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SOCIAL STRUCTURE, SIGNIFICANT OTHERS, AND SELF-CONCEPT IN A CHANGING SOCIETY:
HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN KARACHI, PAKISTAN

by

Arshad H. Rizvi

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
December 1977

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Arshad H. Rizvi
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This research is concerned with the adolescents in Pakistani society and the way they perceive themselves. Most studies dealing with self-concept have emphasized the significance of critical years in the life of young people. Adolescence has been viewed as crucial to human development. The youth goes through a period of transition and it affects his self-conception.

The vast amount of literature available on self-concept and the numerous studies utilizing it as their central concept present clear and unquestionable evidence of the popularity and importance accorded self-concept by social scientists. However, very little empirical work is done on the subject of self-conception and adolescence, either in different cultures outside the U.S. or on a cross-cultural level, to see whether the generalizations arrived at are of a universalistic nature or reflect biases stemming from the use of similar systems design or are limited by the culture-bound nature of such studies. The measures of self-concept, similarly, have been developed almost entirely in one culture and are seldom tested or validated in other cultures. While this investigation is primarily interested in examining the variables that influence the self-structures of youth in Karachi, Pakistan, it utilizes the measures and
scales developed in the U.S. and, therefore, indirectly should help in assessing the applicability of such measures in other cultures.

Pakistan is in the throes of rapid social change. Centuries-old traditions are being questioned. The influx of modern technology, the radical changes in the modes of production, the sweeping reorganization of industrial structure, and a new pragmatic orientation to the solution of problems have touched off the beginnings of an era of social upheaval in which social institutions are being recast and the social structure is undergoing changes wherein the established values are being challenged and a new set of values is being ushered in. Certain social structures are characterized by and purvey this social change. This phenomenon finds greater visibility and wide prevalence in urban areas, especially large, industrialized, and urbanized cities. Karachi, the largest city in Pakistan, with a population of over 4 million people, epitomizes this surge of social change in its most dramatic fashion. Even such a stabilizing and established institution as religion faces its greatest challenge in Pakistan in view of these changes occasioned by a network of broader social forces and the recognition of their impact by the people.

In this investigation, we will examine the relationship between some important structural variables involved in change and some selected aspects of self-conception among high school students in
Karachi, Pakistan. The structural variables to be used are sex status, linguistic culture, and religious affiliation. The aspects of self-conception that we will be looking at are self-consistency and self-esteem. The structural variables that have been selected are those which are found consistently cross-culturally and are particularly affected by social change. The self-concept variables selected for this study are those in which the greatest amount of theoretical and empirical work has been done in a culture-bound fashion.

Studies dealing with these structural variables and their influence upon self-concepts are few. In our explorations, we will be specifically asking whether one's sex status has any influence upon the way one integrates one's personality. Do the sexes differ in their self-conception? For example, do females, because of their socialization and somewhat limited social and cultural exposure in the Pakistani society, experience less diversification of perceptions? This very restricted exposure might help females in crystalizing and unifying their definitions of self.

Similarly, while religion has an overall integrating influence upon one's person in that it provides its members with a belief system and a unitary perspective, its various sects or subsects might differ in expectations and the degree of regulation exercised over the membership. The two major sects or denominations in Islam--the state religion of Pakistan--are Sunnites and Shi'ites. The question,
on a broader level, will be to what extent young people coming from a strict home religious environment differ from those who were raised either in a moderate religious environment or home that lacked religious influence. On a more specific level, do Sunnis and Shi'ites differ in their ways of perceiving their self-concept? Are Shi'ites more self-consistent than Sunnis? Further, to what extent is the self-concept of young females in Pakistan influenced by religion and the religious environment of their homes? A further exploration will be whether the Shi'a female, as opposed to the Sunni female, is significantly more self-consistent? Do females differ in the amount of self-esteem or the feelings of self-worth?

In addition, to what extent does one's having been exposed to using a different language and, therefore, different ways of organizing reality have impact upon the organization of one's self? As exemplified by the academic institutions in Pakistan, the option and opportunity exists for a student to take up a language different from his mother tongue and follow it through high school and even college. English is being taught as a second language and is compulsory for those enrolled in school. However, the learning, acquisition, and use of the English language varies across class lines. The question arises, then, whether using a different language confronts a youth in his/her daily life with special problems in perception and culturally conflicting situations, and to what degree this influences his/her
self-consistency and self-esteem.

Pakistan, being a country where religion still holds a prominent position in one's daily life, provides an appropriate setting to ask such questions. Moreover, to date, no such study has been undertaken in that culture. In one previous study (Rosenberg, 1972), interpersonal relationships within primary groups were found to have greater impact upon self-conceptions than the social status of adolescent, ethnic or religious group membership in the larger society. But this study was done in the U.S. where patterns of relationships are quite different. We feel that the influence of religion upon self-consistency and self-esteem needs to be further explored, and investigations carried out in a different cultural setting should help to clarify and sharpen our thinking on the subject.

Finally, as exemplified by the Rosenberg study (1972), the influence exerted upon self by others cannot be overemphasized. In numerous studies, it has been shown that significant others influence our ideas of self, our views about future aims and goals in life, and indeed, our total personality. Parents, teachers, and friends serve as sources of evaluations. A Pakistani youth is not devoid of such influences and evaluations made of and upon his personality by those he values most. The self-consistency and self-esteem of youngsters in Pakistani culture are influenced by his peers, his family members, and teachers. Of particular significance, in the context of that
society, is whether self-reported consensus in the viewpoints of significant others about self leads to greater degrees of self-consistency? More specifically, do youth belonging to the Shi'a sect in Pakistan perceive greater consistency in their significant others about self or is a greater degree of consistency about self perceived by the youngsters belonging to the Sunnite sect in Pakistan in the viewpoints of their significant others?

Previous research, while having shown a positive relationship between self-perception and the influence of significant others, does not specifically address itself to the question of consistency of perceptions among significant others and the extent to which it affects an individual's self-organization. It is, therefore, proposed here that in the case of Pakistani youth agreement among significant others about self as reported by those belonging to the Shi'a sect will lead to greater self-consistency and self-esteem.

To conclude, this research will be able to extend theoretical thinking by looking at relationships between structural variables, namely: religion, sex, language, and aspects of self—self-consistency and self-esteem.

Major Dependent Variables Used in This Study

Self-consistency and self-esteem are the two major concepts that we will be dealing with in this investigation as dependent variables. These concepts were chosen for several reasons. A large
portion of research utilizing these concepts treats them as social-
psychological concepts. Of the various aspects of the self, self-
esteem in particular has received much attention and captured the
imagination of social scientists. It has been used in studies dealing
with academic achievement, juvenile delinquency, deviance, and so
forth. Self-consistency, on the other hand, has received very little
attention. Barring a few recent empirical attempts (Gergen & Morse,
1967), it has been virtually neglected since the pioneering theoretical
treatise by Lecky (1945).

In addition to the vast amount of literature dealing with social-
psychological concepts of self, the chief attribute of these concepts is
that they are largely free from biological determinism and represent
portions of personality structure which theoretically should be amen-
able to sociological variables such as social structure and interaction.

These are related concepts and represent various aspects of
self-conceptions; therefore, a great deal of overlap is to be antici-
pated when defining these concepts. In the writings of classical
social psychologists, these are seldom clearly defined and/or demar-
cated from other dimensions of self-concept. An effort, nevertheless,
will be made to define them more clearly in the present endeavor.

Consistency is one of the functions of major import served
by self-concept. During his life span, the individual encounters
various situations and people. The situations call for the assumption
of new roles and, in turn, every role assumed by the individual entails certain expectations that he is required to fulfill. The exposure to new situations and the demands placed upon the individual by various roles can pose problems for organization and integration of his self-conceptions. It is under such situations, i.e., situations that tend to threaten the organization of self-conceptions, that the idea of self-consistency assumes importance.

Self-consistency may be defined as the degree to which a person believes his ideas about himself go together without conflict. This is consistent with Lecky's (1945) pioneering work on the topic, and with Gergen's (1971) usage of the term. They both characterized it as that state in any given concept of self believed by a person to be consistent with others' views of himself.

However, with all the attention given to it, self-consistency has been used always as a construct to explain other phenomena. In the present study, it is our intention to use self-consistency as a dependent variable to be explained by other variables. We will attempt to identify some of the important structural determinants of changes in self-consistency.

Another dependent variable is self-esteem. Self-esteem is defined as the sum of an individual's feelings about self-competence and a sense of self-worthiness. This study will look at the interrelationships of self-esteem with sex, religion, and language.
To sum up, this study, then, is concerned with an exploration of the impact of religious affiliation, the exposure to different linguistic culture, and the effect one's sex status has on aspects of self-conceptions, namely, self-consistency and self-esteem. Almost all discussions of various dimensions of self-concept point to the importance of significant others to self-conceptions. This investigation will also explore the impact of significant others on the organization of self among high school youth in Karachi, Pakistan. While aspects of self-conceptions constitute our major dependent variables, and sex, religion, and language constitute the major independent variables, use will also be made of other sociodemographic variables to the extent that our theory leads us to predict that they intervene.

Self-Concept and Theory

Self-concept has come to assume great importance in the fields of sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and education. More and more, it is viewed as a kind of central construct for understanding people and their behavior. The concept of self can appropriately be characterized as multidimensional. Its different dimensions reflect the diversity of experience, capacities, and attributes.

Since the late 1800s, there has been much interest in the self. The early predecessors of self-theory, such as William James, G. H. Mead, and C. H. Cooley, were more concerned with the origin and nature of self and the continuity, consistency, and quality of
experience than with more specific considerations with regard to its multidimensionality.

Various definitions of self have been given. Generally speaking, there is no basic disagreement on the definitional terms. Shades of opinion vary on what aspect of the definition should be emphasized, though James (1890) defined self as "the sum total of what the individual considers himself and his to possess, including his body, his traits, characteristics, abilities, aspirations, family, work, possessions, and other social affiliations." James also stated that infants were born without identities. The self develops into the knower, or experiencer, "I", and the known and experienced, "Me." He also divided self into the material self, the social self, and the spiritual self.

There are two distinct meanings assigned to the term self-concept in modern literature. One refers to the attitudes and feelings the individual has about himself and the other connotes a group of psychological processes that govern behavior and adjustment of personality. In the first sense, self is regarded as an object, whereas the other denotes self as a process.

Regardless of the meaning given and the definition used, the concept of self is not treated as a metaphysical or religious self. Rather it refers to the object of psychological processes or those processes themselves. As noted by Raimy (1948:154), "The self-
concept is the more or less organized perceptual object resulting from present and past self observation. . . . The self-concept is the map which each person consults in order to understand himself, especially during moments of crisis or choice."

Cooley (1920) developed the idea of "Looking-Glass Self." He conceived of the self as having three important components: (1) imagination of one's appearance to another person, (2) imagination of the other person's appraisal of that appearance, and (3) some kind of self value-feelings such as pride or shame. In a very large and interesting class of cases, the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self—that is, any idea he appropriates—appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitudes toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self:

Each to each a looking-glass
Reflects the other that doth pass.

The idea of self, in this instance, is organized through self-awareness and imagination; the ability to visualize one's self through the eyes of others. This ability is not inborn, but is acquired through learning, reflection, and interpersonal relationships.

Mead (1934) has also exerted tremendous influence upon current social-psychological thought. To him, the self is a socially formed self. One becomes aware of himself through others. It is

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in the social setting and social communication that the self arises.

According to Mead, there are many selves; some are very broad, some are very specific to the situation. He contends that the individual will conceive of himself as he believes significant others conceive of him, and that the individual tends to act in accordance with the expectations he projects to significant others. "He becomes a self insofar as he can take the attitude of another and act toward himself as others act" (1934:171).

To Mead, the self simply means that . . . an individual may act socially toward himself, just as toward others. He may praise, blame, or encourage himself, may seek to punish himself, and so forth. Thus the human being may become the object of his own actions. The self is formed in the same way as other objects--through the "definition" made by others (1934:164).

Since self is derived from the influence others have on one, there is no clear-cut demarcation between the self of the individual and the selves of others. "No hard-and-fast line can be drawn between our own selves and the selves of others, since our own selves exist . . . only insofar as the selves of others exist" (Mead, 1934:164).

Self-unity comes through the introjection of the "generalized other." The generalized other, as pointed out by Mead, includes any object or set of objects, whether animate or inanimate, human or animal, or merely physical toward which he /the child/ acts or to which he responds socially. And the unity of self-attitudes which make up the self, and the personaility, . . . can come only as the child takes the attitudes
of himself as an object or individual (1934:154).

Rogers (1951a) explained that self-concept only includes the qualities visible to the individual and which he believes he has control over. He defined self as: "an organized, fluid, but consistent conceptual pattern of perceptions of characteristics and relationships of the 'I' or the 'Me', together with values attached to these concepts" (p. 498).

His theory of self evolved out of his method of psychotherapy which he originated and developed. This type of method has been called non-directive or client centered. Rogers elaborates on his theory of personality in the following manner:

This theory is basically phenomenological in character and relies heavily upon the concept of self as an explanatory concept. It pictures the end-product of personality development as being a basic congruence between the phenomenal field of experience and the conceptual structure of the self—a situation which, if achieved, would represent freedom from internal strain; which would represent the maximum in realistically oriented adaptation; which would mean the establishment of an individualized value system having considerable identity with the value system of any other equally well-adjusted member of the human race (1951a:532).

It is generally held that man reacts to his phenomenal world in terms of the way he perceives his world. This stress upon understanding and awareness of "phenomena" permeates the literature on self-theory. Ideas similar to Rogers, as outlined above, have been presented by Combs and Snygg (1959). The organization of all the ways in which an individual sees himself has been characterized by them as the
"phenomenal self."

By the phenomenal self is meant the individual's own unique organization of his concepts of self; it is the Gestalt of his concepts of self. Whereas the concepts of self about which we have been speaking describe isolated aspects of the person, the phenomenal self is the organization or pattern of all those which the individual refers to as "I" or "Me." It is himself from his own point of view. The phenomenal self is not a mere conglomeration or addition of isolated concepts of self, but a patterned interrelationship or Gestalt of all these. It is the individual as he seems from his own vantage point (Combs & Snygg, 1959:126).

The phenomenal self, then, can be designated as the self that is observed, experienced, and judged by the individual himself. In other words, this is the self of which he is aware. The phenomenal self develops, by and large, out of the individual's relationships with others. These relationships are influenced by the individual's early experiences with his family and those around him and the self-concept that is formed in earlier life is liable to be more resistant to change and, over a period of time, becomes increasingly conservative.

Raimy (1948), Rogers (1951), Combs and Snygg (1959), and others see self-concept as a determinant of roles, behavior and as exercising limitations on behavior in that the ways of behaving adopted by the individual are those which are consistent with the self-conceptions. However, to regard the phenomenal self as completely unchangeable and inflexible would be far from the truth. As pointed out by Combs and Snygg (1959), changes do occur but gradually and
slowly. And such shifts occur so imperceptibly that even the individual himself may not be aware of them. On the development of self, Symonds (1951) noted that:

The self as a percept is not present at birth but begins to develop gradually as perceptive powers develop . . . . The self develops as we feel ourselves separate and distinct from others, but the first differentiations are dim and hazy. It is probably true that one learns to recognize and distinguish the self . . . . As the recognition of the familiar faces takes shape, vague notions of the self simultaneously develop (p. 62).

Sullivan (1953) emphasized not only that social interaction is important in the development of self, but also that this interaction is important with the mother figure. He noted the development of three rudimentary personifications of me: Good Me, Bad Me, and Not Me. These tripartite cleavages he regards as inevitable and related to the growing conception of "my body."

Because of his emphasis upon the central roles played by communicative processes and the cultural milieu, Sullivan's ideas with respect to the development of self deserve special mention. Avoidance of severe anxiety is the main concern in response to which the infant starts to develop a self-system. The infant, in interaction with adults and particularly with mother, finds satisfaction for his needs and, insofar as the interaction is mutually satisfying, little or no anxiety exists. However, if the needs are thwarted, the situation then becomes "disintegrated" and anxiety results. "This idea of self-system is simply tremendously important in understanding the

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The organization of self, therefore, follows from the increasingly systematic organization of experience. There can be three modes or types of experience. According to Sullivan, the impact of experience to which each category refers is the manner in which experience is recorded and the nature and degree of inner elaboration accorded to the experience by the individual.

The first mode of experience is called prototaxic. In this mode, the experience has little or no impact; experience of this kind represents separate and unrelated extemporaneous states. An absolute minimum of inner elaboration is experienced by the child. The **syntaxic** mode of experience, on the other hand, has the benefit of logical ordering and symbolic formulation which lend it a maximum of inner organization and refinement. Syntaxic mode allows a wide range of communicability to the experience and can be articulated in a most clear fashion. When the experience is partially organized or organized in a quasi-logical manner, then it falls between the other two. This mode of experiencing is designated **parataxic**. This consists of elements of which the individual is not fully aware (Sullivan, 1953:29).

The three modes of experiencing closely correspond with the stages of personality development. The prototaxic mode is typical of the child's earliest experiences. The next stage reached by the
child is parataxic, while the learning of language marks the onset of
the third or wholly communicable stage, i.e., syntactic.

Erikson (1959), in his early writings as well as recent ones,
has stressed the role of self-identity:

Ego identity is more than the sum of childhood identifications. It is the inner capital accrued from all those
experiences of each successive stage, when successful
identification led to a successful alignment of the individ-
ual's basic drives with his endowment and his opportuni-
ties (p. 88).

It is through this confidence accumulated over time that one is able
to maintain not only the inner sameness but also a matching same-
ness and continuity of the meanings one possesses for others.

In his discussion of the stages of development of human per-
sonality, Erikson characterized adolescence as a bridge between
what a young adult "was" as a child and what he is "about to become." People around him respond to the young adult by recognizing not
merely the achievements but the very need for such a response and
recognition becomes indispensable to the future growth of the individ-
dual. Final identity, then, includes all the significant identifications
an individual has enjoyed. This identity also confers upon him a
new and unique identity which comprises a reasonably coherent
whole of all his previous identities.

Epstein (1973) identifies self-concept as a "self-theory."

He very clearly stated his ideas as follows:

It is a theory that the individual has unwittingly constructed
about himself as an experiencing, functioning individual,
and it is part of a broader theory which he holds with respect to his entire range of significant experience . . .
there are major postulate systems for the nature of the world, for the nature of the self, and for their interaction
(p. 407).

He stated that the purposes of his self-theory are to "optimize the
pleasure/pain balance of the individual over the course of his life-
time . . . to facilitate the maintenance of self-esteem and to
organize the data of experience in a manner that can be coped with
effectively" (p. 407).

Hickman and Kuhn (1956) define self in terms of social object.

It is the only object common to all the widely varied situations in which we participate. As such it comes to serve
as the anchoring point from which we make judgments and
subsequent plans of action toward the many other objects
in each specific situation . . . . We may think of it as
consisting of all the answers individuals might make to
the question "Who am I?" (p. 43).

Here, even though self is treated in terms of an object, it
does not lose its dynamic quality--that of a moving force. Labene
and Greene's (1969) definition of self also contains this dynamic
aspect: "self-concept is the person's total appraisal of his appear-
ance, background and origin, abilities and resources, attitudes and
feelings which culminate as a directing force in behavior"(p. 10).

In the foregoing, we have presented the views of a number of
social scientists regarding self-concept. The range of thinking on
this topic, and the ways in which the self has been conceptualized is
indicative of the divergence of opinions as well as the complexities
of the phenomenon. It can probably be correctly assumed that the concept cannot be adequately and appropriately described along a single continuum or by a single measure.

Epstein (1973), Kinch (1963), and Wylie (1968) have summarized the characteristics attributed by others to the self-theory. Following is a paraphrase of their major conclusions:

1. Self is comprised of different selves, such as a body self, a social self, and a spiritual self.

2. Contrary to some beliefs, it is not a static organization. It tends to change, and based upon the fact that it is capable of incorporating new information, it can more aptly be characterized as integrative.

3. Social interaction, particularly with significant others, is the key factor in its development.

4. The maintenance of the organization of self-concept is essential for the functioning of the individual.

5. The individual's perception of the responses of others toward him reflects the actual responses of others toward him.

6. Self-esteem is basic to self-system as it relates to all aspects of the self; it provides nourishment for the growth of self-concept.

7. The self-concept encompasses a person's evaluation as well as his cognitions.

8. The self-concept involves degrees of consciousness or unconsciousness.

A number of criticisms have been made pointing up the shortcomings of self-theories. Hall and Lindzey (1970), in their survey of self-theories, express their frustrations over the confusion.
created by inconsistent terms and definitions: "One could wish that it were possible to establish by fiat standard definitions of the self and the ego and make it illegal to use them in any other way" (p. 523). This concern is equally shared by Wylie (1968), who, in an attempt to delineate the common denominators of self-concept, came to the same conclusion: the enormous complexity and inclusiveness of the definitions. There is a lack of conceptual clarity between self-concepts and self-percepts. No attempt is made to conceptualize different stimulating events and establish a link between stimulating characteristics and the "perceptual experiences" (Wylie, 1968). Furthermore, various self-theorists have concentrated on the individual and his development and have not adequately specified the impact of social structure.

In short, self-concept has been widely used in social-psychological literature. The reflexive aspect of the behaving, experiencing human being has been described with the help of a multiplicity of terms. The objective self and the subjective self, the me and the I, the phenomenal self and the nominal self, the generalized other and the role-playing individual, the self-concept and the self-percept, the looking-glass self and the self as object to itself, the spiritual self and the social self, the Good-Me and Bad-Me are some of the terms suggested to describe the phenomenon.

Thus, self-concept can be defined as that phenomenologically

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integrated configuration of symbolic constructs that the individual derives from his experience, utilizes as a referent, and which functions to serve as a frame of reference for self-evaluation and self-awareness.

Despite a great deal of ambiguity, incompleteness, and overlap, the hallmark of self-theories has been the significance and place assigned to the self as being central to human personality. The range of thinking from James, Cooley and Mead to the present date also reflects the concern experienced by the individual to be consistent and, when confronted with new experiences, the tendency is to align ideas along the already existing conceptions of self.

Self-Consistency as an Aspect of Self-Concept

In the following pages we will discuss only two aspects of self which are central to the present study: self-consistency and self-esteem.

The notion of self-consistency is present in almost all writings on self-concept. The variation to be noted is in the use of different terms employed to express similar ideas. One of the early considerations of this dimension of self is found in the writings of Prescott Lecky (1945). Lecky identifies self-concept as the "nucleus of personality." The personality is continually accepting new ideas and modifying or rejecting old ones. The self-concept helps determine which ideas are to be accepted, since ideas tend to be accepted
which are consistent with the already existing image of the self. The enduring concept of self allows the individual to experience and behave toward his own self as an integrated and consistent whole (Lecky, 1945; Sullivan, 1953; Rogers, 1951; Combs & Snygg, 1959; Murphy, 1947; Raimy, 1943).

