in an office (the clerical job) is considered to be

on the one of the highest. There are three sons of a shoe maker who have obtained education up to Intermediate, and are doing clerical jobs in Islamabad. They hesitate to associate with their father, who still makes shoes.

Boys of potters, barbers and of other artisans, who are going to schools, would not be able to learn thier traditional skills after the complition of their education. It is because, most of the skilled people believe that learning of skill can only take place at an early age, which is not possible for the school going children who remain away from their parents for most part of the day. The boys, who drop out after doing four or five years of school education, often do learn their family's profession, but those who drop out in 8th or 9th year of school; when they are of 15 or 16 years in age do not learn the profession. The school education, thus, brings discontinuity in the post-figurative learning.

4.2.3 The Introduction of Mass Medias

The sources of mass medias like radio, television, newspaper, books or magazines, carry the information from all parts of the world, and therefore, make the people aware of new ways of life. In the presence of mass medias, the younger generation do not, usually seek their parents

or elders for information but rely on the information gathered from the medias. It also indirectly reduces the closeness between the generations. The children spend more time in reading books etc, unlike their elders who spent that time listening to the parents and grandparents. In Saidpur, most of the people of first generation complain that their children are more influenced by books, magazines or by television programmes and are thus, going away from the family's traditions.

The information from mass medias bring a gradual change in the ideas of the people. The younger generation adopts its influence more readily than the older generation because the former have no previous learning or experience, which requires to be unlearn, in order to adopt the new one.

Although, the influence of mass medias is, primarily, very gradual, but sometimes it can also bring an abrupt change, as it did for Mr. F, an ex-army man and the eldest son of the former lamberdar of Saidpur. During the British rule in India, Mr. F read an advertisement in a newspaper, offering commission in the British army. He not only himself joined the army but also convinced many others (villagers) to join. Mr. F's decision was strongly opposed by his elder. His

father disinherited him of land and from the lamerdari of the village which he was supposed to get after the death of the father. In the presence of all the opposition he made a break (away) from the parental generation and this break was originally initiated by the mass media.

4.2.4 The Acquisition of Land for the Establishment of Islamabad

The acquisition of land by the Capital Development Authority (CDA) in 1961, brought an abrupt change for the people of Saidpur, who primarily depended on agriculture. Although the acquisition of land affected everybody, but its affect was most drastic for the landowners. Taking away of land from the landowners changed the parental position of authority, who can no longer use threats of disinheritance to command obedience from their off-springs. The cash amount paid by the C.D.A. for land was mostly divided among the heirs of the land. Some of them wisely spent it on buying property, like shops or houses in Rawalpindi or elsewhere. Others lost it, either in gambling or investing it unwisely in some business that ended in lose. In both the cases the present second generation was left on its own to decide what ever they wished to do with the money.

There is, however, some uniformity in occupations for the present second generation of landowners. Most of them are employed in Islamabad on salaried jobs. Another unusual uniformity is that a number of them, especially the heirs of big land holdings, are employed by the C.D.A. This is due, in no small way, to the fact, that the land-owners remained in a close contact with CDA for the payment of their land, for which they pleaded several times for the increase. C.D.A., probably, in order to give them some consolation, provided the jobs. Today many of them are employed by the C.D.A. as watchmen, tubewell operators, valvemen at the water works, telephone operators and receptionists etc. Those who have attained education up to Intermediate and B.A. are doing clerical jobs in different government departments.

The shift from land production earnings to fixed salaries, resulted in breaking the parental control on resources. Earlier, the land production was allocated by the eldest male-head of the family. Now, the salaried income is received by the individuals, who use it independently. The independent income reduced the dependancy on the joint family and hence, separate cooking arrangement was its outcome.

4.2.5 The Proximity of Islamabad

In the presence of above mentioned transitional conditions which up-rooted to, some extent, the postfigurative learning, the proximity of Islamabad further enhanced this break in the system, by providing the people with alternatives and opportunities which were unknown to their parents or grandparents. The people, today, can compare the different alternatives offered by the village and by the city, and can make their own choices. Potters, for instance, are economically quite prosperous, because their skill is well paying, but still they believe that the wage earners of the city are better-off from them, because the latter do not have to spoil their clothes in the soil (like them). Similarly the shoe makers believe that their work is very tedious and that they would readily relinquish it for any job in the city, may it be of a sweeper. Hence the choices in the city are breaking the traditional occupational learning.

The city of Islamabad has also provided work opportunity for the village women. A number of Saidpur women, work as housemaids in Islamabad. Their job as housemaids place them in a direct contact with the city. They often use the city contacts to help them find jobs for their relatives.

A number of new occupations have sprung in the village because of the proximity of Islamabad. Albeit the milk consumption of the households is produced by the households by keeping goats. Many people have started keeping cattle, because of the milk demand created by the consumers of the city. When the milk sellers visit the city houses, they, too form personal contacts with consumers, which become helpful for the former, in getting a job for a relative or admission for a child in the city school.

A large number of school going children are getting education in Islamabad schools. The education in the city schools effect the children in two ways. Firstly, it brings the village children closer to the city children, and secondly, it isolates the children from their parents for greater period of time compared to the village school going children. Thus, the reduction in time spent together by the generations results in reducing the cultural transmission from the older generation to the younger.

