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CULTURE, SCHOOLING EFFECTIVENESS AND CHANGE: Examples from Pakistan

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> "The conceptualization of schooling as cultural transmission runs in direct opposition to the conception of schools shared by many ... in which schools are regarded as instruments of reform and of change. The dominant view of schooling ... is that of an institution existing to improve society, not to reproduce it more or less as it is" (Wilcox in Spindler, G. 1982:463)

1 BACKGROUND

One of the purposes of this workshop is to look at whether schooling effectiveness has a solid core of commonality across societies, or whether the concept is so molded by cultural definitions and expectations that it must be unique to each country. One of the first debates in this exercise must surely revolve around the dilemma Spindler poses of whether schooling exists to improve society or reproduce it more or less the way it is. I would argue that the contradiction may not be as clear cut as he states it, since culture tends in most instances to reproduce itself in proximate form despite the best efforts of those who try to make it otherwise. Similarly, improving society rarely requires that all or even a major part of culture must change. Effective schooling can both transmit culture and improve society at the same time.

This paper takes up the issue of schooling effectiveness and culture. Using Pakistan as the example, it describes two "models of effectiveness" that already exist in the society and affect the way schooling is perceived and organized. One directly involves teaching/learning and the other, culturally appropriate ways of organizing human relations. Both are based on the kinds of general argument--historical antecedents, culture and interpersonal relations, which Pakistanis themselves might employ when explaining their education system. The specific arguments, however, are the arguments of an outsider. These "cultural" models are important because they tell us how people view education issues, how they now handle them and what elements they are likely to be receptive to in the future. The paper ends by identifying some "cultural" elements that are likely to be present in any schooling program that is locally accepted as effective.

Though not a direct product of BRIDGES research, this paper is inspired by questions that arose during a BRIDGES study of effective teaching practices in Pakistan and, subsequently, during work conducted through a HIID sub-contract to the Academy for Educational Development's (AED) prime contract of the USAID-funded Pakistan Primary Development (PED) Program. The work for PED involved participation in the design and implementation of a school improvement program based partially on findings from BRIDGES' studies.

As noted in the BRIDGES study of effective practices:

> Education authorities who ranked schools in the study invariably approved schools where there was a high level of order and system in the school day, where children behaved in an orderly manner and were conscientious about learning (usually memorizing) their school work; where children were neat, clean and polite, and where the school itself had reasonably presentable facilities to impress a visitor .... Teacher evaluation forms, where they exist, tend to focus on neatness, dress, personality and evidence of being a good Muslim more than they focus on behavior related to instruction. (Rugh et al 1991: 12)

The report went on to suggest that from the explicit and implicit assumptions about good education that were observed in the classes of the sample, measures of effectiveness might more reasonably focus on the extent to which children acquire the characteristics of discipline, character, citizenship, and religion, and only secondarily on their academic success. The study, however, resorted to local-developed academic measures, largely because it was easier to find existing tests than to determine what should be included in other measures. The danger in using local measures of this kind--whether of "educated" characteristics or of academic skills, is the acceptance without challenge of the "schooling as reproducing society" view rather than the "schooling as improving society" view. Effective teaching runs the risk of being reduced in such cases to those practices which are most successful at helping the students memorize their textbooks better.

There are at least two reasons that schooling effectiveness may have a "solid core" of commonality across cultures. The first reason is that human beings by their physiological make-up probably learn in much the same way across cultures, no matter what outward form the schooling takes. The second reason is that formal schooling usually takes place in similar contexts--with a classroom, a teacher, a number of students, a textbook, and, possibly, chalk and a blackboard, and with generally similar objectives--to teach performance skills and/or mastery of a body of knowledge.[1] If definitions of effectiveness are confined to this level of generality--that is, to what works given the common capabilities of human beings, or the commonalities of context and subject discipline, it is possible that well-qualified cross-national generalizations can be made.

However, there are also at least two reasons that schooling effectiveness may be culture-specific, producing important differences between countries in how schooling effectiveness is defined. The first is that when speaking of effectiveness we are talking implicitly about

expectations for the outcomes of schooling and about the processes that move those concerned toward the intended outcomes. It is difficult to remove the element of culture from these kinds of discussion since peoples of different cultures have different views about what education should be and how it should be conducted. Teaching/learning is a "situated act,"[2] and a large part of its situation is the expectations people hold for its purposes and conduct.

The second reason that culture influences education is the more specific one that the act of teaching/learning involves structured sets of relationship between individuals occupying roles of teachers and of students. Cultures as a general tendency set expectations for how relationships of this kind should be carried out. Schools and schooling are particularly influenced in their organization by these cultural expectations for personal relationships. When they assume a form condoned by the culture, people feel comfortable and the process is eased. Much in the process of education accomplishes the hidden agendas of socialization--through examples of how culturally-defined relationships should be played out.

Culture has been defined in many ways but the one used in this paper conceives of culture as the sets of understandings shared by members of a society about meaning in their world. The unique composition of these understandings gives culture its character, while at the same time providing the impetus for organizing a society's brand of social life. This definition incorporates ideals, values and norms, right and wrong, approved and disapproved ways of doing things and rationales for what is important in the world and what is not. Weber describes culture when he says, "Man is an animal suspended in the webs of significance he himself has spun." Human beings have an innate tendency to organize the world in patterns that simplify and integrate their perceptions. As children grow they take their cues for the essential patterns from the adults around them until, as in language formation, they absorb the society's deep-structure way of framing the world--in essence, the principles that organize their perceptions form something akin to a "cultural grammar."