The idea of self is open to change, and once established it provides "a sense of personal continuity over space and time" (Cooper smith, 1967; Brehm & Cohen, 1962); it serves as a perpetual frame of reference into which new data related to the self are fitted (Raimy, 1943) and, despite variability in the stimuli, people continue to behave in much the same manner time after time (Lecky, 1945: 1-25).

Lecky (1945) stated the concept of self-consistency quite well when he said that the mind is an organized system of ideas. People tend to organize their ideas to be consistent with each other. When new ideas are introduced, they are likely to be accepted if they are congruent with ideas previously acquired by the individual. He goes on to say that not only ideas have to be internally consistent, but also the interpretation of the ideas must be consistent with the individual's experiences. This phenomenon, according to him, is essential to one's identity. To quote:

The characteristics of a person on the highest levels of integration are determined by his style of life, i.e., the individual organization of ideas and attitudes which are
acquired through experience and which control the highest intellectual functions. The essence of this organization of ideas and attitudes is itself self-consistency. A person can only go in one direction at a time. Inconsistency or ambivalence results in conflict or paralysis of action. Behavior expresses the effort to be consistent and unified in organizations and actions. Ideas which are consistent with past experience tend to be assimilated while those which are inconsistent tend to be rejected (pp. 2-3).

For Lecky

The goal for which the individual strives is the maintenance of a unified organization, /hence/ we seek those experiences which support our values, and avoid, resist, or, if necessary, forcibly reject those which are inconsistent with them. Neither acceptance nor rejection can be practiced exclusively without endangering the organization (p. 169).

Changes in the self-concept and/or modifications in the present system are undertaken when the individual is convinced by experience that the present organization fails to serve the goal of unity. However, since this self-made scheme of life is his only insurance against an environment that he does not fully understand, preservation of these arrangements becomes a goal in itself. Therefore, he leans toward the type of experiences which confirm and support the unified attitude.

Several other theorists have spoken in great length on this subject. Of these, Festinger (1957), Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955), and Heider (1958) have much in common. Their discussion of "consonance," "congruity," "and "balance" respectively underline the assumption that people tend to seek coherence and integration in their cognitions.

A cognitive dissonance model was first developed by Leon
Festinger in 1957. Since then it has stimulated a great deal of research and controversy. The basic tenets of the model are as follows:

1. Human beings cannot tolerate cognitive inconsistency.
2. Whenever inconsistency exists in a person he will try to remove it.
3. Dissonance exists whenever one cognitive element is dissonant with another cognitive element.
4. These cognitive elements could be either about self or the environment.
5. Changing of behavior is required for changing a set of dissonant cognitions to a set of consonant cognitions.
6. The magnitude of dissonance is a function of:
   a. importance of each of the cognitive elements,
   b. the number of dissonant and consonant cognitions that exist at a particular time, and
   c. cognitive overlap (the less two or more cognitive elements have in common, the greater will be the dissonance).
7. Dissonance may be reduced by:
   a. trying to rescind the decision,
   b. attenuating the importance of the cognitions;
   c. making greater the cognitive overlap; and
   d. augmenting consonant elements to change the ratio of dissonance.

In sum, arousal of dissonance is accompanied by a need to reduce dissonance. Inconsistency motivates action and pushes the person to remove discrepancy between two or more cognitive elements about his behavior and about his internal or external environment. Different situations produce more or less dissonance, i.e., magnitude of dissonance differs and a reduction can be obtained by the
person by either changing his behavior, changing his attitudes and perceptions, or by changing the environment surrounding him.

Osgood and Tannenbaum's (1955) formulations with regard to consistency deal with changes in attitudes as a result of incongruity that exists between the source of a communication and its content. The principle of congruity is seen in operation when two attitude objects are linked via an assertion. The emphasis here is on assertion—if no assertion is made about two attitude objects, no association emerges. Assertions are of two types: associative and dissociative. "Associative assertions are illustrated by such statements as A is B, A likes B, A shakes hands with B, and A goes with B. Dissociative assertions are illustrated by such statements as A is not B, A dislikes B, A avoids B, and A criticizes B." (Insko, 1967: 114) The efforts of the individual are aimed to increase congruity between ideas, cognitions and attitudes.

The accent in Heider's (1958) model is on "balance." Individuals strive to maximize cognitive balance. When things fit together harmoniously and without stress in the person's life space, there then exists an overall equilibrium in self.

This theory focuses upon the relationship between two persons labeled P and O, and one entity X, which can be an object, an idea, or an activity. The premise is that a balanced state exists when "all three possible relations are positive in all respects, or if two are
negative and one positive." States of balance are preferred by the person over states of imbalance. States of imbalance produce tension, which in turn generates forces to restore balance.

More specifically, Heider discusses balance as constituting homogeneous sentiment (admiration, approving) relations. If all of the sentiments are evaluated favorably, it has a positive consequence for the person. In fact, there is a tendency to "make all of the sentiment relations agree with each other." This can result in an extreme, all-or-nothing judgment, and, based on such attitudes, individuals who perceive of each other as being similar will be attracted to each other. Thus shared and common sentiments function as the organization principles for relation.

A lack of balance in the individual and his relations will result in tension which, in turn, forces a change toward balance.

Carl Rogers (1951a) also emphasizes the significance of self-concept and maintenance of consistent relationships. He noted:

Psychological adjustment exists when the concept of self is such that all the sensory and visceral experiences of the organism are, or may be, assimilated on a symbolic level into a consistent relationship with concept of self (p. 513).

Rogers characterizes this tendency of self for consistency in relationships as that of a fully functioning person. However, this is an ideal state for him:

Thus when self-experiences are accurately symbolized, and are included in the self-concept in this accurately symbolized
form, then the state is one of congruence of self with experience. If this were completely true of all self-experience, the individual would be a fully functioning person . . . (p. 206).

An adequate, integrated, self-consistent person, hence, is one whose self has been able to achieve "optimal" adjustment, and who can allow successive descriptions of self and his interpretation of reality in his person.

On how this state of integration is achieved and the implications thereof, Rogers (1947) has this to say:

It would appear that when all of the ways in which the individual perceives himself--all perceptions of himself in relation to others--are accepted into the organized conscious concept of the self, then this achievement is accompanied by feelings of comfort and freedom from tension which are experienced as psychological adjustment . . . . This definition of adjustment is thus made an internal affair, rather than dependent upon an external reality (p. 364).

The notion of self-consistency has also been addressed by Combs and Snygg (1959). Their discussions of phenomenal self, in fact, revolve around such a central tendency on the part of the individual. "The tendency is for the individual to extract from his phenomenal field those particular concepts of self that he regards as fundamental, and those that furnish him with essentials that make up the 'I' or 'Me'" (p. 127). These concepts of self have a clear and definite relationship to each other. With Lecky, they recognize the importance of a high degree of consistency in the perceived aspects of self for the organization of phenomenal field.
"The fundamental need of the organism is the search for adequacy" (p. 129).

The phenomenal self, to them, constitutes "our anchor to reality" and one that proves to be resistant to change. It is this consistency of phenomenal self that provides the core of human personality. Combs and Snygg (1959) use the term "adequacy" to convey the notion of consistency and stability in self-conceptions. Like Festinger and Lecky, they identify man's need for adequacy. They conclude that, "This quest for adequacy may find expression in a wide variety of behavior aimed, in one form or another, at the maintenance or enhancement of our perceptions of personal worth and value" (p. 46).

An adequate person characteristically perceives himself in positive ways. These positive perceptions of self by the individual are reflected in his view of self which is that of dignity, acceptance, and worth. In other words, an adequate person has a higher self-esteem than a less adequate person. Not only is an adequate person able to maintain stable perceptions of self across relationships and over a period of time; he is also able to relate to and identify with significant others and draw upon these sources for maintenance and enhancement of these relationships.

To sum up, investigations of personality largely assume that the individual acts consistently and manifests traits or personality
characteristics that are stable and unchanging; such traits are representative of his life-style and prediction of behavior can be made under a variety of conditions. Greater social value is placed upon the individual who acts consistently; plus the individual himself finds it less taxing and less anxiety provoking. Consistent behavior is sanctioned by others, too (Gergen, 1968; Glass, 1968).

Inconsistency, on the other hand, means more than just the logical or illogical relation that exists between cognitive and behavioral elements. If two elements or traits do not fit together for any reason, this state would be characterized as inconsistency.

The underlying theme in the literature reviewed above is the "organization of the data of experience" and self as "the anchoring point" which, from our viewpoint, amounts to different ways of stating the consistency principle. The knowledge gained from our experience is organized so that the conflicts and discrepancies are cut down to a minimum. Those experiences and ideas are allowed to be incorporated so as not to clash with the existing self-concept; rather, they give support and, in turn, become the mooring points from which evaluations are made and strategies of transactions with the environment are planned.

A careful review of the literature dealing with self-consistency shows that this concept is not clearly demarcated from another dimension of self-concept, namely, self-stability. Throughout the
literature, the two concepts are used interchangeably. Beginning with the early statements made by Lecky, through Rogers, Combs and Snygg, Rosenberg and others, we find that consistency and stability have been used to denote somewhat similar characteristics of the self.

As noted by Combs and Snygg (1959), the stability of self-conceptions is maintained by the inertia of the organization itself. Mobilization of defenses or retreat from situations that pose even the slightest threat to the fundamental organization of self contribute to the stability of self-conception. Moreover, selective perceptions also serve as a stabilizing factor; individuals become sensitive to those experiences which conform to the established conceptions of self.

It is quite evident that the above theorists weave in and out of their discussion on consistency and stability. They speak of the existing and established conceptions of self as well as the experiences that bring about change in the fundamental organization.

In Rogerian discussions of self-concept, consistency is presented as a motivational force. He emphasized congruence between self and experience. Kelly also underlines its importance by suggesting that the individual's constructs be consistent with one another. In the case of both of these theorists, emphasis is upon cognitive consistency. Cognition, here, refers to "the process through which
the individual obtains information from the environment, transforms that information in his own way, and then uses it to respond to the environment" (Pervin, 1975:116). In other words, cognitive process means the perceptual and thinking aspects of an individual's relationship to his environment.

On the other hand, Backman and Secord (1968) approach the notion of stability from role perspective. To them, "stability or change in an individual's behavior over time is a function of stability or change in his relations with other persons" (pp. 289-290).

The sources of stability of these relations, according to them, are to be traced back to the institutional and subinstitutional regularities. They pertain to the constraints imposed upon the individual's overt behavior, his perceptual, cognitive, and affective processes, and also those of the individuals with whom he interacts. In essence, these limitations can be characterized as role expectations. They function to constrain the behavior of the individual towards others in the direction of role expectations pertinent to the interactional situation. Thus, once established, these role expectations tend to perpetuate themselves over time.

The other source of stability lies in attempts made by the individual to maintain congruency—congruency between the behavior of an individual and his perception of his behavior in relation to the behavior of others. This can be achieved in a number of ways: by reinterpre-
tation of his or others' behavior, by deprecating incongruent aspects of his self, by greater frequency of interaction with congruent others, and so forth.

Using a different terminology, Hilgard (1949) observed that it is the continuity of motivational patterns that is so fundamental to human behavior. He assigns a central place to the organization of motives and attitudes that persists and retains its recognizable character over time. A pattern of persisting habits and attitudes prevails. Reaction to current situations bears the mark of similar reactions to past situations. Hence, a continuity between the past and present becomes a distinguishing character of human behavior.

Earlier, Combs and Snygg (1959) were cited on consistency and stability, and it was noted that they do not separate the two concepts very clearly. However, later in their book we find more lucid statements. They, along with others, recognize the need of consistency in the organism; they term this need as the search for adequacy. The requirement of an adequate personality is that the individual develop a high degree of consistency with his phenomenal self. Characteristic of a consistent organization of the self is the resistance that it can put up against change. However, even when obvious changes are noted in the behavior, it might just be an artifact of the observer's perspective.

An interesting illustration by Combs and Snygg (1959) helps
clarify this point:

What seems like wild and fluctuating changes in the phenomenal self, however, are in reality artifacts of the frame of reference from which they are observed. For example, the overbearing foreman who browbeats, threatens, and curses his men may become a fawning, obsequious lackey the moment the plant supervisor appears on the scene. At first glance it would certainly appear that his self has undergone a very decided shift in character. This appears true, however, only if we regard the matter externally. From the point of view of the foreman, his phenomenal self may have undergone no change whatever. Regarding himself as being of a level of competence, authority, ability, etc., greater than that of his workers but less than the plant supervisor, his behavior in the two situations can be observed to be a natural and expected outgrowth of such a concept in either case. There remains no necessity to infer any change in his phenomenal self in the two situations. If the self were newly structured by every momentary situation, any degree of consistency of behavior would become an impossibility. (p. 130).

The above illustration not only helps clarify the concept of self-consistency; it also clearly shows that there is more of a consistent organization of the self than just overt behavior. While overt behavior is indeed a part of this concept, one needs to look beyond this to discover the consistency principle. Stability of self, on the other hand, can probably be more accurately described as that aspect of self which is embedded more in attitudes and behavior than in the cognitive processes, the domain of consistency.

Consistent self-organization is fundamental and once the individual has been able to achieve it, the next step is to extend it to real life situations, where one needs some sort of stability in order to deal with life efficiently and effectively. A firm base in the form of
consistent self organization seems to be of fundamental importance and one from which an individual operates and plans strategies to transact with the environment.

The individual, therefore, is apt to change in view of the exigencies of the situation. However, this change may not imply a change in his core personality. Rather, this change can best be interpreted as one required by the current situation. While one's overt behavior may undergo change, his internal organization can still retain its own character. One can maintain a core or basic personality even though, on the surface, it gives the impression of a "change of heart." Resolution as it manifests itself in behavior and steadiness as it is observed in dealing with life situations certainly help translate consistent ideas into stable practices.

Our efforts to delineate the two concepts reveal that, while the two are closely related, intertwined and intermeshed dimensions of personality, they can be discriminated for theoretical and research purposes. One is somewhat more subtle and hidden, while the other is more observable. Self-consistency functions more on a cognitive level and furnishes the individual with the firm base on which the more tangible, overt expressions of oneself can be made and characterized as self-stability--the persistency of traits over various situations.

Although, as demonstrated in the foregoing paragraphs, the
concept of self-consistency is more covert, we intend to measure it in this study. We are going to use the concept of self-consistency since we believe that we can measure it and since, in our analysis, it is antecedent to the concept of self-stability. Self-consistency is regarded conceptually as the agreement about characteristics of self perceived by self from several social sources. Not only is this concept theoretically antecedent to the concept of self-stability but, in this particular inquiry, the use of stability, as defined by Backman and Secord (1968), would admit an element of tautology into the research. Since the independent variables will deal directly with number and variation of social roles and interactions, the stability of behavior as dependent variable would virtually be a component of the independent variables used. Thus, in separating self-consistency from self-stability, we alert the more theoretically cogent and empirically acceptable construct.

Self-Esteem as an Aspect of Self-Concept

Self-esteem can be defined as the sum of an individual's feelings of self-competence and a sense of personal worth. These self feelings or feelings of self-evaluation have been characterized as crucial to his behavior as they provide a yardstick by which he can judge himself. Moreover, the nature of one's self-evaluation has profound influence on his thinking, emotions, values and aims. Put differently, self-esteem can be defined in terms of evaluative
attitudes toward the self—a judgmental process whereby the individual examines his performance, or self capacities, and other attributes that lead to an assessment of his worthiness.

In essence, there are two expressions of self—subjective and behavioral. It is widely held that self-esteem is significantly associated with personal satisfaction and effective functioning. Studies reviewed in Wylie's (1976) work on self-concept, as well as those of Rogers and others, indicate that persons whose performance does not match their own aspirations judge themselves as inferior, no matter how high their attainments.

Discussions of self-esteem have been closely associated with discussions of self-concept. As far back as William James, self-esteem has been one of the major considerations in the study of self-concept. According to James (1890), our self-feeling in this world depends on what we make ourselves to be and do. It is determined by the ratio of our actualities to our supposed potentialities; a fraction of which our pretensions are the denominator, and the numerator our success; thus self-esteem = \frac{\text{Success}}{\text{Pretensions}}.

He also notes three possible influences upon self-esteem:

1. Human aspirations and values play a cardinal role in positive self-evaluations;

2. Achievements are measured against our aspirations for any given area of behavior; and

3. Approximation of aspirations in a valued area results in
high self-esteem while negative self-evaluations result from a wide divergence between aspirations and achievement.

Mead (1934) presented ideas similar to those of James on self-esteem. Individuals, in order to become compatible and integrated members of the group, internalize the ideas and attitudes expressed by significant others and, indeed, derive self-esteem from the evaluation others have of them. Therefore, the significant others become the "reflecting mirror" through which the individual gains the idea of self-worth or self-rejection.

This evaluative component of self has been put to a more extended analysis by neo-Freudian psychologist H. S. Sullivan who, with Mead, underlines the significance of the role of interpersonal process in the development of self and the continuous endeavor on the part of the individual to maintain a high self-esteem. Significant others can accord a sense of worth to the individual and by the same token strip one of feelings of worth, thus producing feelings of distress and anxiety.

Similarly, Adler (1972) notes three sources of self-esteem; first, what he terms "organ inferiorities" in which actual impairments such as blindness or bodily weaknesses may prove to be a source of low-esteem; second, the impact of the acceptance, support and encouragement of the parents and other key figures of the individual; and, finally, the destructive effects of overindulgence shown
by parents towards their children.

Rogers' (1951b) formulations dealing with the therapeutic approach to personality problems center upon the client, and hence, indirectly address themselves to the crucial variable of self-esteem in personality adjustment. To him, a greater degree of assurance can be enjoyed by a child if parents and significant others come to respect the views of the child.

According to C. H. Cooley, the notion of self-esteem is also present as is evidenced in his characterization of the idea of looking-glass self. It is through others that an individual comes to the realization of self. The evaluation of others can produce feelings of worth or shame.

Morris Rosenberg's (1972) investigation of self-esteem represents a major empirical effort in that it attempts to explore the relationships of some important social variables to self-esteem. He found social class to be only weakly related to self-esteem. Broader social contact does not play an important role. However, paternal attention and concern were found to be significantly related to self-esteem. Jewish children, because of the attention and interest received from their parents, were found to be high in self-esteem. However, this is only true of male children.

In his book on the antecedents of self-esteem, Coopersmith (1967) notes four major contributory factors to the development of self-esteem. They are:
1. the amount of respectful, accepting, and concerned
treatment received by an individual from significant
others in his life;

2. history of success in his life as related to the status of
an individual and as indicated by the social approval he
receives;

3. the endeavor made by the individual to live up to the
aspirations he regards as valuable and personally
significant; and

4. the extent and degree to which an individual is able to
respond to devaluation and minimize its effects upon
his person, which in turn leads to a reduction in anxiety
as well as helps maintain personal equilibrium (p. 37).

Coopersmith found that greater degrees of parental attention,
concern for and acceptance of their children lead to a high self-
esteeem held by the children. Moreover, families with definite,
explicit, and structured enforced limits permit, contrary to general
belief, greater latitude for individual expression and lead to high
self-esteem. Limits and control over the behavior of children, in
fact, enhances and facilitates personal growth and furnishes the
children of such families with clear guidelines of behavior, per-
formance, and, ultimately, lead to greater degrees of self-worth

The vast amount of literature available on self-esteem is
clear evidence of the popularity of this concept and the fascination
it holds among social scientists. It would not be far from the truth
to say that this concept has been explored from every conceivable
angle involving a multitude of psychological, social, and social-
psychological variables. For our purposes here, it is felt that the short statements made in the foregoing pages should suffice for defining the concept and showing its significance vis-a-vis human personality.

Summary of the Relationship between the Self-Concept Theory, Social Structure, and Interaction

This chapter has presented the research problem, the setting in which it is carried out, and a discussion of the major dependent variables to be used in this study.

Self-concept has been the focus of attention ever since it came into currency. Most studies involving this important concept have focused upon adolescents and nearly all of these studies have been conducted in the U.S. or Western culture. Very little is to be found on cross-cultural or different cultural levels outside the U.S.

Pakistani society provides an appropriate testing ground for self-theories developed in Western culture, particularly since no such undertaking has been attempted in that society to date. The study examines the relationship of social structure, significant others, and some selected aspects of self-concept among high school students in Karachi, Pakistan.

The aspects of self-concept explored in this investigation are self-consistency and self-esteem. It is proposed that these two dimensions of the self will be greatly influenced by social structural...
variables such as religious affiliation, sex, and language. Moreover, the role played by significant others in the formation of self cannot be overemphasized. It is the purpose of this study to explore the extent to which significant others, such as parents, teachers, and friends, influence the consistency of self-organization of youth and their sense of self-worthiness. Additionally, other important sociodemographic variables will be used to the extent they influence and intervene.

These two concepts are especially important since they are largely free from biological determinisms and are amenable to sociological variables such as social structure and social interaction.

In this chapter we have also attempted to delineate and distinguish two major dimensions of self-concept that in the past have been used more or less interchangeably. There is no doubt that these two concepts--consistency and stability--are intertwined and enmeshed.

From a traditional trait approach, then, consistency can be viewed as the motivating force that brings about an organization in the cognitive style of functioning, i.e., perceptions and thinking, while stability becomes its external manifestation, and reveals itself through overt behavior that is stable over time and across situations.

An interesting controversy ensues from the above distinction. To perceive consistency as belonging to the internal, cognitive
structure of the organism, and stability as its outward manifestation raises the question whether unstable behavior is indicative of cognitive inconsistency. Further, is there any hierarchy present in these concepts? Must cognitive consistency precede stable behavior or is stable behavior a result of consistency experienced and maintained by the self?

Complete harmony between cognitive consistency and stable behavior should be construed as an ideal. However, it may not be the case in all situations. Changeability demonstrated by an individual could be the result of his immediate circumstances and may have little or no effect upon his core person. Or this could be interpreted in another way: the change is compatible with his overall organization of self and, therefore, does not give rise to any inconsistency. As exemplified by Combs and Snygg (1959), the change in overt behavior does not call for an inference that the phenomenal self has undergone change in the face of apparently conflicting situations.