Besides, the daily contact of villager with the city for their different occupations, they are exposed to the city people when the latter come to the village for buying or for picnics. Their language and dresses, though ridiculed by the elders, are admired by the younger generation who try to adopt them. Many villager have learnt words of

English (language) out of necessity. Potters, for instance, often sell their handicrafts to foreigner, from whom they learn to name their crafts in English. Females also adopt English words due to this contact. A teenage girl, for example, introduced her mother by saying that she is her "Mummy" instead of using the Punjab word "Amma", for mother.

The proximity of Islamabad, therefore, is not only changing the occupations of the villagers but also influencing their language and dress patterns. With the result, that individuals instead of acquiring these behavioural pattern from their elders, try to copy their agemates of the city.

4.3 COFIGURATIVE TRAITS

The criteria taken to represent cofigurative traits in Saidpur are, the educational difference among the members of all the three generations; the variation in the quality of contact with the city; the differential exposure to mass medias; the occupational differences and the future orientation of the third generation; the change in the family type and system of marriage.

The data to cover the above mentioned areas of investigation is based on interviews taken from 120 respondents, which include both males and females of all the three generations. Because of the greater variation among the males of the three generation than among females a larger number of males (65%) compared to the females (35%) were interviewed.

TABLE-4

THE EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
THE THREE GENERATIONS

Generation	Zero level formal Education	2-3 yrs of sch- ooling	4-5 yrs of school	6-8 yrs of school- ing	9-10 yrs of school- ing	11-12 yrs of schooling	Above
G-I	2	5	4				
Males (14)	14.28%	35.71%	21.42%	-	-	-	-
Females (12)	12 100 %	-	-	-	-	-	-
G-II	3	6	4	7	1	1	
Males (22)	13.66%	27.27%	18.18%	31.81%	4.54%	4.54%	-
Females (12)	9 75.00%	-	2 16.66%	1 8.33%	-	-	-
G-III	-	15	12	10	5		
Males (42)		35.71%	28.57%	23.80%	11.90%	-	-
Female (18)	3 16.66%	4 22.22%	8 44.44%	13 16.66%	-	-	-

The educational differences or gap, as shown in the table-4 between the first and the second generation males is less at zero educational level, i.e. about one percent and about eight percent in two to three years of schooling. But the gap increases gradually, upto 34 per cent with the increase in the educational level. Persons with two to three years of schooling are usually the drop outs. The percentage of drop outs in the second generation males is 27.27%. The drop outs,

although claim themselves as having some education, do not have the primary skills of reading and writing. The 31.81 percentage of males, who have attained five years of schooling, reached the educational level required of peons or of similar jobs. And 4.54% have attained twelve years (F.A.) of education required for clerical jobs.

The education difference between the females of first and second generation is greater. Compared to the difference between males. Hundred percent of females of the first generation never had any experience of school education. The change in the second generation females is of 25 percent, of whom, two third are educated up to primary (or five years) and the rest up to middle (or eight years).

The prominent change in the educational characteristics of the second and the third generation males is that 100% of third generation males attend schools compared to the second generation of whom about 87% attended any school. The 23.80% rate of drop outs shown in the following table in the third generation, however, reduce the number of students after eight or ten years of schooling.

TABLE-5

DROP OUTS

Generation	No. and percentage
G-III	10
Males (42)	23.80%
Females (18)	3
	16.66%

The increase in the school education of second and third generation females is from 25% to 83.44%. Most of the girls abandon their school education after completing five years. A few continue upto eight or ten years of schooling.

The educational difference on the whole from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, are even, as far as the number of school years are concerned. But a greater gap is being created in the second and the third generation's quality of education, due to the latter education in the city schools, where the standard is very high. Besides that, the city school children learn to speak Urdu, unlike the second generation with school education, who can

though understand Urdu but cannot speak as well. Thus the change in the language widens the gap between the generation of children and parents or grand parents.

TABLE-6

THE VARIATION IN THE QUALITY OF CONTACT
WITH CITY

Generation	6/7 days	1/7 days	1/15 days	1/30 days	Less
G-I					
Males (14)	3 21.42%	6 42.85%	2 14.28%	2 14.28%	1 7.14%
Females (12)	-	1 8.33%	1 8.33%	5 41.66%	5 41.66%
G-II					
Males (22)	13 59.09%	3 13.63%	4 18.18%	2 9.09%	-
Females (12)	1 8.33%	1 8.33%	4 33.33%	5 41.66%	2 16.66%
G-III					
Males (42)	20 47.61%	8 19.04%	8 19.04%	6 14.28%	-
Females (18)	5 27.77%	2 11.11%	3 16.66%	3 16.66%	5 27.77%
	No. of Children	No. in city schools	In Village Schools		
G-III	37	18 48.66%	19 51.35%		

A comparative study of the 'contact' or the migratory status of the three generation, from the above-mentioned table, shows that the second generation males has the highest daily contact (i.e. 59.07) with Islamabad. The second highest, is that of the third generation's males, (i.e. 47.61%) and females (i.e. 27.77%). But since the men visit the city mainly for work, they less involve with the city folks than the children, who go to city schools and share the common goal, i.e. to get education with the city children.

The 8.33 percent of second generation females, who have a daily contact with the city, are those who work as house-maids in Islamabad. Their work condition bring them closer to the city life than their counterparts who work in the government offices.