One of the characteristic features of this deep-structure set of cultural rules is that it is as unconscious to the culture's members as the rules of grammar are to the native speaker of a language. As one observer notes, "Culture hides much more than it reveals and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants" (Hall 1959: 39).

The cultural grammar is resistant to change because of the consistency it brings to social life, a consistency at least partly brought about because members of the culture believe so firmly in the absoluteness of the truths that underlie the rules. Much like language, culture satisfies important functions in human life: it smoothes communications; it generates automatic reactions to everyday events; and it integrates behavior, more or less consistently toward the same purposes. Moreover, it packages essential social rules in a way that they can be easily transmitted to the next generation. Most important for the concerns of this paper is the fact that cultural perceptions are crystallized in the culture's institutions--in family structures, educational institutions, religious organizations, etc. At the core of these

organizations is a culturally defined pattern for how people should behave toward one another that crucially determines not only the shape of the institution but also the efficiency with which people can operate within a system of expectations. With such a large part of social life built around these sets of deep-structure cultural principles, contradicting them in one institution runs the risk of undermining the stability of other core institutions.

The next section of the paper describes the two "cultural" models, already mentioned, that are likely to affect definitions of schooling effectiveness in Pakistan.

2 INFLUENCES

2.1 A persisting model of effective learning

It is well known that the Islamic pattern of learning has exerted a strong influence on the kinds of educational institutions that exist today in nations affected by that religious tradition. Less well known are the original rationales for this kind of learning or the extent to which the details of this model of effective learning carries over to the modern system of education.

Islam's concern with the details of teaching/learning has evolved slowly over the centuries since its inception in Arabia in the 7th century. The oft-quoted words: "Seek knowledge, even if in China, for the search for knowledge is an obligation for every Muslim" is used to show Islam's high regard for scholarship and learning. The phrase "every Muslim" is generally interpreted as an obligation on the part of all individuals of both sexes to seek knowledge. The body of knowledge that the Muslim should know is first and foremost the Koran, which is considered the authoritative word of Allah transmitted through his Prophet Muhammad. The second source is the Hadith (sayings), reports by followers of the Prophet and others with some claim to knowledge of his actions, describing the actually witnessed or reliably reported sayings and practices of the Prophet. The purpose of these Hadith was to demonstrate from his exemplary life, the application and clarification of principles which were often more ambiguously stated in the Koran.

The first period of Islamic scholarship comprised the work of collecting and classifying Hadith reports which were of varying degrees of reliability. The collectors frequently emphasized the importance of seeking a knowledge that was of the purest kind--that is, coming from as close to an original source who knew the Prophet as possible.[3] These writers recommended that the true scholar travel any distance to personally hear descriptions of correct Islamic behavior from persons with the fewest links in the chain of connection back to the Prophet as possible. This travel to authoritative sources was meant to ensure the purity of Islam against heresy and innovation. As time passed, however, and the chain of connection became longer and less reliable, scholars began to find more merit in studying text material from the Koran and Hadith. Abu Bakr Ahmed, for example, who

was the most important Hadith specialist of his time (d.463H/AD 1071) said that trips to hear authoritative sources were important to amass knowledge but as new knowledge became scarce, books became the more reliable source of knowledge. Books, he said, were an efficient storehouse of knowledge, even of knowledge that might not yet be understood. Thus Islamic scholarship implied in the first instance, knowing a specific body of knowledge and ensuring the reliability of sources, not just of the one infallible Koranic source but of the interpretations that arose from it. Even today a good Islamic scholar will cite his sources from as close to the Prophet as possible, and his reader will know the relative reliability of the persons he mentions.

The early Islamic writers also emphasized the obligation that was incumbent upon the person with knowledge to transmit it to others--for the act of gaining knowledge was incomplete without the act of transmitting it to others. Learning and teaching were part of a continuous chain stretching back to the Prophet and forward to future generations. One Hadith reports the Prophet Muhammad to have compared knowledge to rain that falls on the earth. The fertile fields are those who learn about religion and then teach it. Less favored are those who use the knowledge only for themselves.

From an early period, religious learning was transmitted through a formal procedure of students sitting in a mosque around a teacher who explained a subject by reading and commenting on a book. From the eleventh century or earlier, religious schools emerged called madrasa which were endowed permanently by wakfs (religious endowments). Often attached to mosques, the purpose of these schools was to teach legal learning or fiqh. Students who came to them would normally have already gone to a lower school called a maktab or kuttab where they would have learned to read and write classical Arabic and would have memorized the Koran. (Hourani, A. 1991: 163, 164)

In the documents of Islamic scholars,[4] there are a number of references to the proper attitude of the student. The student should approach learning with the proper intent, that is, he should approach the search for knowledge wanting to comprehend and learn and not to criticize or argue; he should be willing to exert considerable effort in the pursuit of knowledge and he should train his memory to be able to retain what he has learned. To prepare himself for the larger task of understanding, he should first memorize the Koran, which then qualified him to study the Hadith, since understanding could only come when there was something known to which the new knowledge could attach. Repetition was necessary to ensure comprehension and memorized knowledge was more reliable than notes committed to paper which might be lost. The person who sought knowledge in this way would be rewarded by having his road to paradise made easy since learning was a form of worship attended by Allah and the angels. It was improper to seek knowledge for any other reason than to find Allah.