In our present endeavor, we use self-consistency as one of the aspects of self and a dependent variable. Our study does not involve a consideration of self-stability. Self-consistency is deemed a significant aspect not only because of its representing the core of a personality, but also due to the neglect it has been accorded in the past by sociologists and social psychologists. It is felt that considerable insight into the workings of human personality can be gained by
looking at this aspect. Further, consistency as a construct has been used in the past, to whatever extent, to explain other phenomena; very little attention has been given to the influences it can succumb to and the changes that social structural factors can bring about.

In social-psychological literature, tremendous theoretical and empirical interest has been shown in self-esteem, perhaps to the gross neglect of some other dimensions of self which are equally important in their salience and impact. While it is not advocated here that other dimensions of self, particularly self-esteem, be abandoned, it is observed that interests should be enlarged to include other dimensions of self such as consistency.

A Further Development of Self-Theory Viewed in a Rapidly Changing Society

Essentially, the argument made by symbolic interactionists on self and its development is that self emerges from or is a product of social interaction. Once created in its formative stages, the awareness of self, through interaction and anticipated interaction with others, becomes an element in social behavior and the subsequent development of personality. The idea of self, therefore, means that an individual may act socially toward himself. The self is shaped in the same way as other objects through the perceived evaluations made by others. The process by which an individual comes to view himself as an object is that of role-taking. Role-taking
involves participation and communication, especially by vocal gestures or speech. This ability is manifest when the individual can get outside of his self and view himself. The development of the self runs parallel to the development of the ability to take roles.

This view of the development of self presents an explicit account of the stages of personality development. The cycle begins with the stage when the infant imitates others, progresses to the somewhat unstable configuration of roles played by the child, and is completed with the stage in which he participates in actual role-taking situations wherein he must take a number of roles simultaneously.

The question arises whether an individual in a social situation plays the role of a passive receiver; is he an empty organism, a blotting paper that absorbs impressions from others or does a dynamic interplay between the individual and the environment take place?

In fact, two contrasts are possible in terms of how the individual is perceived. One can be termed "empty vessel personality" and the other characterized as "biologically based predetermined unfolding." While the first views individual sans any biologically predetermined tendencies or desires, the latter presents an individual as an organism whose personality is predetermined to a great extent. However, the personality tends to continually grow in interaction with his environment.
Mead and others, on the other hand, underline the importance of social environment. They neither see the individual as a totally passive organism nor as completely biologically determined, immune to the influences of his environment. Mead provides the bases for the dynamic interaction between the individual and society. His concept of the self argues that the development or socialization of the human being, on the one hand, is the product of social interaction but, on the other hand, is shaped by the perceptions and responses which are unique to that individual. The individual with a self is not passive. He can engage his self in interaction that could result in ideas and actions that are in disagreement with group definitions.

An individual, at the time of entering into interactions, has a self. The individual, in his transactions with others--whether they be with his socially significant others or with ordinary people--is not only shaping it, he is also presenting the self as he knows it to be and as he has experienced it. The individual is receiving evaluations of his self from others and integrating them into his personality. Such evaluation may not only originate in real persons, but they may also take the form of anticipatory or hypothetical evaluations. But this is done with careful evaluations of his own, so that the evaluations received do not conflict with the existing scheme of self and produce strain. As pointed out by Lecky (1945), self-
appraisals tend to resist change because of the individual's need for psychological consistency. Mead (1934) and Festinger (1957) are also not at odds on this issue. They both see inconsistency as thwarting an individual's personal growth and, therefore, the necessity to remove discrepancies between two or more cognitive elements about his behavior and about his internal or external environment.

The presentation and concept of self forms a significant part of self for it is through this presentation that the individual hopes to get favorable evaluation of his self from others. The presentation of self depends upon the anticipatory action and the "generalized others" that influence behavior. When what is said, done or observed by one individual is understood and accepted as true by others in the group, it is said that the individual has been able to get outside of his particular and limited world by taking the place of others. The process of role-taking has been achieved. "It is through the association of individuals in the everyday activities and relationships of life--in the home, school, club, neighborhood, church, and large community--that the manifold 'selves' or 'others' of an individual personality are awakened, developed, correlated" (Pfuetze, 1973: 84). It is this tendency to act in anticipation to the expectations of others that has been characterized as the presentation of self to others. Simply put, when an individual enters and/or anticipates the presence of others, some information exchange takes place.
The information sought by those present helps define the situation and the expectations the individual might have of them. Information is also sought by the individual about those present in the situation in order to know in advance what they expect of him. Thus, the information obtained by the others helps them act in ways that will elicit a desired response from him.

Presentation of self, on the other hand, also calls for the individual to become familiar with the expectations others have of him. Appraisals are made by the individual of his own behavior—past, present and future—as judged against his perceptions of the expectations and standards set by those around him in general and those he values most. Social evaluations and social assessments come to assume a significant part in the life of a human being. The iterative process of self-presentation through anticipatory interaction results in the development of personality components that seem to the individual as personally desirable and are also perceived as socially desirable.

Germane to the discussion of presentation of self are the notions of social desirability, self-acceptance, personal desirability and an adequate personality. A great deal of literature is available on these concepts but there appears to be a lack of systematic handling of these ideas.

According to Wylie's (1976:55) summary of the available
literature and research, "it is assumed that S's will describe themselves in statements which are socially and personally desirable either because they are realistically characterized by these statements, because they are deliberately falsifying, or because they have repressed awareness of their shortcomings."

Crowne and Stephens (1961) advance four interesting hypotheses, each capable of being tested.

1. What the subject says about himself is a valid and direct indication of what he feels or thinks, at least at the time, about himself;

2. Once one has accounted for variance due to nomothetically determined social desirability in any subject's test score, what is left indicates the subject's true self-feelings;

3. Social desirability, while it may or may not be an important factor for all subjects, accounts for more of the variance for some subjects than for others; and


One noteworthy aspect of the social desirability notion is that, while it is viewed by some as an artifact, a subject's presentation of a socially desirable picture of himself might be what he believes to be true. As pointed out by Heilbrun (1964), if adequate socialization has taken place, this will frequently characterize socially desirable traits in a subject's personality and, therefore, socially desirable self-reports will be valid indices of a subject's phenomenal self.
This appraisal will be a valid appraisal of his personality traits as these attributes might be evaluated by an outsider or by an objective measure.

Adequate and coherent socialization are seen as crucial to one's personality. An adequate person is defined as one who 1) perceives himself in essentially positive ways; 2) has the capacity to accept self and others; and 3) has perceived closer identity with others. When the individual has come to perceive himself and his relationship with others in these ways, he has become adequate as well as predictable—predictable since he behaves in certain ways and repeatedly so over time. Such is the importance of his characteristic ways that an external observer describes these characteristics as "personality traits."

An adequate person does not live in isolation. Rather, he must necessarily be in touch with the expectations of others. Contra­vention of this principle will find the individual being constantly threatened by his environment, resulting in unhappy, rather uncomfortable and ineffective dealings with his environment and thus "inadequate" in some dimensions.

According to Combs and Snygg:

We could describe the adequate personality in perceptual terms as one who has achieved a high degree of need satisfaction. These are people who feel generally capable of coping with life, who have developed phenomenal selves so defined as to be highly successful in the achievement
of effective maintenance and enhancement of self. They see themselves in essentially positive ways and as a consequence are free and open to their experience, able to accept both themselves and others and to identify strongly with their fellowmen (1959:239).

Combs and Snygg (1959:234) maintain that an adequate person is an accepting person—"one capable of accepting into its organization any and all experience of reality." However important or crucial self-acceptance may be to an adequate personality, it cannot be seen but in the realm of larger social contexts. Individual need satisfaction does not transpire in a vacuum and cannot be totally divorced from the needs of others around him. Generally speaking, a mutual, contractual agreement with respect to need satisfaction is inevitable. Therefore, the acceptance of self is closely related to the acceptance of others.

The self-other acceptance or personal desirability and social desirability thesis has also been conceived of in terms of actual or real and ideal self. The congruence between the two simply refers to the degree of similarity between an individual's description of himself as he is and as he would like to be. In a similar vein, the differences in self-perception and perception of others attributed to self denote a discrepancy. On the other hand, the smaller the differences or discrepancies between that which is personally desirable and that which is viewed as socially desirable (or self-acceptance and perceived acceptance of others), the greater the degree of
consistency perceived and expressed by the individual about self.

The common practice in personality research is to have the subject fill out a questionnaire. The questionnaire consists of a measure or measures of self-concept on which the individual indicates how he feels about himself. The particular way in which the individual responds to the questions becomes the basis whereupon the individual is classified as having certain personality traits, on the assumption that certain responses are indicative of degrees of consistency, esteem or stability of self-conception. The self-descriptive trait approach further argues that these traits represent or operate as fixed attributes of an individual's self-esteem. Literature on consistency is interspersed with the idea that individuals are strongly inclined to perceive, expect, and assume personal consistency on the part of others in our social environment.

There are a number of reasons for this tendency. The perceived consistency in the viewpoints of others about self permits the individual to experience much less strain and anxiety. Moreover, when an individual's behavior is in consonance with the expectations of others, he is characterized as predictable and is well-liked. Thus, a predictable person evokes positive response, whereas the unpredictable person produces a negative reaction (Gergen, 1968).

In sum, because of the dynamic and coherent interaction in the development of personality and the self, the concept of self-
consistency is a meaningful one from Meadian perspective. This is in agreement with some of the earliest notions about self-consistency presented by Lecky (1945), to whom the overwhelming motivation in life is to sustain unity of one's self-system. These ideas are also shared by Rogers, Allport, and Erikson. For instance, Erikson speaks of identity during adolescence when the human being attempts to bring the sense of one's own identity to one's social relationship. "The sense of ego identity is the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity ... is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (1959:89).

A salient component in the development is the desire for self-esteem and self-regard. It builds the relationship between the individual and society.

The nature of self-consistency, on the other hand, motivated by a desire for self-esteem, is dependent upon the socialization of the individual. If socialization is incoherent and inadequate then inconsistency will result. To illustrate, if the individual perceives himself as modern but is perceived as traditional by others, or if the individual perceives himself as entertaining, but sees himself through the eyes of others as boring, then there exists a discrepancy in the way he describes or defines himself, and how he perceives others define him.

Furthermore, self-consistency is likely to be greatly affected
in a culture or society where the traditional value system is being challenged by values associated with modern, industrial, and urbanized society. Changes are rapidly occurring in the Pakistani society in various sectors, notably social. The influx of Western values through movies, literature, magazines, and other "free-floating" agents (such as those Pakistanis who were educated in Western academic institutions) are instrumental for changes of far reaching consequences. These "returnees" are "revisiting" their own society and challenging the traditional values in order to bring about changes that suit their newly acquired life-styles. There is little reason to doubt that such changes are liable to affect the lives of the general populace and the lives of the Pakistani youth in particular. The conflict in orientation and value systems of the old and the new has bearing upon the perceptions of an individual.

It is most likely that the basic personality development of youth will undergo tensions and the resulting conflicts will undermine his capabilities to function. Value conflicts experienced by the individual can be used to denote the conflict between two persons or groups who subscribe to different sets of values or can underline a conflict with an individual who is faced with the dilemma of choosing between two competing and apparently incompatible values.

Therefore, the self-conceptions of consistency and esteem will vary substantially for those who are under more than normal
stress. This variation, however, will be to the extent that one is able to experience a stabilizing family and/or peer group influence and a set of more consistent guidelines for social conduct furnished by one’s own culture or subculture.
CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The preceding chapter concerned itself with outlining the research problem and reviewing literature on selected aspects of self-conceptions. The task of this chapter is to set forth the theoretical perspectives that can be used in understanding and predicting self-consistency and self-esteem in the Pakistani society.

In light of the nature of this study there appears to be a need for combining the two perspectives. The rationale for this mixture stems from the fact that neither of the two perspectives, in their own right, are sufficient. Durkheim's perspective on self and society lacks in specifics with regard to social-psychological variables, whereas the symbolic interactionist perspective does not take into account the wider societal and structural variables. Indeed, social structure exerts influence upon the development of personality. However, this relationship between the individual and society is of a general, remote, and generic distant nature, and does not represent the proximal experiences of the individual. The societal perspective furnishes the opportunity to look at the human development and the social self in a broader perspective, indicating the scope and extent to which social forces mold and shape the
individual. Yet it is the immediate environment surrounding the individual, through which the social forces are transmitted, that leaves an indelible mark upon his person. The larger social forces can dictate the broad parameters within which personality is permitted to grow, but the responsibility of socializing the individual into various cultural and group traditions still rests on the shoulders of those who are near and close to him.

Symbolic interactionist perspective attempts to bridge the gap between the individual and the larger social context by directing our attention to the conducive nature of relationship between the self and his significant others and the subsequent personality growth. Rosenberg (1973) has shown that in the early years the child has strong confidence in the judgment others make of him, especially significant others:

The others can not only evaluate our qualities better than we but can even have a more accurate understanding of our deeper feelings and thoughts . . . among children, the locus of self-knowledge is external to themselves to a remarkable degree (p. 842).

Thus, Durkheimian perspective provides the broader social context, while symbolic interactionist perspective provides the specific context as exemplified by the consensus between self and the significant others relative to self. Therefore, a combination of the two perspectives should be able to provide a complementary completeness.
Earlier it was mentioned that one of the objectives of this study was to explore the relationship between social structure and aspects of self. So far we have outlined the manner in which self has been conceived and the need on the part of the individual for consistent self-conceptions was recognized. In the following pages the importance of structural variables upon self-conceptions is discussed utilizing Durkheimian perspective, followed by a discussion of interactionist perspective upon self-conceptions.

Durkheimian View

Durkheim has shown the impact of structural variables upon the rate of suicide. To him, the rate of suicide varies with the degree of regulation and integration experienced by a religious group. The integration of an individual into the group is facilitated by virtue of the control the group exercises upon him. Therefore, Catholicism, due to high regulatory and integrative effects upon its members, evidences a low rate of suicide as compared to Protestants (Durkheim, 1951). Indeed, above all it is the organizing effect produced by integration and regulation that inhibits individuals from taking their own lives. The web of social interrelationships surrounding the individual systematizes his life so much that straying from the norms and expectations of his group becomes extremely difficult. On the other hand, the individual who is not in harmony
with the group will tend to fall out and lose the advantages that accrue from enmeshing himself with the collectivity.

Some observations can be derived from the above discussion. An increase in the control of group over individuals leads to a more organized personality. The more organized the individual is, the lesser likelihood of his committing suicide. Conversely, the less control exercised by the group over the individual, the lesser the degree of organization evidenced in his personality. The more dis-organized the individual, the more he is apt to be suicidal.

Similar arguments can be made about sex and suicide. It is generally evident that in most societies norms of conduct for the sexes differ. Males and females are not socialized in the same ways. While males get a relatively wide exposure, females are guarded and protected so as not to be vulnerable. It is also assumed that women need not be exposed to the wider culture and its possible disorganizing impact. They are viewed more as "conservators" and "perpetuators" of family tradition and values.

Durkheim seemed to have such ramifications in mind when he talked about the low rate of suicide evidenced among females. According to him, although in marital situations both husband and wife enjoy a high degree of integration in comparison with unmarried persons, it is the husbands who contribute to the rise in suicide rates in societies where divorces are frequent. Wives rarely commit
suicide. Strengthening of the social fibre provides individuals, especially women, with centers of attachment, making conjugal family more indissoluble and enhancing the moral benefits derived by women (Durkheim, 1951).

Here again, Durkheim points to the disorganizing effects divorce entails. The distorting of conjugal arrangements, to him, has a greater negative effect upon men than women. It will not be an unreasonable logical extension to postulate, then, that females, in general, are more organized into the group and integrated into the society and, hence, more psychically consistent than males.

According to Durkheim, collectivity precedes the individual and determines his status, his personality, and his relations with others as well as society. Embedded in the supremacy of the collective is the notion of a strong link between the level of solidarity a society or group enjoys and its influence upon the growth of individual personality. The consequence of a high degree of group solidarity or integration is a high degree of personal integration. A low degree of group integration results in a low degree of personal integration. In sum, factors that enhance social integration help enhance personal integration and, by implication, self-consistency.

Numerous studies have made use of Durkheim’s work, especially the concepts of integration and suicide. Gibbs and Martin (1964), for instance, in their study of status integration and suicide,
demonstrated that the extent to which occupancy of statuses in a society conforms to a pattern will lead to greater degrees of stable and durable relationships as exemplified by its members in their interpersonal relationships. In fact, a minimum of role conflict will be experienced by the individual, since greater status compatibility exists for that individual in the various positions held. They subjected the "major theorem," derived from Durkheim's classic work on suicide to 197 separate rigorous statistical tests and found strong empirical support for it. Status integration theory, according to these researchers, is not limited by class or society and is predictive of suicide rates by a number of socio-demographic variables, such as sex, race, occupation, religion, and so forth. Broad social structural variables in these studies were found to affect behavior, cognition and personality.

Several other ideas in Durkheim's works deal with the amount of regulation and integration in a group and throw light upon the relationship between individual and group and the level of solidarity. Regulation, here, connotes the cultural or normative aspect (expectations of others, prescription for the individual). Behavior is defined as normative "in the sense that shared attributes exhibited by individuals are understood to follow from the rules of the societies or to involve them in some way" (Nadel, 1957:24). Integration, on the other hand, refers to the structural aspects of a group or society. This relation-
ship is based upon interpersonal dependency. Therefore, the amount of integration will vary with the number of interdependency relationships. Hence, the greater the frequency of interpersonal dependency, the greater one's integration into a group. Dependency should be defined with reference to family, friends, and other kinds of associations of which one is a part. One measure of dependency, then, will be the involvement of an individual with his "significant others." Subsequently, integration would mean the kind of relationships where mutual needs find fulfillment and the relationship persists because of dependency.

These two variables, i.e., regulation and integration, form the basis of Durkheim's theory of suicide and are viewed as important independent variables and determinant social conditions in the explanation of the causes of suicide. For any given level of integration and regulation, there is an approximate corresponding suicide rate. Different religious groups, given their respective level of regulation and integration, show varying rates of suicide. Catholics evidence a low rate of suicide as opposed to Protestants. However, this difference between the two major denominations of Christianity should not be attributed to the different teachings of the two religious groups; both groups condemn suicide equally. What, then, is responsible for a lower incidence of suicide among Catholics? It is:

the existence of a certain number of beliefs and practices common to all the faithful, traditional, and thus obligatory.
The more numerous and strong these collective states of mind are, the greater the integration of the religious community, and also the greater its preservative value. The essential thing is that they be capable of supporting a sufficiently intense collective life. And because the Protestant Church has less consistency than the other, it has less moderating effect upon suicide (Durkheim, 1951: 169-170).

Durkheim's excursus into the relationship between integration and the anomalous condition of suicide is insightful as it basically points to the influences of social structure upon the individual insofar as his sense of worth and his idea of self is concerned. Since self-concept is the central focus, the fulcrum about which all else revolves, it is not surprising that negative attitudes about it may or should result in extreme behavior on the part of the individual. A lowering of self-esteem most certainly can give rise to a situation where the individual is willing to take his own life. A drastic change precipitated or augmented by a loosening of social control can bring a person to the height of emotions where to "end it all" seems to be the most appropriate answer to one's problems.¹

¹Durkheim noted that "Suicide varies inversely with the degree of integration of the social groups"(1951:209). However, there is one exception to this rule: the case in which a person may take his own life not because of lack of integration with the group, but due to a heightened sense of integration. Altruism, or altruistic suicide, is a special case of social integration; rather a case of excessive integration. As interpreted and simply put by Gibbs and Martin (1964), "the suicide rate varies inversely with social integration until the latter reaches a high point and that, after this, increases in social integration are accompanied by increases in suicide . . . beyond a certain point social integration varies directly with the suicide rates" (p. 6).
Obviously, not everyone commits suicide; not everyone resorts to such extreme behavior. And, indeed, what Durkheim is arriving at is neither to be an advocate for suicide nor to limit his analysis to one particular outcome; rather, he is emphasizing the degree, the extent of social forces, namely: integration, disciplinal religion, religious diversity, social arrangements, etc., upon the individual. Such is the force of these structural variables, particularly religion, that they affect one's self-image, the overall personal structure, and sense of personal worth.

Another conclusion to be drawn from Durkheim is that while a lack of integration and a relatively free pursuit of knowledge, as permitted by religion, can result in lesser degrees of personal integration, the opposite will be true of a group that exercises greater control over its members. Its members will be more integrated, relatively more self-consistent and, if their "reference others" are from the same religious group, they will then have role relationships with the same categories of others. They will be amenable to experiences and consequently there will be less dissonance since the experiences tend to be similar and, thus, they will have little reason to perceive themselves as of low personal worth. In fact, the Durkheimian analysis of the social structure and its impact upon the individual allows us to speak not only of self-consistency but also of self-esteem or a global attitude of personal worth, since those broad
social situations which provide the greatest consistency of self-conception will also provide the greatest esteem for the individual.

The Durkheimian concepts, as restated in the foregoing paragraphs, may be applied to Pakistani society; the differential level of solidarity (integration) its various components enjoy (as measured by religion), the differential degree of regulation and integration evidenced in the two major sects of Islam--the state religion--and, finally, the influence of such variables on personal integration and self-consistency.

Pakistan,\footnote{For a more detailed account of the political, social and cultural history and the current situation of Pakistan, the reader will find the following sources useful and informative: Qureshi (1956); Khan (1965); Campbell (1963); Abdalla (1973); Said (1973); Sayeed (1967, 1968); Weekes (1964); Stephens (1963); Papanek (1967); Wilcox (1968) and Korson (1974).} a predominantly rural society of Islamic faith, came into being on August 14, 1947 after a long struggle initiated by Muslims and Hindus together to get rid of the yoke of colonial rule and subjugation of the Indo-Pak subcontinent from Britain. Later on, pursued by their respective leaders in their own ways, the subcontinent came to be divided into two independent nation states. Pakistan, at its inception, comprised the two provinces of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. However, the postponement of the Constitutional Assembly in the early part of 1971 gave birth to a popular movement in the province of
East Pakistan and, despite political parleys and negotiations conducted among the major political party leaders of the two provinces, the subsequent events led to war involving India and Pakistan and the occupation of East Pakistan by the Indian Army in December, 1971. The secession of East Pakistan then followed the cease-fire agreed upon by Pakistan and India with the subsequent creation of the independent state of Bangladesh (The International Yearbook, 1976).

The total area of Pakistan is 310,000 square miles (including the Pakistani part of Jammu-Kashmir), roughly the combined area of Texas and Louisiana, with an estimated population of about 71 million (National Basic Intelligence Factbook, 1976) and an annual average percentage growth rate of 32% (current). The official language of Pakistan is Urdu; major regional languages are Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and, due to the regional diversities in languages, English gets the status of lingua franca. The literacy rate, according to recent estimates, is around 16%. Urban areas contain only 25% of the population; the country's majority population (60%) is in agriculture or related occupations. Muslims comprise 97% of the population of Pakistan, the rest consisting of Christians, Hindus, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and others.