The weekly, half monthly or monthly visits, are made by the majority of people who go to the city for such requirements as buying cloth or other provisions for the household, or when a person is sick and needs medicine from the city hospital. This type of a contact with Islamabad has lesser affect in influencing the individuals, to adopt city-ways.

The influence of mass medias on the three generations can be measured by two factors. First, the possession of the

source of these medias, like radio, television and newspaper or magazines; and second, the access of individuals to these or more resources of information.

TABLE-7

THE POSSESSION OF SOURCES OF MASS
 MEDIAS BY THE SAMPLED FAMILIES

Sr. No.	Source or Mass Media	Sample families possessing the medias	Sample families not po- ssessing the medias	TOTAL
1.	Radio	46 76.66%	14 24.33%	60
2.	Television	9 15.00%	51 85.00%	60
3.	Newspaper or Magazines	1 1.66%	59 98.33%	60

TABLE-8

THE DIFFERENTIAL EXPOSURE OF THE
THREE GENERATIONS TO MASS MEDIAS

Generations	Radio	Tele- vision	Newspaper of Maga- zines	Movies
G-I				
Males (14)	12 85.71%	4 28.57%	3 21.42%	1 7.14%
Females (12)	5 41.60%	-	1 8.33%	-
G-II				
Males (22)	20 90.90%	8 36.36%	9 40.90%	7 31.81%
Females (12)	11 91.66%	3 25.00%	1 8.33%	3 25.00%
G-III				
Males (42)	36 85.71%	27 62.28%	29 69.04%	7 16.66%
Females (18)	13 72.22%	7 38.88%	7 38.88%	-

The percentage of the possession of radios, televisions, newspaper or magazines, as shown in the Table-7 is less than percentages of the individuals who are exposed to these medias (see Table No. 2). Except for the radio, television or the daily newspapers is received by very few families. The second generation males, of whom 40.90% read newspapers, are mostly those who read it at the office for which they

work. Females, in this respect, are less exposed to these medias, because they stay home most of the time. Little girls, however, sometimes visit the house with a television set in the neighbourhood to watch television programmes. But they, too, are not allowed as often as the boys of their age, who go to watch the television.

Radio is the most popular media in Saidpur. It is sometimes listened without much comprehension. An old weaver, for instance, has the habit of listening to his transistor radio, while at work. He puts it on, even if it is relaying the English running commentary on cricket. On asking he told me, that he has no knowledge of the English language or the game. His grandson, on the other hand, who studies in Islamabad, plays cricket at school and knows all the rules. Exposure to mass medias, therefore, do not equally influence the individuals of all the three generations, even when they are equally exposed to it.

A substantial increase in reading of newspaper, magazines or other written material, (see Table-8) from the first to the second and then to third generation, can be accounted for successive raise of the influence received from these medias.

The movies viewers are very few in Saidpur. Their percentage shown in the Table 8 are those who had seen only once or twice in their life time.

TABLE-9

THE OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCES
AMONG THE THREE GENERATIONS

Generations	Traditional Occupation or role	Other than traditional occupation	Students G-III	
G-I				
Males(14)	7 50.00%	7 50.00%	-	-
Females(12)	12 100 %	-	-	-
G-II				
Males(22)	5 22.72%	17 77.27%	-	-
Females(12)	11 91.66%	1 8.33%	-	-
				Doing nothing
G-III				
Males(42)	1 2.56%	7 16.66%	31 73.80%	3 7.14%
Females(18)	8 44.44%	-	10 55.55%	

The occupational differences among the three generations is one of the characteristics which shows the presence of configurative orientation in a society. Pursuing an occupation other than parental, isolates the son from the father. The son feels closer to the group, with whom he shares similar occupation and from them receives the cues for behaviour. Similarly school going children adopt ideas from their fellow students and set occupational goals different from their parents.

The occupational changes, as shown in the Table-9, are not total but continues, i.e. some of the individuals of a generation continue to do their traditional family occupation while other adopt new ones. The 50% of first generation males are doing their traditional occupation. The rest of 50% who are doing occupations other than their traditional, are mostly those who are skilled, but they relinquished it, due to the industrialization, or those who previously had land for earnings.

In the second generation males, 77.27% are pursuing jobs other than their traditional. The rest of 22.72% who are doing the traditional occupation, are those who failed to acquire any other job. They say, that they will readily relinquish the traditional occupation for any salaried job in the city. Similarly, the small percentage (2.56%) of the

third generation males who are engaged in the traditional occupation, are the ones who dropout from schools and their parents, already doing the traditional occupation, taught them the skill. The skilled people, are though not in favour of transmitting their skill to the younger generation, but when the latter could not find any other occupation, they help them to acquire their traditional occupation.