At the beginning of the tenth century, an Arab thinker Abu Nasr Alfarabi developed a theory of instruction separating philosophical from religious concerns. His writings are interesting because they illustrate how traditions of religious scholarship may have

influenced modern systems of education.[5] According to Alfarabi the previous sense of the word "instruction" meant to habituate a person to perform certain behaviors. He contrasted this meaning with his own definition of instruction as a kind of discourse that produced cognitions in the mind of the learner that he did not possess before. Cognitions were of two kinds--convictions and conceptions, differing mainly in the degree of certainty of their truth. The aim of every search after knowledge was to ascertain truth. Depending on the method that was used, the learner came to different cognitions which varied mainly in their degree of certainty. The human mind, according to Alfarabi, could be approached by five methods: 1) demonstration which leads to conviction and certainty, 2) dialectic which gives a conviction approaching certainty (belief), 3) sophistry and 4) rhetoric, both leading to persuasion, and finally 5) poetry which leads to imaginations of similitudes of things and not the things themselves. To learn anything by the spoken word, according to Alfarabi, three conditions had to be met: the learner must conceive or comprehend the thing being learned, he must be convinced the thing existed, and he must commit the thing to memory so he could reproduce what he had become convinced of. Instruction should be based on the asking and answering of questions but only as a means of inquiring after matters the learners did not know, and not for the sake of argument. Alfarabi, like the religious scholars, found a truth awaiting to be discovered, and saw the process of instruction as concerned primarily with convincing the learner about that truth and committing the truth to memory so it would not be lost to him.

It is difficult to find written descriptions by persons who underwent Koranic study in their early years. However, one such Muslim writer, describing education at the end of the last century in Zanzibar, provides an example of how teaching/learning was carried out in the first stage of schooling. She says:

> On the whole the school is considered by Eastern people...as of little moment and consequence....Between the age of six or seven all children--boys and girls--had to enter the (school); the latter were only required to learn to read, the former both to read and write....The first thing we learned was the very complicated Arab A B C, after which, for want of any other spelling-book, reading was taught from the Kuran, and the boys copied from it. Those who could read pretty fluently read in a chorus, and rather loudly too. But this was the extent of our schooling, for we never got any explanation of **what** we were reading about. Hence the fact that perhaps one only amongst a thousand really understands and is able to explain the sense and the precepts of the Mahometan holy book, though there may be eighty in every hundred who have learned at least half of it by heart. To meditate or to speculate upon its contents is considered irreligious and condemnatory; people are simply to read what they are taught, and this maxim is rigorously carried out" (Ruete, E. 1989:71-72).

The writer goes on to imply that "schooling was of little moment" because family upbringing and training was considered of greater value. Relating this description to the pattern of religious instruction recommended above by Alfarabi and the Islamic scholars, children went through a process of acquiring the memory skills and the body of content, the Koran, that

prepared them for the next stage of understanding through detailed study of the Hadith examples of exemplary living. The fact that many children did not continue beyond this first stage of memorization meant that their learning never progressed to the level of comprehension that was recommended by these early scholars.

The same writer describes a lesson--a description that though confined to religious education in the last century is one that also describes some familiar details of instruction in the modern system of schooling in Pakistan.

> (At) the teacher's approach ... we would promptly seat ourselves, looking extremely demure, only to rebound, like so many indiarubber balls, respectfully to shake hands with the dreaded one and to wish her good morning. She always carried the much detested bamboo cane in one hand, and a large brass inkstand in the other. Until she had taken her seat we had to stand up before her in file, and were finally allowed to sit down ourselves cross-legged around her on the matting. She now began to recite the first Sura of the Kuran,...echoed in chorus by us...then we repeated what we had learned the day before, and took a new piece in reading and writing....Besides reading and writing we were taught a little arithmetic, that is, ciphering in writing up to 100 and up to 1000 mentally; everything beyond that was thought of to be evil.... the pious Arab would be deeply shocked if his civilization were to begin with lessons on natural science.... who sees in all the universe, down to its most infinitesimal details, but one source of creation--the all-guiding and all-directing hand of God! (Ruete 1989:72-78)

Religious schooling of the pattern described above has come to have a strong influence on Pakistan's current education system through a series of historic events. All of Pakistan's formative periods have been connected very closely with the Islamic tradition from the time in the early eighth century when Islam was introduced into Sind by Arabs invading from across the Arabian Sea. In the eleventh century Turkish Muslims expanded the territories under Islamic domination to include the entire Indus valley with Lahore as its capital. The Muslim ruler, Babar, from Afghanistan invaded India in the sixteenth century and established the Mogul Empire, one of the high points in the area's cultural and social history. By that time, Europeans were already competing for influence in the trade routes connecting Europe and the East Indies. As the Mogul Empire declined, European influence strengthened until by the eighteenth century the British East India Company had become the strongest power in the area. This influence continued to increase until by the twentieth century through wars and treaties conducted with local leaders, British India came to include all the area that is now Pakistan.

The influences of Islam persisted among large segments of the population even during the period when Britain dominated the region for at least three reasons. The first was that the British came very late to control the main areas where the religion was concentrated and the second was that few Muslims acquired the Western education that would have allowed them to mingle more freely with other groups--most continued to pursue agricultural and

tribal interests. Finally, the very nature of its literally held sources makes Islam a conservative force in society with little impetus to change dramatically. Revivalist movements, such as those now occurring in much of the Islamic world including Pakistan, periodically act to correct the "deviations" of modern life and bring them into closer correspondence with the perfect model provided by the Koran and Hadith. These periods of reassessment along with the detailed and practical injunctions of the Koran have kept the religious model a persistent one that only changes slowly over time.