Throughout the period of turmoil between 1947 when Muslim leaders were struggling to attain an independent state from the British, their followers comprised a relatively cohesive group that
did not let their respective factional differences interfere with the overall goal of the movement. This integrated effort lent the Muslim community a driving force to mobilize its resources and fight against a common adversary—an external oppressive power—and, in the final analysis, gave it a reason to consolidate. However, following independence in 1947, the picture changed. The reference point during the movement for independence, for the most part, was Islam. But now, once again, the factions within Islam began to assume greater importance. One's sect became more significant as a focal point. The sources of integration changed from the broader to the narrower interests. The sects became the springwells of regulations and integration for their respective memberships.

The two major sects within Islam are Sunnites and Shi'ites. In the context of Pakistani society, a large proportion of the population is Sunnite, which leaves Shi'ites in a religious minority group position. The Shi'a sect evolved out of a major religious conflict into a distinct group after the death of 'Uthmān, the third Muslim caliph, and particularly due to Mu'āwiya's being recognized as the khalīfa. Shi'ites, who broke away from the pre-existing religion, are more orthodox and conservative. The cleavage, in fact, started immediately following the death of the Prophet Muhammad with the question of who should be his successor and how to select him. Qur'ān, the holy book of Muslims, the Sunna—the established
"practice of the Prophet and his immediate successors"—and common agreement among Muslims are the three sources for the selection of a successor. General disagreements relative to the selection of a successor to Prophet Muhammad among the Umma—the Muslims—sowed the seeds of discontent and disaffection in the followers of Ali, the direct descendent of the Prophet.

Al Baghdadi (1920) explicates the Sunni position in the following manner:

The approved view according to us is that membership in the community of Islam is extended to everyone who affirms the creation of the Universe, the unity and pre-existence of its maker, and that He is just and wise, rejecting at the same time tashbih (anthropomorphism) and t'atil (divesting of attributes). He must also acknowledge the prophecy of all His prophets and the veracity and apostolate of Muhammad to all mankind, and the perpetuation of His law; that everything that is revealed to him is true and that the Quran is the source of all the precepts of His law. He must also recognize the duty of the five prayers in the direction of the Kaab'a, of the poor rate, of the fast of Ramadan and of the pilgrimage to the house, which are required of the community as a whole. Whoever professes all of this is included within the people of the community of Islam. After this he is to be observed; if he does not adulterate his faith with an abominable innovation which leads to heresy, then he is a Sunnite Unitarian (38-39).

Hollister (1953) quotes Ibn Hazm's definition of the Shi'a in his book that succinctly describes the basic characteristics of a Shi'a:

He who agrees with the Shi'ites that 'Ali is the most excellent of men after the prophet, and that he and his descendants after him are worthier of the Imamate than anyone, is a Shi'ite, though he differs from them in all other matters regarding which Muslims are divided in their opinions. He, however, who differs from them regarding the above mentioned points is no Shi'ite. (p. 32).
To a Shi'a

Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān are all usurpers. By divine appointment 'Ali had been the de facto Khalīfa, the true Amīr al Mu'mīnīn, or leader of the faithful, even when not recognized. The "orthodox" accept his khilāfat as it passed by right of conquest after the death of 'Ali to Mu'āwiya and his successors; but for the Shi'as, the imamate, which is a much more important office, passed to Hasan, elder son of 'Ali and Fātima (Hollister, 1953:12).

It would be wrong to assume that the Shi'a community stands united on all issues. Rather, there are various subsects included in the community, and each has its own conspicuous identity—for instance, the khoja community, Nazaris, Bohris, or the Ismailis in Pakistan. By some classifications, there are a total of 19 such divisions. However, within the purview of our present discussion, we concur with Ibn Hazm's definition cited earlier for defining the Shi'a sect as a distinct entity as opposed to the other major religious classification under Islam—Sunnites.

The Shi'ites in Pakistan exhibit a high degree of regulation and integration as evidenced by the homogeneity of their belief system, their strict adherence to group prescriptions and "support of sufficiently intense collective life." The involvement in religious ceremonies (frequently the distinction between religious and social or non-religious is difficult to make), the degree of isolation from other groups (in-group marriage as one indicator), the extended periods of mournings where attendance is mandatory and one's absence is equated with blasphemy—all go hand in hand to integrate the individual
within the group.

As compared to Sunnis, whose norms of behavior and interpersonal relationships are somewhat different, the Shi'a sect is better able to present a consistent environment, vis-a-vis home, social situations and significant others. By virtue of rigorous discipline at home and a constant striving to reinforce the already existing common denominators of obligations to the group, Shi'ites are able to minimize conflict and regulate the individual more strictly. Whereas, due to reasons of size, variations in the belief system and a greater freedom of inquiry, the link between the group and the individual is quite weak among Sunnites. As Durkheim (1951:150) noted, "... if Protestantism concedes a greater freedom to individual thought . . . the less it dominates its lives, the less its cohesion and vitality." On the other hand, Catholicism consists of a body of practices whose heightened control of individuals' lives leaves very little room for individual judgment.

The Shi'a sect manifests greater consistency when it comes to teaching and practice. In Durkheimian language, such is the role of society that it attaches the individual completely to an "identical body of doctrine" and socializes him "in proportions as this body of doctrine is extensive and firm" (Durkheim, 1951:150). The doctrines are not open to individual interpretation. They are firmly stated and no departure from them is allowed.
The religious climate in Pakistan,\(^1\) in general, is such that those who follow the dictates of religion closely in practice are more integrated into their respective religious belief systems. Greater emphasis is placed and control emphasized by the family in inducting and initiating the youngsters into religion and ceremonial behavior at the earliest possible age. As part of their early socialization and in an effort to internalize religious norms, education takes the form of instructions in Quran at a very early age, particularly among Sunnites. Generally, the services of a "maulavi" (religious man) are acquired at a nominal charge, sometimes even a barter system is found to be mutually satisfactory by the family so that the youngsters can be taught the basics of Islam at home. If a family cannot afford private tutorship, then the children are sent to a nearby mosque where classes in Islamic teachings, recitation and interpretation of the Quran are convened several times a day for the convenience of neighborhood children.

The role of older generations in socializing the young must not be overlooked. The older family members are kept at home in spite of the inconvenience others might experience because of them. They have a distinct function to perform. In addition to serving as "source

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\(^1\)While the description of religious life in Pakistan has been properly documented wherever possible, the major thrust of the arguments made for a more intense, collective, and integrative Shi'ite communal life is based on the personal experiences and observations of this researcher as its primary source.

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persons" for adults, they take youngsters under their tutelage. Because of their reverence, their religiosity and their knowledge of the Quran, they become role models and seem natural sources from which the young parents can draw.

The prescribed duties of Muslims, specifically Sunnis, include namāz, which is prayer. Prayer is the most important of the prescribed duties and is offered five times a day. Shi'as usually pray three times a day rather than five. Such fervor is shown by families in the observance of this "pillar of Islam" that mothers will wake up their young as four to five year old children long before sunrise for congregational prayers in a nearby mosque.

Similarly, other religious occasions that call for an all night wakefulness find youngsters and adults alike praying in mosques, visiting graveyards, or visiting with various congregations assembled to highlight the teachings of Islam.

Shi'as also have their own religious ceremonies and celebrations. Generally, Shi'as, in contrast, are less given to congregational prayers than Sunnis. However, this should not be interpreted as indicative of their being less religious in any sense; far from it, for other Shi'a religious observances make up for it. For instance, the observance of Muharram has been characterized as "the most distinctive and the most widely known of all Shi'ite customs" (Donaldson, 1933:277). Muharram revives the tragedy of Imam
Husain's death at Kerbala over 1300 years ago. This occasion has significance for all Muslims; however, it is observed with great fervor and reverence by Shi'as. In the partition days, Lucknow became the center where Muharram was observed with more splendor. Its religious significance has by no means decreased with the inception of Pakistan. Most probably the religiosity with which it is observed now in Pakistan, particularly in Karachi, has increased tremendously in light of the minority position Shi'as find themselves in.

This Shi'ite commemoration is held in places called Imambaras, created for the purpose of majalis, and mahfil—a mourning assembly held in commemoration of Imams—the spiritual guides among Shi'a, as well as homes. Of particular importance among the Imams is Imam Husain. Such assemblies are frequent. They are not limited to the ten-day period of mourning in the memory of Husain (the tenth day being the most important). Rather, they are held all year round. The custom is embedded in the Shi'a sect to such an extent that families not observing it are subject to ostracism. Therefore, hardly a week goes by without some family holding a majalis in the neighborhood to which an open invitation is not sent out. Simple attendance in these assemblies is deemed virtuous and is thought of as enhancing one's status with the Imams. Frequently, by groups going from house-to-house, these majalis may continue through the greater part
of the day. In large gatherings, specially trained people relate part of the history belonging to Kerbala. Elegies or marthiya (lamentation on the death of Hasan and Husain--two foremost Shi'a Imams) are also recited in which members of the congregation join, followed by lamentations and beating of chests in unison.

How this rendering moves the members of the congregation can be gleaned through the following:

The Marthiya is frequently great literature. The Marthiya of Mir Anis, in spite of its extraordinary length, its manifest anachronisms and its hyperbole, is a piece of literature which, when recited during the ten days, stirs the deepest emotions and rouses the strongest feelings. Its descriptive power is great and its appeal moves the strongest to tears. The taunts of the warriors in battle and the description of the tiny babe, which was so young that it was "not able to open its little hands," the depicting of the fierce heat of strife and the equally moving and tender narrative of the calmness, courage and affection of Husain are such as to affect not merely the Shia whose faith inclines him to take these things to heart, but the Sunni also (Sweetman, 1935:46).

Muharram, as a religious event, is broad in its scope and allows for drama as well as pageantry. Hollister observes in his book The Shia of India:

If the heart of the Muharram commemoration is found in the majalis, the events there narrated also allow scope for drama and pageantry and these have not been overlooked, nor their value in creating public interest forgotten. Three days particularly afford opportunity for such drama: the fifth night, when the banners or alams of Husain and his companions are taken in procession, in which his white horse, Duldul, caparisoned and saddled and with umbrella, but also marked with red spots reminiscent of the blood of the absent rider, has a place; the seventh, when is held the menhdi procession, commemorating the death of Qasim, son of Hasan who was betrothed to the daughter of Husain; the tenth or
"Ashura" when tazias are taken in procession to Kerbala for burial (1953:170).

These assemblages are most frequently attended by women, young girls and children. Children, in fact, do not have much choice since in the absence of any elder, they cannot be left behind unattended. With age, however, boys tend to find more excuses to skip them. Girls, due to the existing cultural norms as well as deeply ingrained religious customs, continue to be regular participants at such gatherings. Boys, needless to say, in order to be at peace with their parents and to continue to enjoy some of the concessions, still remain, by and large, frequent participants.

Comparatively, women out-participate men in terms of majālis, mahfils, and other Muharram-related activities. They feel the obligations more deeply and even among their own tend to compete more fiercely for higher spiritual goals. The sense of commitment to mourning the death of Husain is so intense that they try to outdo each other in chest beating, wailing, and inflicting pain upon themselves. Contrary to what an outsider or layman would speculate, such outbursts and outlets of emotions and even physical pain are said to bring relief, serenity, and a heightened sense of fulfillment to the committed. Majālis, in a sense, are construed to provide liberating experiences, deliverance if you will, and are keenly sought by women of all ages, especially young girls. Young girls also find gatherings of this nature an outlet for their talents. Their ability to
sing religious poems, recite marthiya, or a simple rendition of a part of history of Kerbala earns them high praises not only in the neighborhoods or in their own peer groups, but in the general Shi'a community as well. Special requests for their appearances are made, and frequently this popularity and demand results in advance engagements that span over years. Young girls who have stood the test of time come to assume special importance in the community; not infrequently gifts and other material rewards are bestowed upon them. However, exposure to material goods in the form of gifts or remuneration for their services is not encouraged by their families as it is perceived to malign the soul.

Two passages derived from different sources by Hollister (1953) in his book are noteworthy since they highlight the involvement of women in this state of collective sorrow: their denial of everyday comforts (sleeping on the floor, without cushions and pillows) and the foregoing of luxuries, even necessities:

When the Moon of Muharram is seen the women assemble in grave solemnity and break their glass bangles. In ordinary days no woman with her husband alive would deliberately do so as arms without bangles are a sign of widowhood. Not a vestige of any other ornament should remain on the body after the moon is seen. No woman may comb her hair, wear red, yellow, gold or any other color. Green and black are the only colors allowed. Laughter is strictly forbidden, and no music except sad tunes of compositions called "Nauba" may pass the lips (p. 174).

The above characterization is not totally confined to Shi'a

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women; a considerable number of Sunni women also observe Muhurram with the same veneration. However, there is no parallel to be drawn.

The following illustration, cited by Hollister (1953) in his book, *The Shia of India*, elaborates:

> I never could have given credit to the extent of their bewailings without witnessing, as I have done for many years, the season for tears and profound grief return with the month of Muharram. In sorrowing for the martyred Emaums they seem to forget their private griefs; the bereavement of a beloved object is almost overlooked in the dutiful remembrance of Hasan and Hosain at this period; and I have had opportunities of observing this triumph of religious feeling in women who are remarkable for their affectionate attachment to their children, husband and parents; they tell me, "We must not indulge selfish sorrows of our own whilst the Prophet's family alone has a right to our tears" (pp. 174-175).

This description of the Shi'ite religious and social customs should not lead one to presume that a Shi'a individual is depressed, indulges in self-pity and self-rejection, is not able to function and perform socially, is devoid of peers, and suffers from low esteem and a somewhat maladjusted personality. The intense religious home environment nourishes and strikes a positive chord in the development of a Shi'a. Despite the exposure to the outside world and various conflicting situations, he is able to maintain a consistent self. He can satisfactorily perform in social life and, with a supportive religious institution, develop into a well-integrated person. The consistent peer group influences also exert positive influences. Further, the minority group status of a Shi'a requires him to do his best in order to achieve socially and economically. Even if he
suffers, in some measure, from low self-esteem, it is not evident and we can assume that his presentation of self is adequate; it helps him/her to function effectively.

The preceding excursions into the Pakistani culture usher in some interesting considerations. How generalizable are the assumptions that can be drawn relative to the influence of religion upon self-structure? Do people differ along class lines in terms of the location of their parents in the social structure, parental education, and their occupational status? That personal growth, attitudes and perceptions about self, sense of self-worth and self-feelings are largely affected and determined by the social status within a given social and cultural system is not new (Mead, 1934; Rosenberg, 1973).

Pakistani youth are no exception to this rule. His ideas of self, self-competence, and self-worth are subject to influences from his family's position in the social structure. Hence, a latitude in home religious environment and discipline can make considerable difference. The amount of discipline exercised by the family over the youth is closely related to, if not entirely determined by, the degree of affluence and economic well-being enjoyed by the family. Upper and upper-middle class families, due to a number of factors such as wealth, income, occupational status, education and greater affinity to Western ideals, find themselves in a more liberal situation. Youngsters coming from a family where one or both parents
have been educated in Western tradition are prone to be exposed to more than one cultural value system. Traditional modes of discipline are gradually being replaced. Youngsters in this atmosphere find room for disagreement. Parents are also relatively more receptive to their ideas.

In the case of opulent families, identification with and possession of Western values in itself is a matter of status and prestige. Access to material products of Western culture is possible not only due to their wealth or income but their possession and proud display adds to the status of a family.

Similarly, one's access to higher education, possession of a degree, or being educated in an English medium school all function to not only expand one's range of alternatives in life but expose him to different ideas, diversified opinions, reference points and, more often than not, place him in culturally conflicting and cognitively inconsistent situations. Sooner or later this is bound to affect the personality of the individual. It is not surprising that in the current Pakistani youth population, particularly those with sound economic footing, there is observed a surge of rebellion against traditional values. However, as indicated earlier, this is more obvious in youth from the upper class.

In contrast, lower and even middle-class youth still reflect the effects of his low status. His parents are struggling to provide
the basic minimums, his vistas have yet to be enlarged, religion is
still his guiding force, his education is pretty much confined and
geared to utilitarian goals, and his total life is very much circum-
scribed.

A youth from an affluent, even a well-to-do family, socialized
in a more liberal tradition with less religious control, exposed to
language or languages other than his native language and therefore
to competing ideas, Western movies and literature is faced with a
conflict of cultural allegiances. A youngster whose range of activi-
ties is narrow and who, by and large, has been exposed to a con-
sistent set of cultural values and norms is more integrated into his society.

To sum up, the widely used concept of social integration that
found one of its most celebrated treatments in the writings of Emile
Durkheim and its fullest exposition in his classical work on suicide
(1951) has been considered in the context of Pakistani society.
Durkheim's analysis affords insight as a source of explanation for
variations in the individual personality. Durkheim's social realism
focuses upon the strength of the ties of the individual to society; the
consensual nature of the ties of the individual to social life has its
payoffs for the individual as is manifested in consistent self-organ-
ization and self-esteem. The stable and durable influence of the
intense collective life upon the individual results in personality

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integration. Therefore, a direct relationship is noted in the degree of social integration and the degree of personal integration. A high degree of social integration results in a high degree of self-consistency.

The structural variables that are important in predicting self-consistency are the extent of religious influence upon an individual, sex status and the attendant nature of social relationships, as well as the exposure to a different language and its use that results in a greater number of reference points coupled with culturally conflicting experiences. Islam is noted as furnishing the individual with a unitary belief system for defining oneself. However, Shi'ites, by virtue of the vigor and zeal of their participation in social and cultural ceremonies tempered with their religious convictions, enjoy greater self-consistency and self-esteem.

In addition, the socioeconomic status of the youngsters, as exemplified by the occupation of parents, education, exposure to more than one cultural value system, and competing ideas, puts strain upon the youngsters and has implications for their self-conception as well as self-esteem.

The following hypotheses of specific relationships between social structure and personality are suggested by the application of Durkheimian theory to the personality variables of self-consistency and self-esteem in Pakistani society.
1. Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

2. Shi'ite youths will have significantly greater self-consistency than Sunnite youths when the variables of social class, parental education, and present religious orientations are controlled.

3. Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani youth who belong to the Sunnite sect.

4. Pakistani females will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani males.

5. Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect.

6. Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect.

7. Pakistani youths who come from strongly religious or moderately religious homes will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who come from slightly religious or not at all religious homes.

8. Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who come from strongly or moderately religious homes will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect and who come from slightly or not at all religious homes.

9. Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who come from strongly or moderately religious homes will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect and who come from slightly or not at all religious homes.

10. Pakistani youths who come from strongly religious or moderately religious homes and have strong or moderate present religious orientations will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who come
from slightly or not at all religious homes and also have slightly religious or not at all religious present orientations.

11. Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who come from strongly religious or moderately religious homes and have strong or moderate present religious orientations will have greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect and who come from slightly religious or not at all religious homes as well as present orientations.

12. Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who come from strongly religious or moderately religious homes and have similar present religious orientations will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani females who belong to the Sunnite sect and who come from strongly or moderately religious homes and also have similar present religious orientations.

Symbolic Interactionist View

The symbolic interactionist perspective views self as arising in social interaction. This stance stresses the importance of contact with others for development of the self. However, as opposed to Durkheimian perspective where wider social and structural variables are seen as effecting an integrative influence upon the self, this perspective attaches importance to the more immediate, more close individuals and the impact they have upon the self. Not only are others essential to the individual's growth; they are essential "if, indeed, there is to be any self at all." From the interactionist's viewpoint "the social network in which the individual acts is taken as given and the characteristics of the individual are explained in
Significant others within the interactionist perspective are viewed as having an impact upon personality formation. This notion has gained wide acceptance in social psychology. A great deal of theoretical support for this idea is to be found in Meadian conceptions of self as "an organization of socially derived and symbolically represented self-identification," and in Cooley's formulation of the "looking-glass self."

Studies confirm the importance of significant others with regard to various aspects of self-conceptions. An individual's self-ratings are found to be significantly correlated with the ratings of him made by his significant others. A favorable evaluation of one's self increases the level of self-concept and vice versa. For example, a favorable evaluation of one's performance by significant others leads to an increase in self-esteem.

Miyamoto and Dornbusch (1956) put symbolic interactionist hypotheses of self-conception to empirical test and found strong support for it. They collected data from 195 subjects, using a self-rating method, to examine the relation of self-conception to the behavior of others, to the perception of other, and to the perception of the generalized other.

Reader (1960), et al., found a direct relationship between self-conception, the perceived generalized other, and the actual
responses of others. Similarly, Gecas, et al. (1970) studied self-esteem in two cultural contexts. They postulated that parents are among the most important significant others for the child and that parents' evaluations of the child, as perceived by the child, will have a great influence on his self-esteem. In both cultures, they found strong support for the relationship between parental support and the child's self-esteem.

Sherwood's study (1965) of self-identity and referent others proposed that the individual's self-identity is dependent upon his subjectively held version of the peer group's actual ratings of him, and found support for the assumption that the higher the evaluation by a referent other, the higher the tendency for a person to increase his level of self-evaluation.

Manis (1951), in his study of the individual's self-perception and his friends' perceptions of him, found support for the theories of Mead and Cooley. "The Ss' self-concepts were significantly influenced by their friends' opinions of them, particularly when they were perceived by these friends in a relatively favorable light" (p. 369).

Weinstein and Black (1969) successfully replicated results of experimental attempts to support the Cooley-Mead thesis of the self-concept as a product of others' reactions. They report that "the impact of peer evaluation was considerably sharper both for performance estimation and judgment of relative status when that evaluation
was negative" (p. 202). However, positive feedback from peers was not accepted as representing accurate evaluation of one's self. Rather, a high-status other had more impact upon legitimizing the claims to high status that one makes to one's self. Therefore, the status of the other, as opposed to one's performance, constitutes the conditions under which the feedback about self becomes important (Weinstein & Black, 1969:203).

Drawing from Miyamoto and Dornbusch (1956), Quarantelli and Cooper (1966) found strong support for the hypothesis that the perceived behavior of others toward the actor has a more direct influence than the others' actual behavior. In a similar vein, their other hypothesis dealing with salient other-"if self-conceptions are primarily determined by the perceived responses of others toward the person, those seeing themselves accorded higher ranking should reflect a higher self-evaluation than those visualizing themselves as less highly regarded" (p. 279)--also found support in their population.