TABLE-10

OCCUPATIONS, PRESENTLY PERSUED BY
DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Sr. No.	Traditional Occupation	Present Occupation
1.	Zamindar or Landowners	1. School teacher
		2. Banker
		3. Secreterial clerk
		4. Dispenser
		5. CDA's volvemman
		6. CDA's servant
		7. GTS checker
		8. Ration Depotholder
		9. Worker at Ration Depot
		10. Servant at CDA's water supply
		11. School peon

12. Bus conductor
 13. Bus driver
 14. CDA's tubewell operator
 15. Ex-chairman of the village council
 16. Watchman
 17. Taxi owner
 18. Tax Registration Clerk
 19. Small businessman
 20. Shopkeeper
 21. Male nurse
 22. In Merchant Navy
- (Female's Occupations: Needle work for Behbood)

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 2. Pirs (Syeds) | 1. Shopkeeper |
| | 2. Watchman |
| | 3. Milkman |
| | 4. Job in Gulf States |

- | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|
| 3. Weavers | 1. Peons |
| | 2. Watchman |
| | 3. Accountant at Ration Depot |
| | 4. Shopkeeper |
| | 5. Tailor's apprentice |
| | 6. Masons |
| | 7. Ironsmith |

8. Day Labourer
9. Fruit venders
10. Wood cutters
11. CDA's servant
12. Butchers
13. Hospital servant

(Female's occupations: House-maids
in Islamabad & Needle Work)

4. Agriculturists
(Arains)

1. Vegetable & Fruit shop
2. Fruit venders
3. Milk selling
4. Car driver
5. Army soldier
6. Operator in CDA
7. Mechanic in Army
8. Clerk
9. Day labourer
10. Welding expert

(Female's occupation: House-maids)

5. Potter

1. Ceremonial cooking
2. Truck driver
3. Day labourer

(Female's occupation: Needle work)

6. Seed Oil
pressers or
Telis

1. Shopkeeper
2. Ex-army soldier
3. Sweeper
4. Suzuki pick-up owner
5. Butcher
6. Day labourer
7. Fruit vender
8. Tailor's apprentice

(Female's Occupation: Midwife)

7. Shoe-makers or
mochis

1. Tailor
2. Clerk
3. CDA's ervant
4. Sweepers at the secretariat

(Female's occupation: None)

8. Barbers or
Nais

1. Servant at Ration Depot
2. Peon
3. Tailor's apparentice

(Female's Occupation: one does
tailoring)

9. Carpenter

1. Worker at Identity Card
service
2. School peon
3. Lineman

(Female's occupation: None)

10. Tailor

1. Ration Depotholder

(Female's Occupation: None)

The list of occupations shows that the change to a new occupation is not in a particular division... There are, however, some uninformities in the occupation of individuals belonging to one caste. This may be explained by the fact that when a person successfully acquires an occupation, he helps other members of his kin group in getting similar jobs. He, thus, paves the way for others. A number of shoe-makers, for instance, work as sweepers in the secretariat, Islamabad. Whenever there is vacancy for a sweeper, they inform it to the relative who is interested in having a salaried job. Similarly many landowners, who work in CDA pull their relatives whenever there is vacancy in CDA. There is generally, no caste monopoly on any occupation. The caste bound structure of the society is, therefore, weakened as a consequence of new occupations.

The female occupation is a recent phenomenon in Saidpur. Needle work for money is not considered, as much of an occupation as the work in the houses in Islamabad. The women, who do such jobs are mostly those who do not have any other source of earning in the family. Begum J, for instance, started working in Islamabad to support herself and her daughter, when her husband left her and married another woman in the city.

TABLE-11

THE FUTURE ORIENTATION OF THE THIRD GENERATION

Generation	Total No. of School-going	Traditional Occupation	Don't know	Salaried jobs	Specialized jobs	Parents consent	No talk on the subject
III							
Males	36	(2) pot making 5.55%	12 33.33%	11 30.55%	11 30.55%	10 27.77%	26 72.22%
					2 Doctors		
					1 Engineer		
					2 Pilots		
					1 Navy		
					3 Teaching		
					4 Army		
Females	15	Traditional role 11 73.33%			4 26.66%	1 6.66%	14 93.3 %
					2 Doctors		
					2 Teachers		

The job planning of the third generation shows (see table-11) whether they are postfigurative or cofigurative oriented. The 30.55% of boys, who want to become doctors, engineers or pilots etc. are those who figured out these occupation from their age-mates of school. The other 33.33%, who have not

yet thought of any particular occupation, are those who are very young. They will probably develop plans for certain occupations for themselves when they will grow a little older. The rest of 30.55% who want to do salaried jobs, are those who are inspired by people who work in offices in Islamabad. On the whole, nobody has a plan to acquire his father's traditional occupation, except the boys who dropout from schools or fail to do any other job. The boys of potters who drop out from school and want to make pots, exemplify the fact that a small-number of individuals of the third generation (about 5.55%) will depend on postfiguration for their future occupation. Some of the occupations which are configured by the present second generation will occur again in the third generation. The case of Raja Munir's son can exemplify this fact. Raja Munir's son did not pay much attention to his studies and failed in Matric examination. He wanted to clear it the next year, but his father insisted on making him work at his Ration Depot. Similarly, sons of peons, who do not exceed more than five years of schooling began to work as peons at the place where their fathers work. Hence an occupation establishes, sometimes for two generations, making the change, not total but gradual.

Most of the girls (of the third generation) do not think of anyother future role except of their mother's or

grandmother's but with little education they perceive their future, somewhat improved from their mothers. There is a small percentage of girls who want to do some work in the future, but they are not encouraged by their parents. A girl studying in class XIII when asked about her future plans told that she wants to be a doctor. But when I met her toward the end of my research in the area, I learnt that she had left her studies, because her father was against her further education.

The members of third generation, generally configure occupations for themselves, but they need parent's support to achieve the desired goal. Females in this respect do not get any support.