The Islamic system of education in many rural areas of Pakistan was the first and in many instances is still the main form of schooling available. Historical records of the British colonial period before Independence show that most villages of any size in the country provided opportunities for students to learn in small mosque schools. The first phase of a survey[6] carried out in 1990 in Balochistan, the most educationally disadvantaged province of Pakistan, and covering about half the villages in the province,[7] showed a surprisingly high number of Koranic schools: two-thirds of the villages reported such schools for boys and almost half for girls. The same villages reported 80% having some kind of government primary schooling opportunities for boys and 33% for girls, including schools where there was informal mixing of the genders (usually with a few girls going to boys' schools). Many villages offer modern and religious systems side by side so children can attend both at different times of the day. Koranic education is, therefore, still a very prevalent form of education in Pakistan.

A modern system of education, teaching other than religious subjects, was established in the 19th century by the British. The system of Koranic schools that had flourished through support by indigenous benefactors declined when money for endowments was diverted under the British colonial administrators into general forms of taxation.[8] Only small sums from these taxes were fed back into support for indigenous educational institutions, and since Arabic and other local languages were considered "a waste of time," the money was "more beneficially applied to promote English learning .... (The limited educational) funds went to support a small number of specialized schools that were designed to train petty clerks for British colonial employment" (Di Bona 1990:58-60) By the late 19th century, the indigenous schools had largely ceased to exist,[9] according to these sources, and they were not adequately replaced by western schools training students from poorer classes who sought employment in the clerical services (Di Bona 1990:61). The subjects taught in these "modern" schools--mainly languages, and the mathematics needed for bookkeeping, did not require the analytical skills or spirit of inquiry that are now usually assumed in a good modern program.

To all intents and purposes, the system introduced by the British, was another "revealed" system--compatible with the way Islamic education was carried out, though of course differing in content. Colonial officials determined what was needed and how schooling would be carried out. As a militarily run institution, schooling was also organized with much the same kinds of hierarchical relationship between teachers and students and the strict discipline that accompanied Koranic education. At partition when local Pakistanis took over

the administration of the modern system, they simply carried out a form they knew. The epitome of this system is still found in the military schools where discipline serves to preserve a schooling as close to the old British ideal as possible.

Two examples from modern Pakistan illustrate the still strong influence that Islamic conceptions hold over scholarship and schooling.

> An educated wife of a provincial minister explained to a foreign woman how she had sent two of her children to private schools and one of her children to a Koranic school. She expected the last, a son, to graduate when he had memorized the entire Koran by about the time he had reached the age of children in Class Five of the modern primary system. Was he also taking "modern" subjects, and would he then enter Class Five, she was asked. No, he was not taking modern subjects in the Koranic school, but he would be quickly accepted into the regular system because by the time he had memorized the Koran "he will know everything there is to know about all subjects and will therefore be ahead of his class."

In a similar vein, Pakistani authorities recently held a conference in the capital, Islamabad, in which they pitted religious scholars against academic scholars--including Americans--in various scientific disciplines, to show that all conceivable innovations in science had been preceded by revelations from the Koran.

There are many parallels in the modern Pakistani system to the model of Koranic learning described above: instruction is directed by a teacher whose authority is not questioned; an authoritative textbook is memorized in each subject matter; choral repetitions are the basis for classwork; students maintain an attitude of disciplined control; and there is little emphasis on understanding textual material at the primary stage. Some education officials, defending their school system's reliance upon memorization and recitation, have expressed doubt that children in the primary grades are capable of reasoning.

There is another interesting similarity in the two systems that may have little to do with religion. Learning the Koran in Pakistani religious schools is complicated by the fact that Arabic is not the native language of either teachers or students. Arabic, however, is sanctified by the fact that it was the language in which the Koran was transmitted to the Prophet Muhammad and therefore its recitation has value in and of itself--many believe it should not be translated. The Koran is also a book written for adults with philosophical meanings that are very difficult if not impossible for young children to understand. In most cases neither the students nor their teachers ever come to understand the meanings well. In the modern system, teachers coping with texts in Urdu, a language that is also not the mother tongue of most Pakistanis, and with texts that are not adequately graded for beginners in the language, use the same techniques of memorization and recitation without comprehension. In both cases, the teacher uses an expedient approach to instruction.

If either the Koranic or the British contributions to the purposes or processes of schooling

were incompatible with deep-structure principles of Pakistani culture, they would not have survived as easily as they did. The next section looks at cultural perceptions that support a particular way of viewing education and educational products.

2.2 Cultural influences on schooling effectiveness

Unique elements in a culture always stand out more clearly through comparison. Since the United States is presently one of the main sources for ideas about improving the education program in Pakistan, it makes the logical contrastive example.

A study (Hofstede 1980) using thousands of interviews, mapped the cultural outlook of people in 40 countries on 4 dichotomous dimensions. The dimensions were uncertainty avoidance (roughly equivalent to "willingness to take risks"), masculinity index ("concern with performance"), power distance ("differences in the way power is distributed") and individualism-collectivism ("the extent to which people are bound to groups"). Pakistan and the US stood roughly in the middle range on all values except the individualism-collectivism measure where they differed in the extreme. Pakistan was rated one of the most collectivist societies and the US one of the most individualistic societies of the entire group of 40 countries.