Another study dealing with aspects of self-concept and significant others is that of Rosenberg. His study, *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*, has as its main aim "to specify the bearing of certain social factors on self-esteem and to indicate the influence of self-esteem on socially significant attitudes and behaviors" (1972:15).
Self-image (variously used in the book as interchangeable with self-concept) is conceived of as an attitude toward an object; self being one of the objects toward which one has attitudes. Significant aspects of the self-image cover all the fundamental dimensions of attitudes such as content, importance, consistency, stability, and so forth. Rosenberg focuses upon several dimensions of the self, with self-esteem as his "pivotal variable." Self-esteem is defined as a positive or negative attitude toward self. A person can have high or low self-esteem. As used by Rosenberg (1972), high self-esteem simply means that the individual respects himself; "he does not feel that he is the ultimate in perfection but, on the contrary, recognizes his limitations and expects to grow and improve" (p. 31). On the other hand, low self-esteem denotes self-rejection, self-dissatisfaction, and self-contempt. In addition to considering the relationship of various secondary groups, such as social class and religious groups, to the individual's self-conception, the study also considers the impact of family, neighborhood and peer group upon self-esteem. The major finding of the study is that actual interpersonal relations within primary groups have a greater impact upon self-esteem than the social status of adolescents or ethnic or religious groups in the larger society. In other words, relations between social structure and self-structure are explainable more in terms of adolescents' feelings of self-worth as it is influenced by
relationships with persons who function as significant others.

Impressive literature and abundant evidence exists regarding the self and significant others and that significant others affect our self and self-evaluations significantly. Theory also has it that we come to see ourselves as we perceive others see us. How others actually see us is not the crucial link; rather, it is how we perceive their evaluation of us. "It is not necessarily what others think but what we think they think that is crucial" (Rosenberg, 1973:830). Empirical research also supports these contentions, as we have noted earlier.

Studies have also noted that not all significant others are equally significant (Manis, 1951; Rosenberg, 1973). Questions have also been raised about the very definition of "significant others." What do we mean by significant others? Significant others, but significant for what? It has been suggested that valuation and credibility should be studied as two important aspects of the notion of significance (Rosenberg, 1973).

Rosenberg (1973) also observed that

The child's general social and cultural environment and his particular location in the social structure will have an important bearing on his system of interpersonal valuation . . . . But interpersonal valuation also appears to be conditioned by an interesting psychological motivation . . . . the motive to protect and enhance one's self-esteem. And a major mechanism for realizing this motive is psychological selectivity (p. 838).
It is this psychological selectivity that has particular bearing on this study.

Psychological selectivity can be interpreted as involving selective perception. A host of variables determine an individual's perception. Among others, it could involve his own decision to bring into his perception the things that he wants to see. With significant others, the valuation and the extent to which he respects and cares about a particular other might make a difference. From another perspective, social structure might place limits upon the individual's perception. For instance, limited interactional situations will curtail the range of one's perception. An individual, therefore, may encounter only a selected few, thus having perception becoming selected not by individual choice but rather due to the social network.

In such cases, it is quite logical that one's self-esteem is not only protected, but, if one exercises more discretion, the network of social relationships can further be limited; perhaps to only those with whom one cares about and wishes to continue to interact. Therefore, it will be correct to assume that under such conditions one is shielded from threatening and conflicting situations and should, thus, be able to maintain a high self-esteem, a sense of personal worth.

A quite different outcome would be expected if the individual was exposed to more diversified stimuli, set of expectations, and threatening situations. The individual will be more vulnerable to
evaluations made by others, will be required to invest more in inter-
personal relationships, and will constantly endeavor to invoke posi-
tive evaluations from others in order to protect and enhance self-
esteeem.

Another interesting theoretical issue to be explored in this study is that of consistency in the point of view presented by different significant others. Like so many good theoretical notions in Mead that have not been put to empirical tests, this issue has also been largely neglected. We feel that in the following quotation of Mead (1956), wherein he describes the dynamics of the development of the self, the notion of consistency in the viewpoints of significant others can be discerned:

The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. For he enters his own experiences as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only insofar as he first becomes an object to himself. Just as other individuals are objects to him or are in his experience; and he becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved (pp. 202-203). (emphasis added)

Here, a common social environment or context of experience and behavior is underscored by Mead in the personality growth which actually shapes the individual's perception about others and helps him perceive the similarities in his generalized other. A reasonable
extension of this argument, then, will be that the greater the similarity perceived by the individual in his significant others, the greater the impact upon the individual's self-concept and self-esteem.

Indeed, if significant others bring to bear influence upon the individual, the greater consistency or esteem should be attributed to self based upon the consistency in viewpoints of significant others. In other words, do we perceive agreement in others' perceptions about ourselves? If the answer is yes, then it should enhance our consistency and self-esteem. If the answer to this question is no, then the individual is faced with a traumatic situation: perceptions of those whom he considers important do not agree in their opinions about his self. In this case, then, the individual is ridden with conflict and his self-concept is damaged.

However, the tendency in the individual is to perceive his significant others in agreement, since perceiving otherwise will pose a threat to his entire self-organization. And, again to reduce dissonance, an individual will find it to his advantage not to see discrepancy in the first place, or bring about a consonance in order to avoid painful consequences.

What are some of the variables that can help promote such consensus? As in the case of selective perception, if the individual is restricted in terms of interaction, is not faced with different sources of evaluation and different reference points, is limited in

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terms of the language he banks upon for self-expression, does not keep adding to his "significant others" inventory list and the significant others are culturally similar to one another, then agreement among significant others about self is neither difficult to perceive nor to maintain given the selected few he has to work with. The outcome is also predictable: a greater degree of self-consistency.

Now let us turn to the Pakistani society to find out if these theoretical notions ingrained in the symbolic interactionist framework can be applied. We intend to elaborate upon the notion of limited interactional opportunity and a limited circle of significant others and its consequences upon self-concept by using illustrations from Pakistani culture where norms of interactions for females differ significantly from those prescribed for males.

In virtually every society men and women are expected to act in sex-specific ways. These differences are passed on by each generation to the next with minor modifications. Not only do they become the bases for the socialization of the sexes; they tend also to affect the division of labor, role-allocations, social status, interpersonal dependency, social distance, the maintenance of moral standards, and day-to-day behavior of males and females.

Pakistan\(^1\) by and large is a sex-segregated society. The

\(^1\)The discussion that follows draws heavily from the insight-ful and highly readable works of Papanek (1971, 1973). In the
spheres of activity for males and females are sharply defined. For reasons based upon and supported by the underlying value system of Pakistani society, e.g., deep-seated attitudes regarding human nature, sexuality, and honor, females are secluded and sheltered and limitations are placed on interaction between men and women outside certain well-defined categories (Papanek, 1973).

Sex-role allocation sharply limits a woman's exposure to the culture, the outside world and mobility. The resulting phenomenon is often referred to as "separate worlds" and "symbolic shelter." The first refers to the allocation of occupational role and division of labor, and the second centers on the problems connected with impulse control, honor, and family pride.

In both cases, cultural and structural arrangements work to restrict women in their everyday life from exposure to objects, people, and situations that are believed to render them more vulnerable to the temptations and pave the way to departure from specified behavior and norms of conduct.

Purdah (meaning curtain) has come to be regarded as a mechanism with which society shelters and isolates women from such dangers as described above. It can be instrumented either through "physical segregation" of living and working space, or "portable

opinion of this writer, her study of Pakistani culture and especially the women in that country has very few sociological rivals.
seclusion)--burqa (a concealing cloak worn by women). In the case of physical segregation of living space, women are confined to sections of a house where they are not exposed to men other than those specified by Islam and with whom they can have proper social relationships. The concept is even extended to most public places, such as cinema halls, restaurants, some offices, public transportation, and so on. Burqa, on the other hand, serves a somewhat liberating function as women can go into bazaars and public places without directly coming face to face with men. However, it also restricts interaction between males and females (Papanek, 1971, 1973).

Despite regional and class variations in observance of purdah, it certainly is an effective device in enlarging social distance between the sexes and is advocated and practiced by even educated families in Pakistan. It is related to feelings of group solidarity (only very near relatives are permitted to interact with females), conformity to the norms of sex-segregated groups, levels of education, division of labor and the moral values of Pakistani society.

The fundamentalist religious groups in Pakistan stress chastity and simplicity and, since women are viewed as the honor of the family and more apt to be lured to sexual temptations than males, purdah provides the needed answer.

The seclusion of females begins at puberty and in some families even earlier than that. A strong value is placed on keeping post-
pubertal girls within the four walls of home as much as possible. The "value of women's honor restricts the range of actions open to them and emphasizes marriage and childbearing" (Dodd, 1970).

Even in the upper and upper-middle classes, mixed parties are rare and polarization of the sexes at such parties is highly visible. Usually cohorts are established and either women congregate in a different room or the conversation is restricted to their own sex group due to the utter neglect shown by their counterpart.

The socialization patterns differ considerably for boys and girls and are noticeable from an early age. Boys are often given a more free hand and a sense of their importance in the family and thus are able to exercise their prerogatives in enlarging the circle of their acquaintances and friendships. On the other hand, girls are sheltered from the very beginning and parents watch their movements very closely. They are sent to segregated schools staffed completely by females. More often than not they are restricted to high school education. If they manage to get to an institution of higher education, the choice of areas of specialization is limited for them by either the quota system or the parents themselves.

The two predominant careers open to women for education in Pakistan are medicine and teaching—both having developed in response to the needs of female clientele. The limitations placed on the close contact between the sexes through role-allocations in the field

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of labor are again motivated by such beliefs as the differentiations between "persons who need protection" and "those who provide it."

Patterns of sociability for males and females are also noteworthy. Men spend most of their time—leisure or otherwise—in the company of men; teashops and restaurants are filled with men and serve as meeting places for them; mosques are out-of-bounds for women (mainly true for Sunni women; Shi'a women are permitted in their places of worship); women pray at home. Women are also expected to maintain higher standards of religious observance than males. All rituals are left for them to carry out and they also assume the role of initiating the children to religion as well as tradition.

This pattern does not change significantly for women even after they are married. Since men will not cook (except under special circumstances) or take care of other in-house chores, women are liable to stay home. The orbit of their social interaction does not increase. As a matter of fact, the possibility is even more restricted due to a preponderance of arranged marriages. In arranged marital situations, the two families are already close to each other. The girl's parents usually try to find a family they share many things in common with and preferably relatives. This, in their opinion, makes the girl's adjustment easier and also insures the protection of the girl's interests through continued close relationships and
influence upon her husband's family (Papanek, 1973).

Therefore, a significant and major event like marriage which in some of the advanced societies signals a break in the life of a girl away from her natal family and results in new avenues of social interaction, causes little or no change in the interactional patterns of a Pakistani woman. That girls tend to remain close to their natal family, however, is quite consistent with the already existing close ties and dependency relationships between daughters, mothers, fathers, and brothers.

To conclude, then, women in Pakistan are sheltered and secluded by the values of their society, either through physical segregation of living and working space or symbolic shelter or both. The interactional opportunities are more freely available to males and are encouraged by the society while, for reasons of purity and honor, women are prohibited from close contacts with men other than those specified by religion.

Sex-segregation, role-allocation, and normative sanctions limit the mobility, social relationships, exposure to new ideas and situations, and exchange of views to a specified group of men and women. The element of free choice through the purdah system is greatly curtailed; educational as well as marital arrangements are almost completely under parental control.

Interaction is also limited in the area of work. The two major
career opportunities looked upon favorably are medicine and teaching. Within the house, their duties are clearly defined and their inter-actional parameters rigidly outlined. In terms of education, home economics, hygiene and some kinds of vocational training are emphasized by a large proportion of the society. This continued emphasis on "special" education for women tends to hamper the fuller development of their potential. However, this is consistent with the overall value-orientation of the society that defines their rights, duties, attributes and permitted interaction and access to culture and the world outside the family quite differently than those of males.

To this point, the discussion of sex differences in Pakistani society has focused mainly upon the sheltered and segregated lifestyle of women with the object of showing the consistency with which women are protected so as not to be exposed to the impurities of the outside world. In marked contrast to this is the life of males that is not viewed as needing protection or shelter. This obviously leads to men being confronted with more conflicting situations and new ideas and experiences mainly because of the lack of a rigid normative structure and more freedom of choice. The orbit of their social and interactional relationships is also much wider. They are permitted by parents to stay out late, go to movies (English as well as local), take excursion trips, and interact with a more heterogeneous group of people. They are encouraged to develop their own personality and
are given more freedom of expression and exchange of views. They have access to Western literature and libraries (British and U.S.) and a host of other things.

It has been shown in the preceding pages that women are more integrated into the Pakistani society and culture than men. There is less exposure experienced by females, the sex-role allocations are different, the influence of significant others is more consistent and harmonious and the integration of females into the group is much more effective.

At this point another important variable needs to be discussed—second language—since learning of another language and its use has implications for self-concept. Language is the vehicle by which we communicate our ideas, opinions, and sentiments to others. In fact, language is the most distinguishing feature of human civilization. The significance of language in the transmission of new ideas cannot be overemphasized.

Within the last 30 years or so tremendous strides have been made in the field of sociology of language. As a form of social behavior, language is of great importance and interest to the sociologist. The extensibility and flexibility of language are considered to be of immense value as they underline its great utility as an indicator of social change.

The social-psychological theory of language learning views

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language learning just like any other form of behavior. So viewed, this form of behavior is subject to analysis based upon the motivations behind it, attitudes pertaining to it, and the consequences of language learning as expressed through human personality.

The basic idea of the theory is very simple; in essence it holds that "an individual successfully acquiring a second language generally adopts various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group" (Lambert, et al., 1968:473).

The process of learning a language as well as adopting various aspects of behavior of the other linguistic-cultural group is not as smooth as it might appear. The success in learning the new language likewise is not totally independent of the motives behind it. Studies dealing with these aspects suggest that the learner's ethnocentric tendencies are largely determinative of his success.

The proper socialization and orientation of a learner results in: 1) learning of another social group's language; 2) making the crucial link in the acculturation process in becoming part of a second linguistic-cultural community; 3) making advances toward bi-culturality; and 4) a broadening of experience.

Several problems, however, are inherent in the process and might produce feelings of "anomie," or "marginality"—that is, belonging to neither group and not feeling at home in either linguistic-cultural community. On the other hand, the learner may see the
acquisition of another language as equipping him with more useful skills and thereby transforming him into a better educated and cultured individual who can use this newly acquired tool to further his future goals, occupational or otherwise.

The learning and use of another language can also serve as a mechanism for enhancing social prestige; an orientation variously termed as "instrumental." Inasmuch as learning and use of a second language could be based on a purely pragmatic decision with little or no consideration for the linguistic-cultural community represented by the language, the desire to do so could arise out of a concordant orientation toward the other culture. This mode of perception has been characterized by sociolinguists as "integrative" and "sympathetic" (Lambert et al. 1968).

To a great extent, then, the differentials in the learning and use of a second language are explainable on the basis of the orientation held, i.e., instrumental or integrative. If the acquisition of new skills is motivated by a desire to advance one's social status, it reflects the more utilitarian attitude. If the motive is accentuated by a desire for a potential membership in another culture and learning more about that culture, then this motive will reflect the sympathy held by the learner toward that culture.

Lambert et al. (1968) bring another interesting dimension to their discussion of this concept by suggesting that personal
dissatisfactions experienced in one's own culture might become the driving force that draws one into learning another language in order to use it as a means of entry and acceptance in that culture. Parallel theoretical notions are to be found in population literature reflecting upon the motives for spatial mobility and international migration as exemplified by the "Push and Pull" theory.

Aside from the motives and the accompanying degree of success in learning a second language, the fact remains that the exposure itself brings changes into one's behavior, thinking, and perception of reality. "Transition from one language is fraught with deep implications for the personality" has been noted by one author (Herman, 1961:162). It also affects the status of the learner and user in his original linguistic-cultural group. Lambert et al. (1968) opine:

The more proficient one becomes in a second language the more he may find that his place in his original membership group is modified at the same time as the other linguistic-cultural group becomes something more than a reference group for him (p. 474).

After all, the learner has already shown his willingness in learning another language, and his willingness to identify with the other cultural group was always there and has led to his successful acquisition and use.

Herman (1961) underlines this point as follows:

The readiness of a person to learn and use a second language may depend in part on the measure of his willingness to identify with the group with which the language is associated--or, at any rate, on his desire to reduce

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the social distance between himself and that group (p. 164).

Human beings, as we know, are capable of symbolization. This unique ability puts them above other organic life. It also equips them with the potential of either discarding the symbols used by those in their immediate physical or social surroundings or partially rejecting them and allows them to identify themselves on a cognitive level with the symbols used by others belonging to a different culture or linguistic-culture community.

The role of sociopsychological variables in the learning of a foreign language and its subsequent effect upon one's personality has been recognized and increasingly stressed by sociolinguists. This idea, despite its significance, has received negligible attention from symbolic interactionists. It focuses our attention upon simultaneously existing reference groups that are not confined to one's own culture or to the original language group of which he is a member. In time, the other linguistic-cultural group may even encroach and infringe upon an individual's original membership group allegiances and eventually claim a second membership group status. And for all we know, if the second linguistic-cultural group continues to attract the individual into its fold, it might earn the status of his primary membership group.

In Berger and Luckmann's (1967) work we find ideas supportive of what sociolinguists have been working with and the argument
made by this research that we define reality in terms of some prevailing notion of reality. In terms of bilinguals, the "development of an alternative symbolic universe" is not only a distinct but a constant possibility. The development of cognitive and cultural identifications and memberships in different social worlds may result in situations where the alternative symbolic universe is perceived as threatening by other elements in a society. This will be more so if such constructions of reality seem to go against the very core of the existing and established frameworks. Therefore, we observe that in Pakistan those using the English language and identifying, in an extraordinary fashion, with Western culture and values are subject to taunts, teasings, ostracism, and are quite often labeled "outsiders." This is not difficult to understand, particularly if we remember that "the appearance of an alternative symbolic universe poses a threat because its very existence demonstrates empirically that one's own universe is less than inevitable" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967:108).

More recent studies dealing with bilingualism have found that integrative and sympathetic attitudes toward learning a language begin at home. These orientations toward the other group and language are developed within the family institution. Studies done at McGill University (Lambert et al., 1968; Gardner, 1960) support the thesis that the parents of those who show sympathetic attitudes toward another language and group were also of an integrative
disposition toward the other linguistic-cultural community.

Interesting examples pertaining to bilinguals and their propen-
sity to learning another language, the favorable family or school
environment or both, the use of another language, and the possible
impact upon their self-organization are to be found in Pakistani
culture. But, before that, let us define the term bilingual as it is
used in the context of that society and for this study. The term is
used to refer to the individual who uses a language other than his own
native or mother tongue, however partially or imperfectly. We are
not primarily concerned with the finer aspects of bilingualism, namely:
degree of use, function, alternating, and interference. This investi-
gation is largely interested in that aspect of bilingualism that pertains
to the adoption of various aspects of behavior of another linguistic-
cultural group by the learner—the process that is motivated more
from an integrative than instrumental desire and also affects the
perception of the learner to the extent that it becomes an element in
cultural conflict.

The educational system in Pakistan, by and large, is still
fashioned after the British educational model. The present regime
has instituted policies that are envisioned to bring about major
changes in the system. However, replacement or major overhaul of
a system that has prevailed for over 200 years will take time. Des-
pite the best efforts made, the system can still be characterized as
traditional.

A basic schism still exists: a division between the so-called secular and sacred education (maktab and madrasah), with the system educating only about 20% of the people, leaving the rest completely illiterate. The British rulers, by virtue of the power and authority they wielded on the subcontinent, were in a position to usher in an era of scientification and institutionalization of scientific investigation as well as a more universal educational system. Instead, they bequeathed an elitist educational system that was maintained by the Pakistani society after independence. During the colonial period, several publishing houses were established (for instance, Fort William College, Calcutta, and Maktaba-e-Nival Kishore at Allahbad) whose primary function was to flood the region with poetry, fiction, novels, and fantasies in order to put the local "mind" to sleep.

Until the nationalization of many private institutions a few years ago, the schools in Pakistan were divided into two major categories: public and private. Instruction was offered from primary through high school and the institutions were open to all. The fee structure at schools run by the government was low compared to schools run by private institutions. These latter institutions consisted, for the most part, of schools with English as the medium of instruction for all subjects taught whereas the government-run schools offered education in all subjects in one of the largely spoken
and used languages—Urdu—in the western part of Pakistan, particularly Karachi.

By virtue of the fact that the schools run by the government had a low fee structure as well as low pay scales for their teachers, they were not able to attract a better quality of teachers at all times. Even when they did, the incentives were not great to keep such teachers although a government teaching position meant a career, job security, and pension. In addition to these disadvantages associated with a public teacher position, the sheer number of students that were there to be instructed and the large number of positions to be filled presented additional problems which could probably be best handled by lowering the standards for recruitment and accepting people who either lacked in qualifications or ambition or both. It was a more pragmatic solution and, given the needs of the time, was at least workable since it kept the students in classes and the schools in session.

The private educational institution, on the other hand, catered to a comparatively small clientele. They managed to be selective in terms of students, teachers, and other related personnel. Salary structures at these institutions, their general physical facilities and their being able to offer instruction in all subjects in English proved to be some of the pluses in enhancing their attractiveness. Enrollments at English medium schools invariably were at their
peak; in fact, they had a long waiting list.

In view of the high fees charged, their high entrance standards, and their general intimidating atmosphere for the "uninitiated," private institutions were approached only by children of well-to-do families, businessmen, executives, upper middle class, upper class civil servants and foreigners. These families not only could afford it financially, their children were also "groomed" for such institutions, having basic knowledge in and exposure to the English language. Their parents invariably had more "contact" with Western culture than their counterparts in the lower and middle classes. Obviously, the children did not remain unaffected. And, as held by many a traditional parent, the children were also "contaminated." To them it was a case of "double jeopardy"; having been born in a Western-ized family was enough, but to have been sent to an English school was even worse. Whatever the justification for such an attitude, these sentiments reflect a distinct cleavage between "haves" and "have-nots." Viewed from the perspective of other parents, the children of the "have-nots" were not characterized any differently.

Sending a child to an English medium school was never a simple matter. One not only had experienced "sympathy" toward the other language and cultural group that motivated such a move in the first place, but now needed reassurance that the "good" work of the school was somehow not nullified by the other environmental

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'contaminants.' Tutors were hired to redress weaknesses, if any, in the child or to simply reinforce what was being taught them at school. The teacher corps at private English medium schools consisted of a large number of Goanies Christian teachers whose background in English and their contact with Western culture were greatly admired. They were in considerable demand as private tutors also. Further, children at private schools also cultivated their own peer groups. The peer group members, of course, were recruited from among those with similar backgrounds, similar interests, and "sympathetic" attitudes toward the other linguistic-cultural community. Their varied interests included English movies, novels, magazines, pop music, clubs, and so forth.