TABLE-12

THE CHANGE IN THE FAMILY TYPE

G-I		G-II	
Types of families	Number and percentage	Types of families	Number and percentage
	N=26		N=60
Nuclear	2 7.69%	Nuclear	25 41.66%
Extended	-	Extended	32 53.33%
Joint	24 92.30%	Joint	3 5.00%

The change in the family from joint (i.e. one or more married sons and their offsprings living together having joint cooking arrangement) to extended (i.e. one or more married sons living in the adjoining rooms of the same house having separate cooking arrangements. See picture of extended family) and nuclear in Saidpur is also characteristic of configuration, (mead: 1975: 53). But like the other changes, the change in the family type is gradual i.e. from joint to extended and then to nuclear, instead of directly from joint to nuclear.

The 92.30% families of the first generation lived jointly. They had one authoratarian head of the family, mostly the eldest male member, who made all the decisions or who was consulted at every step by the other members of the family. In joint families, there was pooling of resources and the food was cooked jointly.

In extended families, on the other hand, every couple has its own cooking arrangement. The grand parents live with one of the sons, usually the youngest. In extended families, although the grandparents are living in the same house, but they do not have all the authority in decision making. There is no pooling of resources. The male earner spend independently, whatever they earn. Hence the authority

AN EXTENDED FAMILY

→ The portion of The youngest son ← | → The portion of The older son ← |



▲
The Gr-Ma
with Gr-Son

▲
Gr-Son
from the older
son

▲
The older
son

of decision making is same as in nuclear families. The difference between the extended families and nuclear families, is that in the extended families the grandparents presence, though not very affective for the second generation, has some influence on the third generation. The young children are taken care of by the grandparents; they often tell them stories of their traditions etc.

The 41.66% of sampled families in Saidpur are of nuclear type, consisting of father, mother and their unmarried children. In these families there are no grand parents present to play any role in child disciplining. Even the father remains away from home most part of the day, because of his work requirements. Children, in such families, have greater associations with their friends and age-mates. Usually the class fellows and thus maintain cofigurative ties with each other. These children enjoy going to schools to the extent that they do not like long holidays.

THE GENERATIONAL STUDY OF MARRIAGE SYSTEM IN SAIDPUR

Generation	ARRANGED MARRIAGE		Whether asked for their approval by the parents		If they had seen him or her before marriage		Whether they are satisfied with it		If they will ask opinion from boys and girls	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	BOYS	GIRLS
G-I										
Males (14)	14	-	2	12	14	-	14			
	100 %		14.28%	85.71%	100 %		100 %			
Females (12)	12	-	-	12	12	-	12			
	100 %			100 %	100 %		100 %			
G-II										
Males (22)	18	4	10	12	22	-	22	-	10	-
	81.81%	18.18%	45.45%	54.54%	100 %		100 %		45.45%	
Females (12)	12	-	-	12	12	-	10	2	8	-
	100 %			100 %	100 %		83.33%	16.66%	66.66%	
Above 12 yrs of Age	If they want arranged marriage		Preference for educated spouse							
	YES	NO								
G-III										
Males (30)	30	-	5							
	100 %		16.66%							
Females (10)	10	-	10							
	100 %		100 %							

As it is evident from the Table-13 that there has not been a very significant change in the traditional marriage system, (which were generally arranged, the opinion of boys and girls were not asked, but they had seen each other before hand) except that four of the males of second generation married city girls of their choice. Three of them, even without their parent's consent, who are estranged with the former.

The two females of the third generation who are unhappy with their marriage (see Table-7) do not blame their parents for unwisely marrying them to wrong persons, but consider it their ill-fate, which they have to bear.

Although, the third generation is in favour of arranged marriages, but some of them have their preferences for the kind of spouse they want. Some of the parents are also willing to have the approval, though only from boys, before making a marriage arrangement. Thus the role of arrangement is there, but is a bit relaxed, to enter the opinion of the third generation males.

4.4 INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The transition to a new way of life, in which skills and modes of behaviour are acquired, through stressing conformity with the age-mates, can lead to many types of problems of readjustments between the generations (Mead: 1975, 46). The grandparental and parental generation lose their authoritative position, because of the fact, that their experience become obsolete in the new circumstances and cannot provide any guidance to the younger generation. And the latter being apt, because of their experience, in the new circumstances; tend to do without parental control. (Mead: 1975:50).

To analyze the inter-generational relationships in Saidpur under the present circumstances i.e. the adoption of new ways of life appropriate in the changing conditions, a systematic knowledge through the perspectives of each generation is gathered which is as follow:-

4.4.1 The First Generation

The first or the grandparental generation, has very high standards of obedience and respect, which they feel that their younger generation should have towards them.

Their standards are primarily based on the experience they had with their parents and grandparents, who commanded so much obedience that the former had a feeling of respectful dread towards the latter. Presently, while most of the members of first generation agree that their children and grandchildren obey them, but none of them believes that the latter have any respectful dread or even much respect for them. The lack of respect often annoys the first generation. Mr. S - an old weaver, for instance, says that he feels irritated when nobody stands up on his return to home from work and makes a room for him to sit. He shows his displeasure by scolding his children and grandchildren, who just silently hear him out.

Most of the members of first generation have no say in their son's selection of any occupation. They generally approve it (the occupation), because of their unawareness of the types of jobs available, and because their previous occupations have become obsolete. Often their approval is just nominal. There are, however, a few instances, when the sons continue to pursue an occupation which is condemned by their fathers. For example, Mr. D, an ex-army soldier has a great abhorrence towards butchery as an occupation, which is pursued by his son although comparatively more paying.