The study questioned the applicability of motivation, management and leadership theories originating in the US, to cultures lying at an opposite end of the dimensional matrices. For example, the author argued that the high individualism of Americans leads them to explain motivation in terms of satisfying individual needs for gratification whereas a collectivist society like that of Pakistan might be more likely to explain motivation in terms of satisfying an obligation to group. Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, according to Hofstede, is "not a description of a universal human motivation process--it is a description of a value system, the value system of the US middle class to which the author belonged....(It) puts self-actualization (achievement) plus esteem above social needs above security needs" (1980:55). In Pakistan, security would be more likely to rank at or near the top of a needs hierarchy rather than at the bottom, and there would of course be concomitant differences in the way needs would be satisfied.

There are other examples. American management and leadership theories tend to be characterized by a belief that subordinates should participate in the decision-making of managers. France, which ranks closer to Pakistan than does the US on the power- distance matrix relevant to this point, shows little concern for subordinate participation in its management theories and more concern for who has power (1980:57). Since teachers, to all intents and purposes, are the managers of classroom resources and personnel, we might apply the same theories to them. In this case, the French model better describes the power relations within the classrooms of Pakistan where teachers control and limit the kinds of student participation that is permitted. The study notes that"Managers moving to a ... culture (of this kind) soon learn that they have to behave more autocratically in order to be

effective ...." The power that has had the best relationship with its ex-colonialists is France which "suggests that subordinates in (such) countries feel... more comfortable with superiors who are autocrats than with those whose autocratic nature is out of national character" (1980:57).

In Pakistan, British military occupation, already of strong autocratic and hierarchical nature, found sympathetic cultural ground in which to organize a school system of highly disciplined, subordinated clerks.

Hofstede suggests a strong likelihood that US "management by objectives" approaches assuming a fact-based, depersonalized decision-making authority with clearly assigned responsibilities would engender distrust in a society like Pakistan's which relies on highly personalized authorities making decisions based on "intuitive management, ... informal personal contacts and the concern for consensus" (1980:59). It is difficult for an American to imagine how an organization could be run "properly" without an impersonal, service-orientation that is subject to some kind of pre-determined criteria of accountability.

The organizational model which appears most applicable to Pakistan, is again the "French" model which the author describes as a centralized and formal pyramid--that is, with authority vested most strongly in those positioned at the top (1980:60). Hofstede suggests the possibility that there may be an Asian variety of this organizational model--the family--which though centralized and formalized in terms of relationships between people, is not formalized in terms of work flow. American organizational models because they are oriented to results tend to be more flexible than the French or the Asian models, readjusting themselves as needed to obtain better results.

Hofstede's suggestion that a "family" model might be more appropriate to the organization of Asian institutions is a useful idea, that may apply to schools, classrooms, and other forms of organization in Pakistan. It is worth a closer look at this "family model" since, as noted above, culture usually tends to be crystallized in social institutions in a way that one institution will invariably contain the elements that characterize another.

Hofstede gives little information on how he thinks a family model would look, but from his other statements, one would expect to find the greatest cultural differences between American and Pakistani concepts of family appearing in those aspects that relate to individualism/collectivism. This, indeed, appears to be the case. In Pakistan the smallest functional social unit is the family--it is difficult for people to function alone without the mediating influences of families. Children, even as adults, depend on their parents for many necessities of life--food, shelter, employment or employment opportunities, arranging and bankrolling marriages, emotional support and so on. In the United States, by contrast, the lowest functional denominator can be said to be the individual, who though often attaching to a family group for some or all of life, is encouraged to depend on him or herself as much as possible. The mature adult in American society is the one who has separated from parents, emotionally and economically. In each culture, institutions are organized to deal

with this fundamental difference: individualism or collectivism.

Since the family group is so important in Pakistani society, one of the foremost cultural "objectives" is to strengthen and maintain family stability. A device that accomplishes this is the family's fixed system of unequal, interdependent relationships. No two people in the family occupy exactly the same position, nor do they occupy positions equivalent to any other person in the household. Instead, members relate to one another in terms of hierarchies based on age and authority, and/or on the basis of complementary sex roles, and/or because of functional interdependence (different people assuming different responsibilities). That is, the roles of father, mother, older brother, younger brother, older sister, younger sister, son, daughter, grandmother on the mother's side, grandmother on the father's side, etc., all are unique positions entailing unique obligations to the person who is the other in the relationship.

Since each person relates to every other person in different ways, the network of relationships for any single individual becomes quite complicated. He or she must learn the subtleties required in performing and accepting a vast range of obligations carried out in the form of services, behaviors, and correct attitudes of deference or authority. As a consequence of these relationships, members develop strong attachment to their families for they feel they cannot survive alone without the services provided by others--men, for example, cannot do women's tasks, and vice versa, older people make decisions, younger ones can not. The system is fair, in that even when members occupy positions of subordination within the group, they can be patient because they know that eventually with age they will assume higher positions of authority and privilege. In important measure, the willingness to subordinate themselves at a young age ensures authority at an older age, unless, of course, (and this is the real danger) changes in the society relax expectations about these positions. For any single individual, the system only balances out when a whole set of relatives are present and honoring their obligations, and when a complete lifetime is passed moving from positions of subordination to authority. The only aspect that keeps it from being the same for every individual is the matter of sex--both sexes move within structures of possibilities that are different. This situation cannot be dismissed as inappropriate, however, without first reflecting on how much the complementarity of sex roles contributes, along with hierarchy, to the cultural value vested in cohesive family structures.