It would not be true to say that all private schools were completely geared to teaching in the English language as a considerable number of them did attempt to strike a balance by neither going outright modern nor completely traditional. These schools attempted to remain somewhere in the middle on modern-traditional continuum.

Similarly, the public or government-run schools should not be viewed as totally anti-English either. Given their specific role, i.e., to educate the masses and considering the limited resources available to them, they catered more to the Urdu and several other native language-speaking communities. The medium of instruction at these schools was Urdu. But English was taught as a compulsory second
language. With the exception of Christians (very low percentage) and some other minority group students, all students had to enroll in classes in English from primary through high school.

The major differences between these two groups of students were apparent. In the case of public schools, contact and exposure were limited to begin with and further confined due to the home environment, peer group, and neighborhood. Their spoken and most frequently used language remained the same--their mother tongue.

The working-class individual and, to a great extent, even the lower middle income group could not afford, even if they desired, to raise their children in a different environment. The majority of them were struggling to better their circumstances and the life chances of their children. One of the aims of such families is to produce a child with a well-rounded personality, oriented to certain values tempered with religion, respect for elders, and maintenance of the traditional values.

The predisposition and resistance to certain social processes revealed by the low income, less educated family has its advantages. The quasi-extended family was able to maintain a firmer grip over its child's socialization even though the changing societal circumstances made it harder to do so. The mother's presence in the home was contributory to the disciplinary efforts. Even grandparents made their contribution; their presence in the family not only helped
maintain discipline around the house, they became role models for youngsters in personifying tradition and integrated personality.

The modern family, on the other hand, permits more individual freedom and opportunities for their children to mingle freely within their own social and economic strata. It is liberal in its religious outlook, does not feel ashamed of its being Westernized and makes liberal use of the English language.

Nevertheless, theirs is not to be construed as a totally liberated family. The older members of the family, especially grandparents, still raise their voice, however weak it may be against their modernity. Although the youngster is more exposed to his own peer group, he is still part of the larger society that does not entirely approve of the new values and Western life-style.

A bilingual also has multiple sources of information and ideas such as English movies, literature, fiction, TV, and so forth. Not only the frequency of such sources for a bilingual is greater, the content and kinds of ideas also encompass a wider territory.

As noted in the preceding pages, self is a socially constructed phenomenon. Symbolic interactionists find that self can best be understood as a result of social interaction. Significant others, within this perspective, are the sources of self-evaluation. Their evaluations are valued highly by the individual. An individual's self-ratings are significantly correlated with the ratings of his significant others. The positive or negative attitude toward self reflects how
significant others evaluate the self.

A positive, consistently supportive, and homogeneous social environment will lead to greater self-consistency and self-esteem. The individual who is limited in terms of his interaction will experience less problems in perception since his range is narrow and does not result in excesses. Females in Pakistani society, due to the social arrangements and established customs, find that the question of selectivity of perception is less taxing and, in a sense, works to their advantage. They are in a more controlled, disciplined atmosphere and hence exposed to more consistent influences upon their person. They are also limited in the choice of significant others that is advantageous to them in the sense that they perceive more agreement among their significant others.

Likewise, sources of ideas for monolinguals in Pakistan are consistent; their significant others are of similar backgrounds, and culturally and value-wise more compatible. While bilinguals face the dilemma of adjusting to the expectations of two cultures—the one in which they are born and the other they have chosen to identify with, however partially or incompletely. These divergent social forces and immediate conflicting circumstances affect those who are in the process of climbing up the modernity ladder but still find themselves surrounded by a traditional value structure.

The following hypotheses are derivable from the application
of symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective to the personality
variables of self-consistency and self-esteem in Pakistani youngsters.

1) In the Pakistani society, there will be expected a direct
relationship by sex between self-consistency and religion; however, the female youths who belong to the Shi'a sect
will be significantly more self-consistent than female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

2) For high school students in Pakistani society who belong
to the Shi'iite sect, there will be a direct relationship
between sex and self-esteem.

3) In the Pakistani society, female high school students who
belong to the Shi'iite sect will have significantly greater
self-esteem than female high school students who belong
to the Sunnite sect.

4) In the Pakistani society, high school students who are
monolinguals will have greater self-consistency than
high school students who are bilinguals.

5) In the Pakistani society, youths who perceive greater
consistency between themselves and their significant
others will also have significantly greater self-consistency.

6) In the Pakistani society, youths belonging to the Shi'a sect
who perceive greater consistency between themselves and
their significant others will also have significantly greater
self-consistency.

7) Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'iite sect
and who perceive greater consistency between themselves
and their significant others will also have significantly
greater self-consistency than female youths who belong to
the Sunnite sect.

8) Pakistani youths who perceive greater consistency between
their selves and their significant others will also exhibit
greater self-esteem.

9) In the Pakistani society, youths belonging to the Shi'a sect
who perceive greater consistency between themselves and
their significant others will also have significantly greater
self-esteem.
10) Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect.

11) Pakistani high school students who perceive greater consistency among their significant others about self will also have significantly greater self-consistency.

12) Pakistani youth who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will exhibit significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youth who belong to the Sunnite sect.

13) Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Sunnite sect.

14) Pakistani youths who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will also have significantly greater self-esteem.

15) Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will exhibit significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

16) Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

Basic Personality and Ability to Function

Thus far discussion has focused upon self-concept from two theoretical perspectives and in both instances it has remained, for the most part, on an abstract level. Another way of looking at
personality and its relationship to social structure that has not been mentioned is what has variously been characterized as the "trait approach." Extensive use is made of this approach in psychological literature. This approach is not only used in psychology but is also fairly prevalent in the self-concept literature. According to this approach, traits are viewed as enduring personality characteristics.

In the psychological field, trait is regarded as a "favoring concept" (Allport, 1961) and stands to denote the structure of a person as it is expressed in different individuals or groups of individuals. A trait is identifiable by its focal quality more than its independence from other traits. In fact, a complex and differentiated structure of traits has been called personality (Cattell, 1950). A trait, in turn, is inferred from the observed behavior of an individual. On their origin, Allport & Odber (1936) note:

Traits may originate through the integration on many similar specific habits or adjustment, but with time the organization takes upon itself a generalized character and its influence upon behavior is determinative in a broad sense. It is not the specific act of the individual, but rather these broad patterns of determining tendencies that confer upon personality such consistency as it displays (p. 13).

The trait approach, as expounded in the writings of Allport and Odber (1936), characterizes trait names as "merely oblique representations of dispositions that are known to exist" and such designations may or may not be appropriate or exact. Therefore, the selection of the most appropriate names for the traits thus
discovered should be seen as an effort to arrive at range-names. When a trait-name is applied to two different individuals it signifies that focal characteristics of both fall within a range of comparable assessment.

Despite the fact that there is a relationship between self-concept theory and "trait psychology" and that there is a proclivity to see personality as an organized system of enduring traits, trait psychology as expressed through the writings of Allport and others has been accused of failing to recognize the contribution of sociocultural determinants to behavior. This need not be the case, however, if we consider self-esteem and self-consistency as personality traits that find their origin in a sociocultural environment and the maintenance of these traits to be viewed as the relationship between the broad structures of society, on the one hand, and the interaction of the significant others in a society on the other. Viewed in this context, then, these ideas not only find compatibility with the trait approach but add a significant dimension to the trait psychologist's view of personality. Thus, if we combine the ideas of trait psychology that traits are needed to function in certain situations with the origins of traits in certain societies which, in turn, allow us to function in certain situations in the society then a link has been established between broad social structure and the symbolic interaction approach, self-concept theory, and personality theory as seen by
In the present investigation several semantic differential scales are used to ask each subject to locate himself on a number of different dimensions or personality factors. These dimensions were selected to fit the general factors or dimensions of personality suggested by the work of Allport and Odbert (1936), Norman (1963), and Passini and Norman (1966). The self-descriptive adjectives used to designate personal conceptions fall under two rubrics: basic personality and ability to function. By basic personality we mean the ways in which the individual sees himself; the ability to function refers to the ability of the individual to perform in day-to-day life. An individual can manifest personality traits that speak of his disposition toward life in general. He can be outgoing or shy, he can be the life of a party or a "party pooper," he can display anxiety or be relatively calm and relaxed. The many different ways in which the individual perceives his self will reflect his overall assessment of his person. These broad patterns give an inkling as to the kind of person he is. He can regard himself highly on the basis of his core personality or depreciate himself.

Ability to function, on the other hand, does not necessarily and invariably imply that the person regards himself highly, although a general high positive evaluation will enhance one's ability to function. What it actually refers to is the capability of the individual to
effectively transact, take on the responsibility and, by the sheer dint of intelligence, properly and adequately accomplish tasks assigned to him. That the two, i.e., high regard for self and the ability to deal with one's environment, could correlate highly has been indicated earlier.

Within our theoretical framework the aforementioned ideas fit very well. They do not violate the earlier statements on self-conception and its various dimensions; self-esteem can be seen as an evaluation of the personality basic to a human being, whereas self-consistency should be viewed in terms of the persistence of ideas about self over time in the individual. If the individual, in the face of either changing circumstances or opposing ideas, is able to maintain self-organization as he perceives it and can function effectively, then the individual has been consistent.

To sum up, this chapter has attempted to delineate the theoretical framework for this research. Durkheimian theoretic perspective on the ramifications of wider social structure upon personality and the symbolic interactionist's viewpoint, insofar as it underlines the impact of significant others upon individuals, are seen as complementing each other. Durkheim saw the collectivity as having an integrative influence upon the individual by virtue of the degree of regulation exercised through the social structure. On the other hand, a coherent personality is not just a product of wider cultural...
influences. Rather, aspects of an individual's self, such as esteem and consistency, are also influenced by those who closely interact with and are viewed highly by the individual.

Some of the conclusions and some of the hypotheses that have been derived from the Durkheimian perspective are also derivable from the interactionist model and vice versa. These hypotheses are complementary, but they also overlap in the analysis of self-consistency and self-esteem of Pakistani youth.

The variables that are pertinent to the analysis of the personality variables of consistency and esteem in this study (from the aforementioned two theoretical perspectives) are equally appropriate to each of them and, indeed, to be noted as predictors for self-consistency and self-esteem. For instance, we postulate that sex is important in predicting self-consistency as well as self-esteem. Similarly, females who belong to the Shi'a sect in Pakistani society exhibit greater consistency of self and greater self-esteem. Bilingualism is another variable that has implications for self-concept. Bilinguals are exposed to more diverse and conflicting cultural ideas. It confronts them with problems of selection, evaluation, comparison, and decision from among a host of ideas that might be at variance with what is believed to be culturally normative. A sympathetic and integrative orientation that frequently finds its inception in their own families lays the foundation for culturally opposing or dissimilar
confrontation.

In essence, the social circumstances in which the socialization of the sexes takes place and the divergent sources of ideas that bilin­
guals encounter in Pakistani society put a strain upon youngsters with respect to the organization of self, thus lowering consistency and self-esteem, with a lack of agreement in the views of significant others perceived by the youngster.

Therefore, combining the two theoretical perspectives set forth in their application to the dependant variables of self-consis­
tency and self-esteem of Pakistani youth, a set of nine hypotheses has been developed. The substance of all 28 hypotheses derived from Durkheimian and symbolic interactionist perspectives that follow discussions of each perspective, respectively, have much in common and thus condense down to a total of nine hypotheses. These hypoth­
eses comprise the same ideas as are present in the hypotheses developed earlier from each theoretical perspective. The hypotheses that are derived from the two perspectives in the preceding pages represent the range of hypotheses derivable but, nevertheless, do not exhaust all possible combinations of variables. The hypotheses start out with the broad and more abstract and boil down to more specific and particular relationships between the independent and dependent variables. Therefore, hypotheses of specific relationships between social structure, significant others and personality are

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presented below with their derivative source or sources parenthesized.

1) Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect. (Durkheim and Symbolic Interactionism)

2) Shi'ite youths will have significantly greater self-consistency than Sunnite youths when the variables of social class, parental education, and present religious orientations are controlled. (Durkheim and Symbolic Interactionism)

3) Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect. (Durkheim and Symbolic Interactionism)

4) Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect. (Durkheim and Symbolic Interactionism)

5) Pakistani youths who are monolinguals will exhibit significantly greater consistency than Pakistani youths who are bilinguals. (Symbolic Interactionism)

6) In the Pakistani society, youths belonging to the Shi'a sect who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will also have significantly greater self-consistency. (Symbolic Interactionism)

7) Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will also have significantly greater self-consistency than female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect. (Symbolic Interactionism)

8) Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Sunnite sect. (Symbolic Interactionism)

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9) Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect. (Symbolic Interactionism)
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction: The Social Setting and Research Logistics

This research was conducted in Karachi, Pakistan during the summer months of 1973. The persons used in the research were high school students enrolled in the tenth grade in various local schools. Accurate and recent data pertaining to the school system in Pakistan are very difficult to obtain. When this research was conducted in 1973 data from the 1971 census were still not available; neither were the data for schools in Karachi. Thus, in the absence of more complete and necessary information on high schools in Karachi (i.e., the total number of high schools, characteristics of students enrolled in the tenth grade in high schools, and the total number of sections for each high school class), no systematic sampling procedures could be utilized. An increasing number of Pakistani youths are involved in formal education at all levels. Since we intend to discuss the sampling procedures for this study in detail later, suffice it to say here that the amount of sampling bias is expected to be much less than it would have been previously due to recent social changes that have tremendously increased the number of school-going youth.
Information on previous school enrollments, number of teachers, and the successive increases experienced by school systems at the national as well as local level is presented in Appendix B so that some approximations and an assessment of the actual situation can be discerned by the reader.

Numerous problems were experienced by this researcher in gathering data from high schools in Karachi. The schools were closed for summer vacation upon arrival in Karachi. Because of this, there was time to consult with high school teachers as well as college and university-level professors. Copies of the questionnaire were given to various headmasters and teachers for their reactions to the feasibility of conducting this type of research and the usage of English questionnaires.

At that time, Pakistan was in the midst of political turmoil and unrest. A new regime was striving to establish itself after the secession of one part of Pakistan (East Pakistan); strong opposition was emerging, student political bodies were demanding the implementation of proposed reforms and labor unrest was quite imminent and affecting the fibre of society. Finally, a civil disobedience movement was in the offing. These conditions do not produce a congenial and receptive environment for social scientific research. These circumstances augmented and added to the existing problems of conducting cross-cultural research, particularly so when the
opening of the schools was delayed for one month, leaving only one month for all data gathering activities and planning, as well as implementation. In addition, the logistical problems were of an overwhelming nature. A sufficient number of contacts were necessary and actual physical presence in the schools was of paramount importance to insure consistency and accuracy in the collection of data. Because of budgetary limitations, no help could be hired and, thus, the task of collecting data from the schools could not be facilitated.

Another problem of considerable magnitude was that, in the absence of a systematic sampling, efforts were to be geared toward getting a cross-section and the best possible representative sample of Karachi's high school student population. In selecting schools that would furnish data on different social classes of students, access to such schools for information gathering could require long waits and bureaucratic red tape. Therefore, more informal techniques were employed. Legitimization of the research goals, as well as the researcher, were obtained by relying upon old friends and other informal sources of contacts. This efficient and parsimonious method solved most problems associated with gaining entrance into the schools.

However, several other problems cropped up. Gaining entrance into all female schools was more difficult than gaining entrance into all male or coeducational schools. Initially the girls'
schools would not allow this researcher to collect data directly by visiting the classes. They maintained that data collection must be done through one of the teachers. This could jeopardize the research. It was quite aggravating and not easy for this researcher to comprehend after having been away for quite a while and seemingly to have become quite indifferent and insensitive to the local customs. However, the field researcher role required that a reassessment of attitude be made and behavior modified. Eventually, with an appeal to the "scientific self" of the school principals, this researcher was permitted to administer the questionnaires personally.

Time and again queries were made regarding the benefits of this research to the respondents. Further, those who had attained education in foreign countries and have either on a temporary basis or for good gone back to their original culture will recall that the "foreign trained" label can accrue tremendous benefits but can also prove to be a stigma. In some instances it served as an "open sesame" while in others it was a major obstacle. Some principals were impressed with this researcher's credentials and were also cognizant of the importance of educational studies in facilitating social change; whereas others frowned and expressed their displeasure for they equated training in a foreign culture with brainwashing and the total embracement of an alien culture. Although the task was not an enviable one, attempts to gain cooperation of the school personnel
as well as gathering of data were satisfactorily accomplished through four weeks of rigorous and painstaking efforts.

Sample

The sample for this research consists of students enrolled in the tenth grade across various high schools in Karachi, Pakistan at the time this research was conducted in the summer of 1973. Rationale for using tenth grade youngsters stems from the fact that students at this level of education are in their most critical adolescent years. This perspective is supported by numerous studies done on adolescents in the area of self concept (Rosenberg, 1972; Erikson, 1968b).

A total of 300 cases were seen originally as comprising a sample adequate for the statistical procedures required to test the hypotheses. As mentioned earlier, data on schools in the Karachi districts were not available at the inception of the research and, despite efforts to obtain information on student characteristics and the total enrollment in the tenth grade across the city, success was not accomplished. The physical distance between the sources of data and this researcher were substantial enough; coupled with the lack of systematization and lack of compilation of such data on a routine basis with no accessability to the pertinent educational departments, along with the red tape involved, proved to be the main obstacles. A convenience sample that included all of the theoretically relevant
variables had to suffice in place of a more desirable systematic sample procedure.

The schools included in this study, therefore, could not be selected until this researcher was personally in Karachi. Even then any hopes of drawing a systematic sample for the study were dispelled because of logistical problems, the time factor, delays in the opening of the schools and the non-availability of pertinent information. Hence, the schools and students included in this study were selected on the basis of their accessibility, the willingness of the principals to participate in the investigation or the teachers and heads of institutions known to this researcher personally or through the courtesy of some of his friends.

We are fully aware that there is some bias in this method of selection. However, it is asserted that for several reasons this should not invalidate our study and effort in investigating the self-conceptions of youngsters in Pakistan. First, the number of school-going youths has increased enormously in the past decade and a larger portion of that society's resources and personnel is involved in formal education than was previously the situation. Second, particular care was taken in the inclusion of schools for the purpose of achieving a cross-section of the high school student population with respect to the socioeconomic background of the student population of the schools in question and the language used as a medium of instruction. Third,
in the face of difficulties in obtaining a systematic sample, this was
the most parsimonious method to utilize. To further reduce bias,
from each school, as a rule all sections of the tenth grade were used
and all students present at that time were administered the question-
naire.  

Schools, therefore, were chosen using a number of criteria.
The concern was to select schools that represented various social
classes and the student body that reflected the different strata of
Karachiites. In some measure, the geographic location of a school
is indicative of the social class background of its students. Simi-
larly, the medium of instruction is another index of the student
population of a given school. For instance, schools in the less
advanced areas of Karachi generally have students from low-income
groups and normally offer instructions in Urdu. However, students
from low-income groups do not necessarily make up a majority of

---

1 Our study utilizes a convenience sample made up of individuals
who showed interest and willingness in completing the questionnaires.
Several studies have utilized this approach in which each member of
the group was administered the questionnaire. For instance, Kinsey
(1953) and his associates, in their study, included individuals not on a
random basis but on the basis of cooperation and confidence obtained
from the subjects. Similarly, the other study of sociological signifi-
cance is that of Adorno et al. (1950). In this study subjects were not in
any sense a random sample of the population nor were they considered
a representative sample. Rather, their study attempted to obtain
"different kinds of subjects to insure wide variability of opinions and
attitudes and adequate coverage of the factors supposed to influence"
the subjects under study (p. 20).
the Urdu medium-school population. Similarly an area like Nazimabad has schools that offer instructions in both Urdu and English, and also cater to middle as well as low-income families. It was important to isolate students who were bilinguals in order to test our hypotheses concerning bilinguality and its impact upon self-conceptions. Data obtained from the schools would function to accomplish this objective. A description of the schools utilized in this study is provided in Table 3.1.

Some schools (1, 2, 7, 8) were included in our sample particularly for their predominantly lower-class student population; some (3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 15) were selected because of the preponderance of middle-class students, while the others (9, 12, 13, 14) fit the criteria due to their heavy upper-class bias. All in all, these schools represented the Karachi high school population in terms of the different socioeconomic backgrounds, language and subcultural groups that were in these schools. One school (No. 4) was deliberately chosen as it caters to a subsection of Shi'ite students; approximately 90% of its students come from well-to-do families of that sect. The other schools have a fair share of Shi'ite students as they are not confined to one geographic locality. The schools in our sample, as evidenced by the table, also made it possible to test our hypotheses concerning bilinguality, as can be seen by the need to have the questionnaire administered in two languages. Nevertheless, biases of
Table 3.1

High Schools in Karachi Used in this Study by Name, Type of School, Medium of Instruction, Questionnaire Used and Language Responses Obtained

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of High School</th>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Medium of Instruction</th>
<th>Questionnaire Used &amp; Language Responses Obtained</th>
<th>Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Govt. Malir Cantt</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sind Madarsah</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pilot School</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Agha Kahn</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Aisha Bawany</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tameer-Nao</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sheldon</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Urdu</td>
<td>lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Gulistan</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English/Eng.</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gulistan</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English/Eng.</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. St. Paul</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English/Eng.</td>
<td>upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Malir Cantt</td>
<td>Coed.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English/Eng.</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sorts are liable to creep into our sample. For instance, Sunnites are considerably higher than Shi'ites in representation.

As stated earlier, tenth grade students were used because of their being at a critical stage in personality development and social self-identity. Adolescents have been used in a number of studies on self-concept before because adolescence has been seen as a critical age. Analysis by school is not going to be attempted in this study as it is not appropriate. Schools by themselves are of secondary importance and serve the purpose of providing raw data from the relevant categories of students upon which further analysis can be carried out.

Administration of the Questionnaire

All of the questionnaires administered to the students in each of the aforementioned schools contained items inquiring about the ways youngsters perceived their self. The only difference among schools was the need for translation of the questionnaire.

A 13-page questionnaire was originally developed at the Department of Sociology of Western Michigan University in collaboration with two sociology faculty members and a graduate student from the same department. Initially the questionnaire was developed as part of a comparative study of self-concept. An earlier version of the questionnaire was pretested in Grand Rapids, Michigan in the spring of 1973. Slight modifications were made in this version for the Pakistani study. The English version of the questionnaire was deemed hard to

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comprehend and respond to for students enrolled in schools where the medium of instruction was Urdu. Therefore, the questionnaire was translated into the Urdu language.