Another grievance which is often expressed by the first generation is, the callousness of the second generation towards them. This attitude of the second generation is most evident in the families, where the son is successfully pursuing an occupation which is totally different from his father and by which he has improved his status. Under these circumstances the first generation complain that their sons do not take care of their needs, like clothes or shoes etc. and that they do not talk, much with them. The reason for this type of an attitude of the second generation, according to the first generation, is because the latter has nothing to give to the former. Mr. J previously a big land owner, for instance, says that if he had land or money his son would have treated him in a better way. Another reason for this negligence is the inadequacy of first generation's experience and knowledge for the second generation. Although it is not expressed directly, but is apparent from the manners of the second generation towards the first. Mr. K a young clerk, for example was very embarrassed when his mother started relating in detail, about old times when they had land and position in the village. Often the young people laugh, though not in front of their elders, but after wards, at the things they had said.

4.4.2 The Second Generation

The 77.27% of the sampled population of second generation males are involved in occupations other than their father's. The change in occupations has its implications on other aspects of life, such as the change in the social status, which has its repercussions on inter-generational relations. For example, the sons of shoe-makers, barbers, weavers and oil seed pressers, who are educated up to P.A. and are doing clerical jobs, have improved their standard of living and social status in the consequence of their new status; they associate little with their progenitors. On the other hand, the sons of landowers or Pirs; who are working as peons or on similar jobs, though, do not attach much with their first generation because it is no longer functional, but believe that the latter were better off in their times, as far as the social status is concerned.

The change in the social status, in both the cases, however, changed the quality of relationship between the second and the first generation. The second generation, in the first case, has nothing to gain from their fathers, and in the second case they don't want to dwell in the past life of their fathers, which is impractical in the present conditions.

The second generation's males relations with the third generation, as far as the interaction is concerned, is more of isolation than of attachment. The reason for this isolation is the work conditions of the second generation, which require them to stay away from home for most part of the day. In these circumstances, the males, however, show a great concern for their son's education. The boys are strictly sent to schools; but their progress in studies goes unchecked, because of the parent's insufficient education. With the result that they often do not know if their children sneak out from school. I learnt that some of the boys leave home for school, but instead of going to school they play at some place and return home in afternoon when the school time is over. Such boys are often expelled from schools and then their parents have a hard time, getting them re-admitted. The boys who dropout, after failing several times in their examinations, are very much scorned by the parents. Some of them even stop talking (for some time) to their sons who abandon the studies.

The attainment of education for girls is not considered as important as for boys. The girls who attend schools are mostly those who have a great liking for studies. But as they reach the age of fifteen or sixteen, the parents strongly restrict them from going to schools.

The boys, who are well adjusted in their schools, particularly in Islamabad schools, are often very bright in their studies, and are regular in their school. The generation of such boys are greatly influenced by their age-mates, especially by their class-fellows. The parents of such boys indirectly acknowledge this influence, when they say that their children are smarter for their age and know many things which they did not, when they were young.

As far as the obedience towards the parents is concerned, the parents say that although their children obey their orders, but not unquestioningly. Sometimes they even say things like, "Father what do you know". Such remarks do not provoke the second generation to any type of conflict with the third generation. The second generation is, instead, satisfied with their children's progress, which they believe is appropriate in the changing circumstances.

4.4.3 The Third Generation

The third generation of Saidpur mostly consists of boys and girls of school going age, with the exception of boys who have left the school and started doing some jobs. The school going children spend six hours of the day in their schools with their age-mates. The 48.6% of the school going children, study in Islamabad schools, they remain away from home, even for a long duration, i.e. seven hours. On

returning from school the children take their lunch and then go to the Mosque, where they spend half an hour in learning the Quran. To do home work for school, children often go to their class fellow's houses, so they can consult each other, when they find any difficulty. Most of the parents cannot provide any coaching to their children in the studies, because they are not educated enough. In one of the "Muhallahs", I learnt that there is one person, who is a graduate and provides free tuition along with his own sons and nephews to many children of the Muhallah, who gather at his house. These boys after their study^{prep} play together at some vacant lot. Hence they spend another hour or two - making a total of nine hours - in each other's company.

The time allocation pattern of the third generation has its implications on the inter-generational relationships, because greater the time spent with age-mates means lesser inter-generational association. The third generation has a very little communication with the first generation and even lesser with the second. The parents do not know much about their children's interests and because of their inadequate knowledge they do not set any defined goals for their boys to achieve. Some of the boys, inspired by their age-mates, develop certain goals, early in their school life. The others continue to study

GENERATION IIIINTRA-GENERATIONAL
TIES

The Village Schools
fifth class children



◀ Class-mates of
Islamabad School

A Student in
School Uniform



without any goal orientation. Parents, although encourage their boys to study, but because of the lack of knowledge, they do not create any anxiety in them, by constantly telling that they have to become, for instance, doctors or engineers.