The same general system of unequal relationship works for containing the conflicts among groups (usually families) within the larger society. Individuals in an organization--a bureaucracy, a school, or a classroom, for example, are not seen as independent entities acting out of self interest or even impersonal interest, but rather they are seen as representing the interests of their family groups first, and the bureaucratic interests second. They occupy the same kinds of unique positions as family members within the bureaucracy, that are fixed in relation to one another by civil service grade, cadre, age, and often sex. They move up the seniority ladder in a regular progression that tends to preserve age-graded relationships between those of otherwise "equal" status--that is, the respect owed to a person

older than oneself will often coincide with the respect owed a person in higher office. Politics and tribal relations may complicate this picture, but for the most part the generalization holds.

This system weaves a tight fabric of relationships among office colleagues (just as it did in a more intimate way between family members) that is not easily disrupted. It survives largely because people continually manifest their differences toward one another--in exchanges, services, respect behaviors, etc. We need not detail these behaviors here, other than to summarize the main principles that organize them. The greater the "need" for cohesiveness in a group, the more unequal are the exchanges between persons standing in relationship to one another likely to be, and the converse, the more that freedom for independence from one another exists, the more equal the exchanges will be. Thus intimate family relations tend to be more unequal and obligatory, and friends of the same status more equal and less fixed in character. It is a system where, in the ideal, obligations are held to be more important than rights, and family interests more important than personal interests. Islam is a powerful reinforcer of such stable group relations, since it describes in detail how people should behave toward one another in daily life: the respect required toward elders, the obligations of husband and wife to each other, the duties of parents and of children, etc.[10]

A Pakistani professor, Ijaz Gilani, supports these views when he says Pakistani culture is characterized by two main tendencies: patronage and protest.[11] The patronage culture, concerns itself with hierarchy and exchange, mostly between unequally situated individuals. The protest culture tends to see problems in all social phenomena and resists change simply for the sake of resistance. Such a society is rife with conflict since its members view life as a zero-sum game where gains by other groups are seen as losses to one's own group. Such a society has difficulty finding bases for cooperation with others, beyond intimate groups such as the family. Gilani's two tendencies are another way of describing the way groups remain cohesive. On the one side, the authority vested in hierarchy holds the group or groups together, on the other protest defines the boundary of the group. Families and other organized groups are restrained mainly by fixed rules and strong authorities who maintain a semblance of order among them.

In an individualistic society like that in the United States, families perform a different function. They are seen as springboards from which to launch their youthful members into adult life. Members come together for economic and social convenience rather than out of a sense of necessity. American parents may have more authority by right of age and pocketbook, but every effort is made to reduce the distinctions of age among family members--hierarchy and authoritarianism smack of inequalities which the society views as "wrong." From an early age children learn to make their own decisions, are given responsibilities and are taught to think of themselves as separated individuals. Family members may carry out household functions with few consistent lines drawn around who should do what job. Old and young, male and female all are expected to become skilled at all types of household work--cooking, cleaning, shopping, yard work. In fact, with the

exception of unavoidable biological differences, males and females are expected to become virtually interchangeable in American families. Each function that differentiates them, is immediately challenged as an obstacle to equality. The fragility of family groups in the West attests to the fact that modern couples do not "need" each other in the same fundamental way that Pakistani families need one another to carry out the routine functions of daily life.

The purposes of education are necessarily different in societies that hold these two contrasting world views. In America's individualistic society each person builds skills as a means of improving his/her own capabilities to cope with as many situations in adult life as possible. The new skill or technique gives the person, if not a competitive edge, at least parity with others. Creativity and productivity are skills that enhance an individual's chances. In the American classroom, children may build a pyramid, write an essay about Nefrititi, or produce a play about Aknatun when they are studying Egypt. All these activities allow children to design their own unique creations, show that they possess the skills to implement them and in the end demonstrate that they can complete a product. What children learn about Egypt in the process is probably incidental to the more important lesson they learn about their own individualism.

Pakistani schools are more likely to try to develop a child who is a credit to his or her family: polite, orderly, compliant, devout, knowledgeable about the tenets of religion and with skills like those of language that characterize the educated person and make it possible to negotiate easily in the outside world. Minimum skills are usually enough to find appropriate employment that contributes financially to the family and maintains a certain status standing in the community. Discipline, rote memorization, copying, reciting are all activities that promote these goals. Diplomas are visible signs of the group's success in supporting family members through the expected hurdles of growing up. Many Pakistani teachers explain that the little "Zero" children (nursery age) who sit day after day in classrooms doing virtually nothing are "learning how to learn," that is, they are learning how to sit quietly and imitate the classroom manners of well-behaved children. So important are these behaviors thought to be, that there is strong resistance to eliminating these 3 and 4 year olds from school, even when they increase class size to 100 students. Learning the demeanor and attributes of the educated person, and accumulating diplomas may be the most important outcomes parents expect of schooling.