The questionnaires were administered to and responses obtained from 698 Karachi high school students (with ages ranging from 15 to 17 years). The questionnaires were administered both in Urdu and English; they were personally given by this researcher in the classrooms to all students present in sections of the tenth grade class at the time. The classes, on an average, were comprised of 30 to 35 students. Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, uniform instructions were given to each class to obtain responses. The time for administering the questionnaire was between 50 and 60 minutes in each case. Approximately 35% of the data came from schools where the medium of instruction is English and 65% from schools with Urdu as the medium of instruction with approximately 52% males and 48% females.

Key Variables Used

The key independent variables used in this study were sex, religious affiliation, and the language(s) spoken that are measured nominally. Variables pertaining to the socioeconomic background as well as other variables such as home religious environment and present religious environment will also be used as independent or control variables. The major dependent variables are self-consis-
tency and self-esteem. Self-consistency is measured on an interval scale while the self-esteem measure is on an ordinal level.

**Instruments for the Dependent Variable**

The data were collected through a 13-page questionnaire (see Appendix A) that consisted of four main sections: 1) Section A consisting of 20 questions pertaining to social background information; 2) Section B composed of four sets of semantic differential self-concept scales with each set including 12 items and each item representing a bipolar scale; 3) Section D representing a modified form of the Gergen-Morse (1967) measure of self-consistency; and 4) Section E consisting of questions on self-esteem, self-stability and various aspects of self-conceptions such as conforming to others and tolerance of ambiguity. This section utilized a number of questions originally designed and used by Rosenberg (1972) in his study of adolescents. The items used by Rosenberg were designed and used to assess both self-esteem and self-stability. They were modified for use in the present research and used primarily to assess degrees of self-esteem of high school students in Karachi.

**Measurement of the Variables: The Questionnaire**

In the development of this study, measures of self-concept were planned through a questionnaire that could be understood by the students in high schools. Particular attention was given to the
language and instruments utilized. However, upon arrival in Karachi, it became evident that it was necessary to translate the questionnaire into Urdu (one of the native and widely used languages) in order that accurate responses be obtained. The English version of the questionnaire, prior to its administration in the Karachi schools, was shown to a number of local school teachers and headmasters. While the headmasters and teachers of English-medium schools held that the task of administering the questionnaire and getting responses from students in their schools would not entail any significant problems, those heading Urdu-medium schools expressed their concern and suspected that their students might not be able to follow the questions in English.

The English version of the questionnaire was also pretested by administering it to B.A. (comparable to U.S. juniors) first-year Urdu-medium students enrolled in the Department of Sociology at the University of Karachi. The length of time taken to complete the questionnaire and the problems in comprehension experienced by these students suggested an imperative need for the instrument's being translated into Urdu.

For translation of the questionnaire, Dr. Abdul Salam--a "coordinate bilingual" with "bicultural experiences"--was contacted. Dr. Salam has earned several degrees in Urdu literature, both from traditional and modern institutions, and a Ph. D. from the University of Karachi. He also holds an M. Phil. in Urdu literature from
England (where he wrote his dissertation in English). He is very well versed in the English language, has taught at high school, college, and university levels, has done translations back and forth, and has a "feel" not only of English and Urdu but also Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit as well. At the time of this study, he was serving as Head of the Urdu Language Department at Government College, Nazimabad, Karachi.

In long translation sessions between this researcher and Dr. Salam, the best possible equivalents in meanings, connotations, simplicity, expressions, idioms, and shades of meanings were considered and an effort made to maintain the essence of the questions. Whenever necessary, use of more than just one word was preferred to convey the meanings, combining the Urdu translations with the original English word in parentheses and sometimes complete expressions and sentences were utilized.

However, in order to enhance the reliability of our translation and overcome whatever biasing effect we might have exerted upon the translation, the person in charge of the Translation Bureau at the University of Karachi, who is bilingual, was contacted. He has a Master's Degree in natural science, has been associated with the Bureau for the past ten years and has extensive experience in translations. He was given the translated questionnaire as well as the English version for evaluation. Some minor changes suggested by
him were made in the translation and the questionnaire was first caligraphed and then printed in Urdu at a local press.

Measurement of the Variables: The Instruments

Even though the central theoretical intention of this research is the exploration of the determinants of self-consistency and self-esteem of high school students in Karachi, Pakistan, another reason for the conduct of this research is methodological. Measures of self-concept have been developed and used almost entirely in one (U. S.) cultural setting. In order to enlarge their generalizability, a testing of these measures in different settings and different cultures is of major importance. Several logical possibilities exist. A measure may be successful in one culture but be limited in generalization because of its being culture-bound. On the other hand, the concept may have to be measured differently in another culture. Yet a useful construct in one culture could prove to be erroneous in another culture, thus making its testing impossible in another culture. In this last instance no single measure may be successful. This research intends to test some ways of measuring self-concept cross-culturally.

Self-Esteem Measures

This study uses multiple measures of self-esteem. The major measure, however, is that based upon and derived from Rosenberg's (1972) study focusing upon adolescents and their image of self.

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conducted in the U.S. For the purpose of this study, as well as for the sake of cross-culturally testing these measures, Rosenberg's self-esteem measure was used but with some modifications. The modifications were necessitated and guided by an overall concern for ease of understanding and response, as well as to fit the local conditions. The spirit and intent of the questions, however, were left unchanged.

Several items selected from Rosenberg's book, the modifications made therein, and the final version used in the present study are presented in Table 3.2 below.

It appears from a comparative look at the two studies that of the six items used, five were modified greatly or slightly; particularly the response categories were changed for the sake of more clarity and comprehension. Two of the items (3 and 5) originally appeared in the text of Rosenberg's book (1972) and were found by him to be correlated with self-esteem. However, it should be noted that they deal with self-presentation. Similarities in the scale items as used in both studies are obvious. The questions aim at discovering the feelings of self-worth of the respondents and the subjects are asked to compare themselves with others. The self-presentation items were included in this scale on the premise that an individual with high regard need not put up a front since he is secure enough to see himself as he really is.
### Table 3.2

Self-Esteem Items from the Rosenberg Study, Their Modified Version as used in this Study, and the Comparative Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rosenberg Study</th>
<th>Rizvi Study</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself</td>
<td>I like the way I am</td>
<td>Modified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___strongly agree</td>
<td>___usually</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___agree</td>
<td>___often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___disagree</td>
<td>___sometimes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___strongly disagree</td>
<td>___seldom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Scale Item IV, page 397)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2. At times I think I am no good at all | At times I think I am no good at all | Slightly |
| ___strongly agree | ___generally | Modified |
| ___agree | ___sometimes | |
| ___disagree | ___occasionally | |
| ___strongly disagree | ___seldom | |
| (Scale Item VI, page 397) | | |

| 3. Our respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statement: "I often find myself 'putting on an act' to impress people and I tend to put up 'a front' to people." | I feel that I am "putting on an act" when I am with others | Modified |
| | ___rarely | |
| | ___sometimes | |
| | ___often | |
| | ___usually | |
| (Text, pages 154-155) | | |

| 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people | Compared to most other people, I am able to do things | Modified |
| ___strongly agree | ___much better | |
| ___agree | ___slightly better | |
| ___disagree | ___about the same | |
| ___strongly disagree | ___not quite as well | |
| (Scale Item II, page 306) | ___generally not as well | |

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Table 3.2 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rosenberg Study</th>
<th>Rizvi Study</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Our respondents were asked to agree or disagree with the following statements: &quot;I often find myself 'putting on an act' to impress people&quot; and &quot;I tend to put up a 'front' to people.&quot;</td>
<td>When I am with others I act naturally and don't have to put up a front</td>
<td>Modified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>__sometimes</td>
<td>__often</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Text, pages 154-155)

6. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself | I am dissatisfied with myself | Modified |
| ___strongly agree | ___usually | |
| ___agree | ___often | |
| ___disagree | ___sometimes | |
| ___strongly disagree | ___seldom | |

(Scale Item IV, page 307)


Self-Consistency Measure

Gergen and Morse (1967), in their study of self-consistency, used two lists of self-descriptive adjectives (34 adjectives in all); one list comprised of positive and the other of negative adjectives. Since this study uses trait theory, it was deemed appropriate to use a slightly modified version of its self-consistency measure for our study.

The subjects, in their study, were asked to select five self-descriptive traits from each of the two lists and assess the compatibility of one trait with the others. The subject's score was the
result of the summing of the ratings; a high score indicated a high degree of self-perceived inconsistency. A similar measure of self-consistency was used but with certain modifications in this study (see Appendix A).

Like Gergen and Morse (1967), the following considerations guided the development of the two lists of self-descriptive adjectives for the study:

1. The degree of consistency attributed to the person should reflect his/her own subjective judgment.

2. The measure should not be extraordinarily time consuming.

3. The traits should cover a wide variety of personality traits.

To eliminate overlap of traits, the two lists of adjectives were compiled and a series of independent raters from among the students at Western Michigan University campus were asked to indicate those traits most similar to one another in meaning. The final lists, then, were comprised of carefully selected traits reflecting a wide variety of relevant self-descriptive traits.

The subjects in Karachi were asked to pick out three traits from List A which best or most accurately described them and, similarly, pick out three traits from List B. The subjects were then asked to list three traits of List A and three traits from List B on the left side of a triangle. In the same manner they were asked to
list all six traits in exactly the same order along the top of the triangle (the triangle from the questionnaire is reproduced below).

Finally they were asked to compare each one of the traits written along the left side of the triangle with traits written along the top of the triangle. In their comparison of each pair of traits, they were asked to think of how they fit together in their own personality by choosing a number according to the following set of definitions.

"O"-- means that the two traits fit together very well in my own personality. They don't contradict each other, but go hand in hand.

"1"-- means that the two traits neither go together nor contradict each other in my personality. They are not related to each other.
"2"-means that the traits contradict or conflict with each other in my personality. Possessing one trait is somewhat inconsistent with having the other trait.

"3"-means that there is a great deal of inconsistency or contradiction between this pair of traits in my personality.

The responses thus obtained through six pair ratings (15 ratings in all) for each respondent when summated will yield the self-consistency score. A lower summated score will indicate greater consistency, while a high score will reflect less consistency.

Other Measures

Section B of our questionnaire consisted of four semantic differential scales. Much research is available using semantic differential scales beginning with the pioneering work of Osgood and Suci and Tannenbaum (1957). These scales were originally developed by Osgood to obtain direct ratings of concepts anchored on the extremes by bipolar adjectives and provide the opportunity to measure various shades of meaning to give empirical implications to the theory.

To measure the hypotheses regarding general self-consistency, significant others and their impact upon consistency and self-esteem, and the consensus among significant others regarding the self, this instrument was developed for our study. It is intended to measure several personality variables. Each set of semantic differential scales consists of 12 items. One scale asked the respondents how they perceived themselves. In the other three, respondents were asked to
indicate, on a six-point scale for each of the following pairs of opposed items, how they perceived they were seen by their friends, parents, and teachers. The responses thus obtained represent self-reported perceptions of significant others.

1. Outgoing ------------------ Shy
2. Self-centered -------------- Unselfish
3. Rarely angry --------------- Often angry
4. Optimistic ----------------- Pessimistic
5. Irresponsible -------------- Responsible
6. Traditional --------------- Modern
7. Entertaining --------------- Boring
8. Lazy ---------------------- Hard working
9. Practical ------------------ Idealistic
10. Relaxed ------------------ Tense
11. Let others know me ------- Keep to myself
12. Not very intelligent ------ Very intelligent

In our use of differential scales, we feel a unique methodological beginning is made by this study. To our knowledge, no differential scales have been used in a cross-cultural study of self-concept of this kind; thus this study has attempted to innovate by introducing the use of such scales in the study of self-concept in other cultures.
Analysis

Development of the Measures of Self-consistency and Self-esteem

The development of the measures of our two major dependent variables--self-consistency and self-esteem--would begin by obtaining correlations on various components of the dependent variables. Through the correlations thus obtained, variables will be selected that are significantly related to each other.

Our self-consistency measure, as described earlier, is composed of a triangle containing 15 cells. If the correlation between these 15 cells are found not to be significant, then this measure will be broken down into three parts. This general measure is capable of yielding four measures of self-consistency; two each will be comprised of pair ratings of positive and negative self-descriptive traits respectively, one consisting of pair ratings based upon the three adjectives from the positive list and three from the negative self-descriptive list, and finally the fourth will consist of the whole triangle utilizing all possible pairings of six self-descriptive adjectives, i.e., 15 ratings in all.

The responses obtained for each of the four measures will then be summated and constitute the self-consistency scores. A lower summated score will indicate greater consistency, while a higher score will reflect less consistency.
If we are unable to obtain reliable measures of self-consistency from the above mentioned method, then alternate ways of measuring consistency will be utilized. One such potential source is the Semantic Differential Scale. To arrive at a general self-consistency scale, correlation matrices will be looked at for all four scales, i.e., self, friends, parents, and teachers. Items that correlate significantly with each other as well as on all four semantic differential scales will be selected. General self-consistency measures will then be derived by summing the absolute values of all four scales for items thus found earlier to correlate significantly.

We intend to measure self-esteem the way Rosenberg (1972) did so that we have a direct cross-cultural comparison. This measure comprises a number of items pertaining to self-conceptions of worth used in a modified form in this study. If we are not able to obtain a reliable self-esteem scale based on these items then we will turn to alternative methods. However, prior to any such attempt, we intend to use Guttman techniques for scaling. Rosenberg (1972) has used this technique for developing his self-esteem measures.

Other sources for deriving self-esteem measures open to us are the semantic differential scales. These scales contain personality traits reflecting the individual's notion of self-worth. Items correlating significantly with each other and having acceptable levels of inter-item reliability will be used for scaling.
These alternate measures of self-consistency and self-esteem that our instrument is capable of producing and remain at our disposal have, unfortunately, little or no validated American research behind them. However, from our theoretical perspective and for the purpose of testing the hypotheses they should suffice.

Testing the Hypotheses

Nine hypotheses yielded by our theoretical framework will be tested. Since a number of possibilities exist as far as the measures of our dependent variables are concerned, our analysis will make provision for the use of all possible valid measures in the testing of these hypotheses.

HYPOTHESIS 1: Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

This hypothesis proposes differences in the degrees of self-consistency between the two religious groups. This relationship will be tested through the use of the t test. If the two religious groups have sample means that are far enough apart, we can conclude that the two populations probably do not have the same means, thus yielding a significant difference.
HYPOTHESIS 2: Shi'ite youths will have significantly greater self-consistency than Sunnite youths when the variables of social class, parental education, and present religious orientations are controlled.

This hypothesis will be tested through the use of complex analysis of variance using somewhat different statistical logic. Multiple regression and multiple classification will also be used to look at self-consistency with a number of independent variables simultaneously.

HYPOTHESIS 3: Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect.

The student's $t$ test will be computed to examine the degree of self-consistency of Pakistani female high school students.

HYPOTHESIS 4: Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect.

As before, the hypothesis concerning the self-esteem of two religious groups will be examined calculating $t$ values and looking at the differences of means via that test.
HYPOTHESIS 5: Pakistani youths who are monolinguals will exhibit significantly greater consistency than Pakistani youths who are bilinguals.

In examining this hypothesis, use will be made of the \( t \) test.

HYPOTHESIS 6: In the Pakistani society, youths belonging to the Shi'a sect who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will also have significantly greater self-consistency.

This hypothesis predicts that Shi'a youngsters who perceive greater consistency between their selves and significant others will also manifest greater self-consistency than Pakistani Sunni youngsters.

To test if these two groups vary significantly from each other on this dimension of self, the \( t \) test will be calculated.

HYPOTHESIS 7: For Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will also have greater self-consistency than female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

The \( t \) test is an appropriate technique to examine the significance of the relationship between sex and self-consistency.

HYPOTHESIS 8: Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have greater
self-consistency than Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Sunnite sect.

Analysis of variance, chi-square and/or t test will be used to examine this hypothesis.

HYPOTHESIS 9: Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

The procedure appropriate for testing this hypothesis is the t test, since it allows comparisons of the two groups and predicts differences between the two sample means.

To sum up, this chapter has described the social setting and research logistics involved in information gathering for this study. Due to the inability to obtain a systematic sample, a convenience sample was used. The questionnaire was translated into Urdu for facilitating the degree of comprehension and ease of response of the respondents in Karachi.

This chapter has also described the key variables and the instruments used for the measurement of dependant variables. Further, the mode of analysis is discussed with the possibility of a need to develop alternate measures and the sources that are open to us. And, finally, statistical procedures for testing the hypotheses are spelled out.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS 1--'LOVE'S LABOR NEARLY LOST'

The Self-Consistency Scales

In this, the first of two findings chapters, the analysis of scales that were originally designed for measuring self-consistency and self-esteem is discussed. These two scales are described in Chapter III (pp.136-142). The self-consistency scale, as used in this research, is a modified version of an original Gergen and Morse (1967) measure and will be referred to as the "Modified Gergen-Morse Scale" hereafter. It was decided at the time of designing this study that the Gergen and Morse measure required simplification since the original measure called for respondents to compare ten traits with each other, whereas our measure required that respondents compare only six traits with each other.

In order to determine the reliability of our self-consistency scale, an inter-correlation matrix for all items was obtained. At the very outset it was revealed that the Modified Gergen-Morse scale did not correlate very well as a total measure. As a logical next step, this measure could be further broken down into three measures--pair ratings of positive traits, pair ratings of negative traits, and ratings of positive and negative pairings respectively forming three

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measures. Each of these three measures could still be theoretically relevant as they are intended to measure the consistency of self. Consistency can be seen to exist within consistency. As a different kind of mapping of self-consistency, it is not impossible for an individual to be inconsistent in his self-evaluation about his positive traits. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the same individual is consistent in the way he evaluates his negative traits and this, indeed, tells something about the nature of the integration of the individual's personality.

The three sub-sets or components of the total measure described above also did not show any significant intra-component or inter-component correlations (see Appendix A); thus the "Modified Gergen-Morse Scale" was found to be unreliable in its entirety as well as when broken down into three components. Self-consistency, therefore, could not be measured this way for our Pakistani sample.

There remained one more opportunity from the data collected to measure self-consistency, but first we intend to examine the self-esteem scale and determine whether we have a reliable measure of it before we return to the alternate self-consistency measure.

The Self-Esteem Scale

The Rosenberg (1972) scale for measuring self-esteem is included in the final section of our questionnaire (Appendix A). This section consists of 17 questions. The first five questions were intended

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to measure the importance of and obedience to significant others. These are not part of our analysis.\(^1\) The remaining questions make up two scales—self-esteem and self-stability. These are derived from measures developed and used by Rosenberg (1972) in his study, *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*. We consider self-esteem and self-stability as two separate concepts. Self-stability as a dimension of self is treated as a component of our independent variables and self-consistency as an antecedent condition to stability. Self-stability, therefore, was not included in our analysis.\(^2\) The self-esteem scale consisted of six items derived from Rosenberg's measure (a comparative table of these items is presented in the methods section of this study).

Rosenberg (1972) used Guttman's scaling technique to analyze his data and, as one index of reliability of his scale, reported the reproducibility and scalability coefficients for his scale to be over 90% and 70% respectively (p. 307). Although our questions were modified from those used in the aforementioned research, it was expected that on the basis of significant levels obtained in their use in U.S.

\(^1\)We reiterate that this study is part of a larger and comparative study and not all the data gathered were intended to be relevant to the hypotheses tested herein.

\(^2\)The reader is reminded that these conceptual distinctions were made earlier and are reported in Chapter II (pp.30-35) in greater detail.
society, the scale would at least prove to be adequate in measuring the self-esteem of high school students in Karachi, Pakistan. It was also expected that their use in a different cultural setting would provide a comparative analysis and add to the reliability of the scale.

To our surprise, when Guttman scaling was performed on our self-esteem scale, very poor reproducibility and scalability coefficients of the items were observed. The items assessed gave coefficients of less than or equal to .59, thereby not meeting Guttman's criteria for scaling.

Prior to performing other tests of reliability of our self-esteem scale, a factor analysis was performed on all 17 items of the final section of our questionnaire (Appendix A). The object was dual: first, to look for factors which are independent of one another and in which items cohere and, secondly, to check out the theoretical assumptions at the base of Rosenberg's (1972) rationale for the Pakistan sample, i.e., whether self-esteem and self-stability were really empirically present in the Pakistan sample of high school students based upon their responses. This, in turn, would have allowed us to use the appropriate scales to measure what our theory required to be measured. The factor analysis was performed to see whether it conformed with the division among the items that Rosenberg (1972) specified and if we could rely upon it for our dependent measures and, of course, it did not.
The matrix of factor loadings for these 17 items showed high loadings for only five items with values greater than or equal to .44 with only three intended as indices of self-esteem, whereas the other two were intended as measures of self-stability. The factor matrices for these items are presented in Table 4.1.

Three observations are to be made upon the results of this procedure. First, items specified by Rosenberg (1972) as fitting together did not fit together. Second, no sense could be made of the few items that did load on two or three factors given our theoretical perspective. Third, the majority of the factor loadings, as evidenced from Table 4.1, were relatively modest and could not construct a recognizable and strong scale. Therefore, we conclude that the factor analysis performed on data for the Pakistani sample did not support the use of any of the scales as set out by Rosenberg and as attempted for use as measures of dependent variables in the present study.

Nunnally (1967) and others strongly recommend inter-correlation matrices for investigation of reliability when new measures are being developed. Further, coefficient alpha is suggested as a basic formula for determining the reliability of scales based on internal consistency (Nunnally, 1967; Cronbach, 1951; Tyron, 1957; and Sellitz et al., 1973). Sellitz et al. (1963) indicate a preference for coefficient alpha over the split-half method as an exact coefficient.
## Table 4.1

**Factor Analysis: Factor Loadings for Self-Esteem, Self-Stability, and Significant Other Items**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Obedience to parents</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.75</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Conformity to teachers</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.79</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Conformity to peers (same sex)</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>-.68</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.22</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Conformity to peers (opposite sex)</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.77</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Approval/disapproval of significant others</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>-.68</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I like the way I am</td>
<td>-.44*</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Opinion of self changes</td>
<td>-.69**</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Doubts about decisions made</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.17</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I'm no good at all</td>
<td>.44*</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.29</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Putting on an act</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Doubts about basic beliefs</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.88</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Ability to do things</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.44</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.31</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Put up a front</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.67</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-.32</td>
<td>-.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.1 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. I'm dissatisfied with myself</td>
<td>-.65*</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Simple and clear life</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Opinion of self changes</td>
<td>.67**</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Interaction with opposite sex</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>-.87</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These items are from the original Self-esteem Scale  
**These items are from the original Self-stability Scale

of equivalence for the full scale. To quote:

More recent thinking holds that if all items in the test are intended to measure the same characteristics, random rather than supposedly equivalent halves should be compared, and a new method of computing a coefficient of equivalence has come into use. The index resulting from this method, called coefficient alpha, has, among its other properties, that of being the average split-half correlation for all possible ways of dividing the test into two parts. This satisfies the requirement of randomness with respect to the items composing the halves of the test (Sellitz et al., 1963:175).