The third generation males and females, particularly those who go to the Islamabad schools, often dress up like the city children. The young boys, who have to wear pants and shirts as the school uniform develop a liking for this dress. The boys who start going to school after five years of education in the village, though wear pants for the school uniform but do not particularly like it, and rather feel uncomfortable in the uniform. (The second generation males, invariable wear shalwar kameez). The school going girls make innovations in their dresses by adding collar to their kameezes. The boys and girls generally wear clothes of their own choice. They often persist to go along with their parents to the city to buy cloth of their choice. Thus the parents are not considered as having an authority on the dress style of the third generation. The parents mostly surrender to their children's wishes for the dress styles.

In summary, the type of inter-generational relation developed in Saidpur in the process of post-figurative-cofigurative transitions, is that the first generation has lost its power and authority because of the inadequacy of their experience, which are of no use to the younger generations. Similarly the second generation's control over the third generation is also reduced, but their attitude to the change is more of acceptance, compared to the first generational attitude. The third generation is more influenced by its age-mates than by the elders.

4.5 DIFFERENTIAL AFFECTS ON MALES AND FEMALES

In the sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, I have described mostly the affects of postfigurative-cofigurative transition on males. The reason for emphasizing male's transition, is because of the fact that the conditions for change primarily affected the male population of the village^{men} were required to go out of the village to do new occupations. Similarly, boys are, presently, more urged than girls to acquire education, adequate enough to get jobs in the city. Thus the males of second and third generation, due to their differential learning experiences have developed distinct personalities, which resulted in affecting the status of the generations

i.e. generation become less dependent on their older generation, for learning purpose that changed the quality of inter-generational relationships.

The conditions, for the female population, with the exception of few; who are employed in Islamabad, remained unchanged. Although the educational level has somewhat increased, but the generational work situation remained the same. The females of second generation perform the same household duties as the females of first generation did. Similarly the girls (the third generation) help their mother in the household work and in taking care of their young siblings, just like their mother helped her mother, when the former were young. In a typical extended family the grandmother sits on a "charpayhi" most of the time, peels vegetables or does some needle work and gives instructions to her daughter-in-law about the work. The mother does the cooking, house cleaning and the washing of clothes. Young girls, besides helping the mother in house work, carry their infant siblings most of the time. The three generations of women, thus, remain in a close affinal group.

The elements of configuration in the male population, as described in section 4.2, are mostly due to segregation of the three generations and a greater intra-generational association. The females did not experience

FEMALES OF THE THREE GENERATION

Embroidery
A common female
occupation



Women of a
household

The village school
girls



such an inter-generational segregation. The transition towards cofiguration in males, however, has repercussion on females. The trend in females to acquire education is initiated by males. It is due to the fact that educated males desire to marry educated females. The three cases of separation of couple, in Saidpur, exemplify this disposition in educated males and also the desire to educate girls alongwith the boys; in the afflicted women.

Raja J's marriage, for instance, was arranged by his elders, to his first cousin, who was not much educated whereas Raja J was a graduate and wanted to marry an educated girl. His parents did not agree to his demand and married him to his cousin. Raja J soon left his wife and went to Rawalpindi city. There he met an educated girl and married her, and remained in the city for ten years. After the death of his father he returned to the village with his city wife and children because his father left a large property in Saidpur. Presently he is living in a house just next to the house where his previous wife is living with her brother. Albeit, there are great hostilities between the two families.

The second case of separation is of Mr. S and his wife Z. Mr. S's marriage was arranged by his father to his

paternal cousin. Mr. S did not like his wife, because she was not like the ideal women he had in mind. In order to get away from her, he obtained the commission in the Merchant Navy and its been five years, ever since he left. Z is presently living with her parents. She has one child, a girl; to whom she sends to a school in Islamabad. Z accounts her illiteracy as the cause of her misfortune. She says that if she had education, she would have filed a case against her husband and would have compelled him to send money, to support the child. Now that Z realizes the importance of education. She greatly desires to educate her daughter so that she would not face such a misfortune.

Similarly Begum 'J', whose husband married another woman in the city and deserted her, greatly wants to educate her daughter. She works as a house-maid in Islamabad to support herself and her daughter 'S', who is in seventh class in Islamabad's school. 'S' told me that her mother wants her to do graduation and then a course on teacher's training so that she could become a school teacher. And hence, if she faces a situation that of her mother's, she would be better equipped to support herself independently.

Besides the particular cases, mentioned above, many parents, in future, will be inclined towards their girls

education in response to the demand of educated boys to have educated girls for marriage. A number of mothers of educated boys had asked me (the researcher) to find educated girls for their sons.

Hence the break or the potential for break from postfiguration to configuration for the females is created by the males. The change in females is lagging behind, (one generation for some and two generations for the others) the change in males. A small number of girls, who are presently going to Islamabad school to get education above the primary, are exposed to their city age-mates. There is^a possibility that their number will increase in response to the demand created by males, in the next generation. Besides that, when the present educated females of the third generation will reach the age of second generation, they will be more in favour of female education than their mothers who were uneducated.

CHAPTER-5

CONCLUSION

When I was in second semester of M.Sc. we had a course on Social Theory, in which we discussed a number of Social Theoriests. Once, while discussing Robert Merton's Theory of Manifest and Latent Functions of Social institutions, (Merton: 1957) we were asked to write down the manifest and latent functions of the university. Besides describing the manifest function, like for the acquisition of education in order to get better jobs, and the latent function, as a place for social gathering etc. I also pointed out that one of its latent function is that it isolates young people from their family environment. With the result that they spend more time with the members of their own generation and hence develop greater commitment to their age-mates of the university, which causes generation gap.