Teachers in both systems should be models of these different attributes. The American teacher is expected to be creative, independent, responsible, and skilled, and through an equalizing process put as much of the burden of learning on the child as possible so he or she will learn to use skills independently. Pakistani teachers, according to the proformas their supervisors use, should be clean, neat, have a personality that is attractive, demonstrate their adherence to Islam, cover the curriculum on time, and see that children can give memorized responses from their textbooks to questions put by the supervisors. American children need to be creative, analytical, problem solving, and learn to apply the skills they learn in school to outside situations if they are to prove competitive in today's world. From

observation of the demands placed on adults in the society, Pakistani children need to learn to read and write several languages, and learn simple skills in math and science. They also need to develop their sense of affiliation and of place--of where they fit into the complicated set of personal relationships that make up the substance of their daily life. They learn this at least partly through watching how their teachers behave and by the respect forms they are required to use with teachers and guests visiting their schools.

The following two anecdotes illustrate how classroom organization might differ in individualistic and collectivist societies:

> A teacher from a Western country had been asked to advise Pakistani private school teachers on how they might improve their teaching methods. After watching an English literature class where the Pakistani teacher had been drilling the children in the memorization of a difficult English classical poem without attempting to explain the meaning, the Western teacher suggested that it might be better if a simpler poem were selected that the children could understand. The Pakistani teacher looked puzzled, so to illustrate her point the Western teacher selected a poem about camels and the next day taught the poem to the children with a graphic performance of the way a camel humps along with the "bump" swaying on its back, until she felt sure that the children understood the meaning and could appreciate how the rhythm of the words produced a motion like that of the camel. Next day in a meeting of all the teachers in the school, the Pakistani teacher she had tried to help, furiously accused her of demeaning the teaching profession with her undignified antics and her frivolous choice of poems. After that, she found her position untenable with the other teachers and left the school.

A similar situation occurred in a teacher training course, where methods imported from abroad were this time conscientiously followed though not understood in a way that allowed them to work as they were intended.

> A Pakistani instructor--said to be one of the best from the Open University's distance learning program was conducting a session with in-service teachers trying to earn their Primary School Teaching Certificates. He had been given an orientation course in which he had been told that he should not use the old course method of presenting lectures and having students memorize the content of the book. Instead he should use the new and modern "interactive" approach that organized the lesson around discussions of the points in the readings. To do this he was told to solicit questions about the readings from the students and then lead the class in discussions of these issues. One day the class was attended by observers including the provincial coordinator for the program and the instructor was eager to show that he was following the prescribed method. He began the lesson by asking the students to stand in turn and ask a question, which each had obviously prepared in advance. He noted each on his pad of paper, and when they were finished he gave them an hour lecture covering all of the questions asked. The questions, it turned out, were also carefully

constructed by the students to give him the opportunity to cover the entire lesson. Everyone, including the provincial coordinator, was pleased that the "new" method was working so well.

The point of these two anecdotes, where two cultures meet, is that each participant acts, out of largely unconscious conviction that his or her assumptions are true, unassailable and contradictory to the assumptions of the other and each has difficulty understanding the validity of other approaches.

These are only a few examples of cultural assumptions that may interfere with cross-national forms of schooling effectiveness. Even if it becomes possible to isolate elements with cross-cultural validity, the elements may themselves not fit together with the kind of internal consistency or comprehensiveness that is required if an effective schooling program is to be implemented. For this reason, the more culture is allowed to provide these aspects of consistency and comprehensiveness, the more likely it is that a program will succeed.

3 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

This paper has tried to show two indigenous models of "effective" behavior in Pakistan. There is every evidence that these models influence current conceptions about education in Pakistan, and will, along with others, shape any future definition of effective schooling in that country. The paper references the domains--historical, cultural and interpersonal, though not the specific arguments, knowledgeable Pakistanis use when explaining their own system of education. When contemplating innovation, especially from a foreign source, Pakistanis alternate between expecting miracles and being anxious that the foreign models are culturally inappropriate or simply won't work. They have had enough experience in the recent past to know that not many such efforts leave a sustained impact.

The first influence described in this paper was the Islamic model for effective teaching/learning that, though developed in a different time and place, has shown its power to influence schooling in wide areas of the world. Even the modern system introduced by the British has not had much effect in changing the outlines of the Islamic model in Pakistan. To all intents and purposes, the British system was a similarly "revealed" system whose goals and purposes were not shared widely with those for whom it was intended. The second influence was what may be called the "family" model, that is, a complicated set of structures for maintaining social relationships in a way that leads, on the one hand, to the cohesiveness of small groups and on the other to keeping some kind of order between competing groups in the society. A society which places such a heavy social burden on conducting personal relationships according to such rules has an agenda for socializing its children that may be as important if not more important than developing sophisticated skills in math and science.

Given these priorities, what are some of the elements that might provide a conducive

environment for effective schooling in Pakistan? The examples that follow, though neither necessary to nor sufficient for effective schooling,[12] are ones that seem to contribute to the "cultural comfort" of the participants. Within their parameters they offer a great deal of latitude for creating effective schooling programs.

3.1 Family as metaphor. Schools where the participants speak of themselves as forming a family-like group tend to show a seriousness about learning that distinguishes them from schools where participants assume a more impersonal attitude. In these family-like schools, principals speak of the students as their children and teachers in the school as younger brothers and sisters. This analogy helps the participants understand how to relate to one another with a sense of dedication and commitment. The image is helped when the participants hold appropriate respect relationships of age or status to one another, or when there is an overlapping real relationship of family or tribal group to reinforce the claimed relationship. Without the sense of "family obligation," each person stands as a representative of his or her own group and the schooling system becomes the arena for playing out the zero-sum game.

This family model tends to be effective because, first, it is a familiar image that corresponds with patterns learned outside the school which require hierarchies of age and respect. The child need only be addressed as son or daughter to elicit all the proper behaviors of nurturing and care. Peer tutors can be engaged to teach their younger "siblings." Head masters or mistresses can offer advice to younger "brother" or "sister" teachers and the advice will be accepted as coming from a respected "elder.". Second, the "school-family" earns the commitment and dedication of a suddenly personalized organization. Finally, it creates an organizational form within which work can be accomplished toward common goals.

3.2 **Authoritative sources.** Schooling programs, whether innovative or standard, gain easier acceptance when couched in authoritative terms as coming from high officials or recognized experts, and transmitted in a "correct" form through printed matter. There is strong regard for doing things "correctly." Teachers are likely to feel more secure when there is an unequivocal structure surrounding them and when they are given step by step direction about what they should do. This relieves them from the responsibility of "being wrong" or acting "independently." The danger in this approach is, of course, that the formula for what is "right" needs to have some validity and enough scope to address variations of context and child. Contrary to what some educators think, an authoritative approach can be used to develop the skills of analysis, problem solving and application, and in fact can make their introduction easier if they are couched in easy-to-follow steps that help teachers know how they are to be taught.

3.3 **Teacher-directed learning.** Teachers are expected to occupy a position of respect in relation to their students. They, along with the textbooks, possess the knowledge the child is expected to know. Teachers need to seem to direct classroom instruction, even when they give permission for mild forms of "student-initiated" learning, such as asking questions.

Students know enough to ask for information, and not to ask critical questions that dispute the "facts" they are given or test the teachers' capacities. When these principles are violated all the participants feel "out of control" and uncomfortable. They are likely to modify an innovation until they again occupy culturally appropriate positions. And so they should, given the importance of hierarchical relationships in stabilizing institutions and groups across the society.

3.4 **Training in the attributes of the educated person.** Parents, students, and teachers expect schools to impart a considerable amount of knowledge about deportment and moral values: neatness, orderliness, discipline, respect, general politeness, and behaviors appropriate to a good Muslim. Children first go to school at an age when parents begin to expect responsible behavior from them. The school necessarily plays an important role in assisting parents inculcate these behaviors in children.

These valued behaviors are reinforced, if not taught, in existing classes through memory work, copying, showing respect to the teacher, not contradicting him or her and not asking penetrating questions. If these behaviors are changed, something needs to replace them which helps children learn these important social behaviors.

3.5 **Authority chains.** Organizations function through chains of authority. Staff members all the way down the chain of command expect to be controlled--they often perform in accordance with what they think will be controlled. If no controls are exerted there is little motivation to perform. Pakistanis expect external sources of control in their work, and are less likely to feel such internally motivated controls as a sense of professionalism or personal satisfaction in work. Bureaucracies work more smoothly when there is a clear hierarchical staffing pattern and each level holds the next level accountable for its actions. Unfortunately at the present time, there are few penalties for poor performance once a staff member is locked into the virtually automatic promotion system of government service, and therefore even this potentially powerful means for creating accountability is weakened. What the culture and therefore the bureaucracy lacks is a means of connecting people and departments horizontally.

Now to return to Wilcox's comment, it may be better to try to accommodate both schools of thought--that is, to try to reproduce much of society while at the same time trying to improve it. In the short run, that may be the most innovators can do anyway since culture has a way of tenaciously defending itself. Culture, also, in any endeavor, plays the useful role of providing consistency to comprehensive segments of social behavior. Effective schooling can improve society without ignoring those aspects that reproduce it and give it a reassuring stability.

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NOTES

1. A situation of this sort where the objective is to teach a well-structured discipline, B. Rosenshine (1986) notes, lends itself well to the techniques of "explicit" teaching. In the BRIDGES study of effective teaching practices in Pakistan, for example, we found that a group of teachers with higher achieving

students were more likely to use learning sequences similar to those Rosenshine describes as explicit teaching than did a group of teachers with lower achieving students.

2.The term "situated act" nicely describes all the elements, tangible and intangible, that affect the conduct of teaching/learning. I first heard Russ Edgerton, President of the American Association of Higher Education use the term, but he claims to have taken it from implications in discussions he has had with Lee Shulman from Stanford.

3.Parts of this section come from notes translating traditional Islamic scholars on issues of knowledge, learning and teaching lent to me by Dr. Leonard Librande of McGill University.

4. Librande, L. notes

5.The parts on Alfarabi come from an article by Fuad Said Haddad 1974.

6.This survey was supervised by a BRIDGES consultant, and funded by UNICEF.

7.The almost 3000 villages covered in this phase of the survey were located within one hour drive of major settlements of 5000 inhabitants or more.

8.Government of India Home Public March 7 1835. **Promotion of European Literature and Science Among the Natives of India.** National Archives of India (7-19) as quoted from Di Bona 1990:58.

9.Evidence of the still widespread existence of Koranic schools in Balochistan suggests otherwise, that the decline in Koranic schools was not as great as assumed. Local people appear much more willing to support religious schools financially than modern schools, though in recent years they have even contributed considerably to the latter.

10. Fundamentalists are attempting to revive the concept of ummah which is the overarching relationship of all Muslims in an Islamic community. If they are able to achieve this objective, they will have strengthened connections at a level more encompassing than family, eventually perhaps making it possible for people's altruism to be directed more toward societal as opposed to personal group issues.

11.At a lecture given at MIT in the fall of 1988.

12.In fact, there is a blurring of product and process here that should probably be distinguished more sharply.