When I arrived at the above mentioned conclusion, I was not aware of the fact that it was close to Margaret Mead's theory of culture and commitment. She, off course, provides elaborate explanations of the earlier type of learning processes when there was no generation gap and

the transition towards the contemporary learning processes, which induces generation gap. But throughout her elaborations, the factor which I believe, makes the most vital distinction in postfigurative cofigurative cultures is the change in the type of associations of the individual and their commitment to a particular group.

The data collected from Saidpur provides an analogous conclusion; i.e. in earliest set up, the process of learning was exclusively an extended family's affair; controlled by the elders. The younger siblings were guided by the older ones and the elders; by the other elders of the family. The individuals, therefore, were committed to the family for every type of learning. The source of learning were the elders, hence, the cultural transmission was postfigurative.

The development of means of communication, the advancement of sources of mass medias and the expansion of urban centre, which has become a world-wide phenomena in present times, are resulting in breaking the indigenous cultures. Because in the presence of these conditions the individuals are exposed to the sources of learning, other than the elders of the family - who are preservers of the culture. They seek the help of their peers those who are successful in adopting the new life style. The source of

learning, therefore, transfers from elders to age-mates. Which divides an individual's commitment between the family and age-mates, making the later more important in order to cope with changing conditions. Hence, cofiguration becomes a major source of learning.

There are, nevertheless, some variations in the actual characteristics of postfigurative-cofigurative learning, which possibly are particular to Saidpur or any other changing village of Pakistan (Saidpur being a typical village in state of transition). Mead, for instance believes that stability in postfigurative cultures was maintained through "agonizing" and "terrifying" discipline techniques. She gives the example of Australian aborigines or the Banaro of the Keram River in New Guinea, the societies that practise the rituals of torture and initiation (Mead; 1975: 28). In Saidpur, the postfigurative learning involve no such discipline techniques. It was more or less the part of growing up in a close association of the family's elders.

The transition towards cofiguration, in Saidpur, have not been as drastic as for the emmigrants of United States or for the people of Manus, (Mead; 1975: 45). The

examples of societies cited by Mead, here, the change between the generations in their educational level, exposure to mass medias, occupations family types or marriage system, is not total but progressive. A certain change in occupation, for instance, usually lingers for two generations before another change occurs in the next generation. Similarly the change in the family which is the primary institution of learning, (Hays and Henslin: 1975) is not directly from joint to nuclear; but from joint to extended then to nuclear family.

The influence of the city, as a factor of breaking postfiguration in Saidpur, is through villager's contact with their city age-mates. This type of contact of ruralities with urbanities is termed as "Networks" by Elizabeth Bott. (Bott; 1957). The process of change, through networks of contacts or relationships is a common feature, in the villages of South Asia. (Marriot; 1955)

Another characteristic of postfigurative-cofigurative transition, besides the changes in occupations, education, exposure to mass media, family and marriage system; is the change in the intergenerational relationships. Such a change has two aspects. First is the change in the intergenerational association, i.e. the shift towards greater

intra-generational connections, and the second is the change in the quality of inter-generational relationship, which is the consequence of the "first". The break in postfigurative learning leads to increase age-mate attachments, which then become the source of learning new or changing behaviour patterns. The study of friendship association, club or clicks advocated by Eric Wolf, in complex societies, (Wolf: 1969) also suggests that one of the difference between the primitive societies and the complex societies, is the change in the type of individuals association. Anthropologists in their study of primitive people, emphasize the study of "family" as the only source to determine individuals behaviour. In complex or contemporary societies, institutions like schools, offices, factories or clubs, where the individuals spend most of the time, determine their behaviour.

Similarly, in Saidpur, the individuals depend on the peers, in offices and schools, with whom they spend most part of the day, for occupation and education. Hence, they developed greater intra-generational relationships. The increase in intragenerational relationships has affected intergenerational relationships, as predicted by Mead. (Mead; 1975: 53) The parental control or authority in decision making, regarding their children's occupations etc. has decreased. But she does not explain how this change

is taken by all the generations. The present research shows (see section 4.4) that such a change is less acceptable for the generation, (in Saidpur's case, the first generation) whose childhood learning was based on postfiguration. Whereas, the generation who initiated a break in postfigurative learning and achieved a certain status through cfiguration, (like the second generation of Saidpur) accept the change in the next generation, (the third generation, in Saidpur's case) as required to cope with new or changing conditions.

Margaret Mead believes, that the female population remains more or less unaffected in postfigurative-cfigurative transition because females are not required to change like males, who have to learn new ways to earn livelihood.

(Mead; 1975: 55) The study of Saidpur shows that female population does not remain unaffected. (see section 4.5) The female's change, however, lags behind male's. The theory of cultural lag presented by Ogburn describes primarily the lag between material and non-material culture (Ogburn; 1927) But here, it can be adopted to measure the lag (generational) ~~1927~~ between males and females in a changing society.

To sum up, it is justified to say that Meads's "Model" of cultural change consolidates every aspect of a

changing culture under single concept, (cofiguration or prefiguration) instead of fragmenting it, into several concepts, like diffusion, invention, discovery, acculturation, technological change, networks, or culture lag. Still it studies all the aspects of a culture, specified by the above-mentioned concepts. It , therefore, provides a holistic view of a culture in change and hence, fulfills the basic orientation of anthropological study.

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