Another attempt to derive a self-esteem scale from the data generated by the Rosenberg scale was made and a series of iterative item analyses were performed. Two methods of item analysis were employed: 1) Item analysis by correlation; a set of correlations were obtained and analyzed and, after winnowing out the items that were

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found to be significantly correlated, coefficient alpha was computed to test the reliability of the self-esteem scale, and 2) Item analysis by discrimination; an attempt was made to find the most discriminating items by dividing the scale score into high and low scores and the mean differences of high and low scores on each item were then computed. Finally, having selected items that showed the greatest differences and through the process of winnowing out the weakest items, we were able to obtain a set of items that could be tested for reliability with coefficient alpha.

In sum, two distinguishable item analysis techniques with different rationales and procedures were performed and both, unfortunately, yielded unsatisfactory levels of reliability for our self-esteem scale.¹

Alternative Measures of Self-Consistency and Self-Esteem

The inadequate indices of our two major dependent variables required a search for alternative measures. Attention, therefore, focused upon Section B of our questionnaire that contained four sets of semantic differential scales with each set including 12 items

¹The less sensitive split-half tests were also run on the self-esteem scale preceding the coefficient alpha tests and the Spearman-Brown Formula for correction was also used. However, the results still failed to reach satisfactory levels.
(these scales are discussed in our methods section; also see questionnaire in Appendix A). These scales had the potential of yielding several scores and measures. Viewed within our theoretical framework, these scales purport to measure the basic personality and ability to function effectively. Self-esteem can be seen as an evaluation of the personality basic to a human being, whereas self-consistency should be viewed in terms of the persistence of ideas about self over time (a more detailed theoretical explication of these dimensions of self can be found in Chapter II).

With these supportive theoretical considerations, our search for empirical indices of self-consistency and self-esteem began with a fresh look at four sets of semantic differential scales. Inter-correlation matrices obtained for the scales showed significant item correlations, whereupon a series of tests of reliability were performed including split-half tests with Spearman-Brown correction formula applied and coefficient alpha. The coefficient alpha test for internal consistency for whole scales yielded modest results as can be evidenced from the following:

Semantic Differential Scale 1 ("I see myself as"): .41
Semantic Differential Scale 2 ("My friends see me as"): .39
Semantic Differential Scale 3 ("My parents see me as"): .41
Semantic Differential Scale 4 ("My teachers see me as"): .46

As the first step in further item analysis, we again used both
the correlation and item discrimination methods as we did in the case of the self-esteem scale. A set of correlations was obtained, perused and, after winnowing out the significantly correlated items, was tested for reliability. This procedure is based on the logic that "items that correlate most highly with total scores are the best items . . . and they add more to the test reliability" (Nunnally, 1967:261). Another procedure used was that of item discrimination, the logic being to select items that most effectively discriminate. Through these procedures the following sets of items were produced for all four Semantic Differential Scales. Coefficient alpha was then computed to test the reliability of each scale. Pertinent information regarding each is provided in Table 4.2.

As a result of previously described test construction procedures, and as is evident from Table 4.2, two distinct and acceptable measures emerged from each Semantic Differential Scale with coefficient alpha values equal to or greater than .50. These measures provide for further delineation of our theoretical concepts. Inter-reliability of these items was bolstered because they are the same items across all four Semantic Differential Scales.

Face validity as one kind of validity of a measure is not construed generally as the most desirable one. Nevertheless, under the circumstances when direct measures of concepts are utilized, the justification is left to the judgment of the investigator (Sellitz et al.,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Scale</th>
<th>Focus of Response</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Evaluative Factor</th>
<th>Alpha Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 1.1</td>
<td>&quot;As I see myself&quot;</td>
<td>4 Optimistic--Pessimistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 Entertaining--Boring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 Practical--Idealistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 Relaxed--Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 Let others know me--Keep myself</td>
<td></td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>secret</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 1.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 Irresponsible--Responsible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Lazy--Hardworking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 Not very intelligent--Very intelligent</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 2.1</td>
<td>&quot;As friends see me&quot;</td>
<td>1 Outgoing--Shy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 Optimistic--Pessimistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 Entertaining--Boring</td>
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<td>9 Practical--Idealistic</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 Let others know me--Keep myself</td>
<td></td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Lazy--Hardworking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 Not very intelligent--Very intelligent</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 3.1</td>
<td>&quot;As parents see me&quot;</td>
<td>4 Optimistic--Pessimistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 Entertaining--Boring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 Practical--Idealistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 Relaxed--Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 Let others know me--Keep myself</td>
<td></td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>secret</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 3.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 Irresponsible--Responsible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Lazy--Hardworking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 Not very intelligent--Very intelligent</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 4.1</td>
<td>&quot;As teachers see me&quot;</td>
<td>4 Optimistic--Pessimistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 Entertaining--Boring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 Practical--Idealistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 Relaxed--Tense</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 Let others know me--Keep myself</td>
<td></td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>secret</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 4.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 Irresponsible--Responsible</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 Lazy--Hardworking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 Not very intelligent--Very intelligent</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Semantic Differential Scale

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Our measurements appeared to effectively measure the theoretical concepts involved "on the face of it," particularly our measure of self-esteem in that it tended to be a direct measure of this concept. The adjectives used on our Semantic Differential Scales (Optimistic-Pessimistic; Entertaining-Boring; Practical-Idealistic; Relaxed-Tense; Let others know me-Keep myself secret) attempted to measure self-esteem; the individual is evaluating his own self—his basic personality—in the way he perceives it. As for our other measures, we have taken the items that cohere and, since the items cohere on all four Semantic Differential Scales and these adjectives (Irresponsible-Responsible; Lazy-Hardworking; Not very intelligent-Very intelligent) do seem to indicate the "performance of the individual"—his ability to function—we have concluded that that is what the items meant. Since we are not dealing with scales that have been previously used to measure self-consistency and self-esteem and, therefore, do not come to us with prior validation, we are assuming that the relevance of our measuring instruments to what we have attempted to measure is apparent and their face validity should suffice.

The procedures used to generate measures of our dependent variables are described hereunder. We will first describe the measures generated by using items 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11.

Taking Semantic Differential sub-scale 1, we generated a
self-esteem measure comprised of the summation of the absolute values of items 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11. In an effort to measure our theoretical construct of self-consistency, we then constructed a self-consistency measure by summing the differences of the absolute subscale values for each of the Semantic Differential Scale items 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11 from each other. 1

To assess the perceived consistency between self and significant others an additional consistency measure was generated. This measure was constructed by summing the differences of the absolute values of Semantic Differential Scales 2.1, 3.1, and 4.1 from the absolute value of Semantic Differential subscale 1.1. This resulted in the development of a "consistency of self and significant others" score.

Finally, our efforts to generate an "other-other discrepancy" measure to test the hypotheses concerning the consistency perceived by self among its significant others consisted of the following procedure. We summed the difference of the absolute values of subscale 3.1 from subscale 1.1, and subscale 4.1 from subscale 2.1, and subscale 4.1 from subscale 3.1. The result of this procedure was the development of an "other-other discrepancy" score for each respondent.

1Semantic Differential subscale 2.1 included items 1, 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11. The inclusion of item 1 raised the reliability of that measure from .58 to .62.

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The procedures described above to generate three measures, namely: "self-consistency," "consistency of self and significant others," and "other-other discrepancy" utilizing items 4, 7, 9, 10 and 11 from the Semantic Differential Scales were repeated to generate another three similar measures. This time items 5, 8 and 12 were used. These three latter measures, while intended to be alternate measures of consistency, were not utilized for the purpose of the present analysis. These measures, however, can be used in further research.

To sum up, we started out with two primary measures of self-consistency and self-esteem that our item analysis and scale reliability procedures showed not to be adequate and reliable measures of those concepts. Attention, therefore, was focused on Semantic Differential Scales as a source to derive alternate measures. This resulted in the development of two sets of measures. One set consisted of measures for self-consistency, consistency of self and significant others, and perceived consistency among significant others. The second set of similar measures, based, however, on different items, is not utilized in this study but can be used in future
research.
CHAPTER V

FINDINGS II

In this chapter the nature of the independent and dependent variables and their relationships to the hypotheses formulated in Chapter II will be tested and findings presented. In the discussion to follow, we will take each hypothesis and describe how the hypothesis was tested, along with relevant information with respect to the outcomes. Prior to presenting the results of our test of hypotheses, there will be a brief discussion of the characteristics of our sample.

The Characteristics of the Sample

This section describes the characteristics of Pakistani high school students for whom the data were gathered on the variables of sex, language, religion, father's occupation, education, income, mother's occupation, education, present religious orientation, home religious environment of the respondents, and self-consistency and self-esteem. These characteristics are summarized in the following tables.

The sample of high school students used in this study is slightly higher for males (52%) representing youngsters predominantly in the age group 15-17. Of the students, 70% speak or come from a family where Urdu is used as a language, whereas 25% speak
Table 5.1

Characteristics of High School Students: Sex, Religion and Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnite</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ite</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified Muslims</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urdu only</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Urdu and English and the remaining 5% speak English only (see Table 5.1). Our sample of youngsters is mostly Sunnite (73%), leaving Shi'ites in a religious minority position (18%). As evidenced from Table 5.2, our sample consists mainly of managers and owners of small businesses (29%), with professionals following closely (19%).

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Table 5.2
Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents' Fathers and Mothers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fathers' Occupation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Administrators, Owners of Large Businesses</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, Owners of Small Businesses</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Workers</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales, Service Workers</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers, Foremen, Supervisors</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Workers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Workers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Ascertained</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fathers' Education</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never attended school</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended primary school</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished primary school</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended high school but did not finish</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished high school</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended college, but did not finish</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished BA/BS</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished MA/MS</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fathers' Annual Income (in rupees)</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 3,000</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 - 6,000</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,001 - 10,000</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001 - 15,000</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 15,000</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 5.2 (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mothers' Occupation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mothers' Education</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never attended school</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended primary school</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished primary school</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended high school</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished high school</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended college</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished BA/BS</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finished MA/MS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The representation of blue-collar working class is somewhat lower than one would expect from a major industrial town. However, the proportion of fathers with farming as an occupation is not surprising as the majority of Karachiites are either employed in various organizations or own their own small business.

Slightly more than one-fourth (28%) of the sample of respondents come from a family where the father had completed high school, followed by those who attended college but did not finish (12%), those who completed their B.A. or B.S. degrees (18%), and those who completed their M.A. or M.S. degrees (12%). Only 22% of the mothers had a high school diploma, whereas over 60% either did not attend school at all or had some education but did not finish high school.
Those who did complete their bachelor's or master's degree were relatively very low in proportion. The majority of the respondents' mothers (94%) were housewives, with the remaining 5% involved in some occupation outside the home.

Again, our respondents show a fairly even distribution in terms of the annual income of their fathers (see Table 5.2), with the bulk of our sample being divided into what can be appropriately referred to as lower and middle class.

It can be observed in Table 5.3 that over 50% of our respondents come from a moderately religious home environment and manifest moderate religiosity in their present religious orientations. While 38% come from a strong religious background, only 28% of the respondents indicated strong religious orientations when questioned regarding their present religious orientations. It is also interesting to note that those indicating that they were not at all religious comprise a negligible proportion of our total sample. This is true in terms of their home religious environment as well as their present religious orientations.

Although we were not able to utilize sophisticated sampling techniques for this study and had to resort to a convenience sampling plan, we are now in a position to compare our sample to the population of Pakistan. In our effort to do so, we will utilize the data from the Pakistan census and other sources on several variables.
### Table 5.3

Religious Orientations of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Religious Orientation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly religious</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately religious</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly religious</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not religious at all</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Religious Environment</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly religious</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately religious</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly religious</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not religious at all</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>698</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5.4

Percentage of Distribution of Estimated Population of Pakistan by Age and Sex, 1971*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Both Sexes</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19 years</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19 years</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19 years</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Pakistan Statistical Yearbook, 1976
Our sample is drawn from urban Karachi, whose population rose from half a million in 1941 to 3.5 million in 1972. Our respondents fall in the age group 15-19, which in 1971 comprised 7.6% for both sexes and 9.2% of the total urban population of Pakistan (similar data were not available for youngsters in Karachi).

We note that urban males and females in the age group 15-19 are evenly divided, and so is the proportion of males and females in our urban sample for Karachi high school students.

According to the information contained in the census reports of 1961, there has been a 143.7% change between 1951-1961 for those who completed secondary and intermediate education while, for the same period, 21.3% and 68.6% changes were registered for those obtaining bachelor's and post-graduate degrees, respectively (1961 Census Bulletin No. 4).

In the year 1961, in the province of West Pakistan (the present day Pakistan), those without formal education accounted for 10.7% of the total literate population, whereas those who had completed primary school and middle and secondary schools accounted for 47.1% and 29.9% respectively. However, those receiving degrees beyond intermediate only accounted for 0.4%. This would indicate that the bulk of the people in West Pakistan fall in the category of those having attained primary and secondary school education (1961 Census Bulletin, No. 4). Compared to parents in our sample, it
should be noted that 28% of the fathers had completed high school, whereas the percentage of mothers completing high school was 22%.

A substantial percentage of fathers in our sample finished and attained degrees beyond school (30%); only a very small percentage (7%) finished their bachelor's and master's degrees.

The percentage distribution of employed persons by major occupational groups (Table 5.5) shows that in 1971-1972, of the total employed, professionals and other related workers amounted to only 2.09% for Pakistan and around 5% for urban areas. Administrators and managerial workers for urban Pakistan comprise only 2.14%, while a larger proportion belongs to production and related occupations (43.98%), followed by sales workers (24.77%).

It was observed earlier that during 1951-1961, tremendous changes occurred in the area of secondary education. These changes have occurred for both males and females and are reflected in our distribution of the two sexes. In recent years, as a result of a felt need and long overdue social change, more and more parents are allowing for the education of their daughters. Such changes are also occasioned by the worldwide movement concerning the status of women. Government has also been an active agent in that it recently mandated education up to the eighth grade for all children. The number of students in secondary schools rose sharply between 1964-1965 and 1972-1973 from around 2.4 million to 4.5 million,
Table 5.5

Percentage Distribution of Employed Persons by Major Occupational Groups: 1971-72

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Occupational Groups</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional technical and related workers</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>5.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and managerial workers</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and related workers</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>12.05</td>
<td>8.72</td>
<td>24.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>8.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters</td>
<td>57.22</td>
<td>70.44</td>
<td>6.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers</td>
<td>22.12</td>
<td>16.41</td>
<td>43.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers not classified by occupation</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pakistan Statistical Yearbook 1976


Compared to our sample, where the professionals account for 19% in terms of the father's occupation, for Pakistan the proportion of professionals is relatively small. The proportion of sales workers
for the Pakistani population (8.7%) and our sample (6%) reveal a
closeness. Our sample, however, shows a preponderance of res-
pondents' fathers falling in the occupational categories of managers,
administrators and owners of large and small businesses (54%).

Another outstanding characteristic of our sample has to do
with religious affiliation. Sunnites, as a religious sect, reflect their
dominant position in the larger society (Nyrop et al., 1971:192).
Despite the fact that Urdu is not the language of the majority in
Pakistan (only 7.57% in 1961 were reported as speaking this language),
it still holds a significant status for Karachiites in particular and for
the whole society in general. This is borne out by the fact that it is
the national language of Pakistan. After partition in 1947, Karachi
became home for millions of migrants from areas of the sub-con-
tinent where Urdu was spoken as a native language. "By the 17th
and 18th centuries a highly stylized, heavily Persianized literary
form developed, written in Arabic-based Persian script and quite
unlike the colloquial form in general usage" with the Delhi-Meerut
region of India as its place of origin (Nyrop et al., 1971:77). Most
of the migrants to Karachi originated from this and the surrounding
region. Thus, regardless of the geographical and cultural roots,
even of the recently migrated, Karachi can still boast of having
Urdu as its most widely used vehicle of communication. The signi-
ficance of Urdu as a widely used language is also reflected in our
sample. Of our respondents, 70% indicated that they speak Urdu as compared to only 5% who speak English.

Similar relationships can be seen between the socioeconomic characteristics of our sample and the population. Karachi, being a large metropolis and trade center, provides an array of opportunities in terms of occupations and professions. A woman's place, however, is still in the home. While the recent trend has been for women to find work outside of the home in response to the economic exigencies of the changing times, the majority of them still perform the household chores. Table 5.6 illustrates this point. As compared to 56.5% for males, only 3.2% of the females in Karachi were active in the civilian labor force from their respective populations. An interesting point to be noted here is the small percentage (3.2%) of females involved in the civilian labor force in Karachi. A vast majority of mothers of the respondents in our sample did not participate in the civilian labor force; 94% were housewives. Only 6% were reported as involved in an occupation outside the home.

Summing up, on comparing our sample of respondents to the Pakistan population we note some striking similarities. The distributions of our sample on the dependent variables of self-consistency and self-esteem are presented in Tables 5.7 and 5.8.

Table 5.7 shows the distribution of scores for the dependent variable of self-consistency. The potential range for self-consistency
Table 5.6
Civilian Labor Force and its Percentage Distribution in Karachi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Civilian labor force</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,087,583</td>
<td>614,685</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>825,015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1961 Census of Pakistan

Table 5.7
Distribution of Self-Consistency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 0 - 5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 6 - 11</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 12 - 17</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 18 - 23</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 24 - 29</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 30 - 35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 36 - 41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 42 - 47</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 48 - 68</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean = 18.18  Standard Deviation = 10.57

Table 5.8
Distribution of Self-Esteem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 5 - 10</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 11 - 16</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 17 - 22</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 23 - 29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean = 13.10  Standard Deviation = 4.35

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scores was 0-118, whereas the actual range of scores for our sample on this variable is 0-68. Following the theoretical logic developed earlier and the methodology for computing self-consistency scores, the lower the score obtained by a respondent the greater the consistency in self-conception.

The actual scores have been divided into nine groups in order to make meaningful statements regarding the consistency of the members of our sample. The first group, 0-5, is perhaps the ideal consistency score with 0 representing a perfectly integrated personality. Groups 2-9 reflect a decreasing gradient of self-consistency.

It should be noted that the mean of self-consistency scores is 18.18, with a standard deviation of 10.57. That is, approximately 74% of the actual self-consistency scores derived from our sample of Karachi youth were concentrated within the range of 8-29. This mean of 18.18 takes on substantive significance when we realize that the theoretically possible distribution of scores ranged from 0-118. The sample scores are then highly concentrated towards the theoretically self-consistent end of our measurement continuum. In the actual distribution, we note that 87% of the sample scored between 0-29. The majority or 53% of our sample scored in the lowest quartile of our distribution and almost 93% in or below the second quartile.

While the theoretical range of this variable is 0-118 with 118
being the lowest self-consistency and 0 the highest, we note that the actual distribution of scores is only about one-half of the potential range. However, 87% of the sample scored in the lowest quartile of the potential distribution and 95% scored in the lowest one-third of the possible range. We would conclude that this represents a very small amount of variance in the self-consistency scores of our sample. The scores on this variable are highly concentrated in and represent high self-consistency. Whether analyzing the actual distribution or the relationship of the actual distribution to the potential distribution of scores, it must be concluded that a) this dependent variable in our study varied very little and b) the self-consistency of members of our sample is greater than we had anticipated in the creation of this measure.

Our second dependent variable, self-esteem, has a theoretical or potential range of 5-30. The actual distribution of scores, as seen from Table 5.8, is 0-29 and has been divided into quartiles. The first group of scores, 5-10, reflects high self-esteem.

It should be noted that the mean of self-esteem scores is 13.10 and standard deviation is 4.35. A mean of 13.10 with a potential range of 5-30 and the small deviation of 4.35 shows a distribution confined to the lower scores or relatively high self-esteem. Over 75% of the youngsters would have scores falling between 9 and 17. In the actual distribution, it would be noted that 81% of the sample scored between
A great majority or 81% of the sample scored in the lowest half of the distribution and 97% below the top quartile.

The distribution of scores in this dependent variable is greater than in self-consistency, but is still relatively limited. Theoretically, greater variance of self-esteem scores was expected in a society undergoing rapid social change.

Testing the Hypotheses

In this section, we will be testing a total of nine hypotheses. Each hypothesis is individually stated, information relative to the statistical technique utilized, and the results for each analysis will be presented. This is followed by an attempt to generate a model of self-consistency and self-esteem by use of a set of independent variables.

HYPOTHESIS 1 Pakistani youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

This hypothesis was concerned with the differences in the degrees of consistency measured for the high school students belonging to the two religious groups in Karachi, Pakistan. We predicted that Shi'a youngsters will manifest greater self-consistency than those belonging to the Sunnite sect. Results of the application of the
Student's \( t \) test to this hypothesis are presented in Table 5.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>( t )</th>
<th>( p )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnites</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>18.83</td>
<td>10.80</td>
<td>-1.38</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ites</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>17.03</td>
<td>10.94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between consistency and religious affiliation, as seen in the above table, did not reach the significant level we expected.

**HYPOTHESIS 2** Shi'ite youths will have significantly greater self-consistency than Sunnite youths when the variables of social class, parental education and present religious orientations are controlled.

In this hypothesis, it was predicted that Shi'ites would manifest greater consistency about self as compared to Sunnites when the variables of father's occupation, education and income, mother's education and present religious orientations of the respondents were controlled. Analysis of covariance was utilized to test this hypothesis and results are presented below. This hypothesis was not supported.
Table 5.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Unadjusted Mean</th>
<th>Adjusted Mean</th>
<th>Father’s Occupation</th>
<th>Father’s Educ.</th>
<th>Mother’s Educ.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnites</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi’ites</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>2.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total's Average: 0.680E+04

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>Mean Squares</th>
<th>F Value</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Adjusted Treatments</td>
<td>131.9198</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>131.9</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>42195.48</td>
<td>360</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>52327.40</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>117.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HYPOTHESIS 3  Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-consistency than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect.

Our initial hypothesis predicted a positive relationship between religion and self-consistency; more specifically that students from the Shi'ite sect will exhibit greater consistency of self than Sunnite...
students. Our third hypothesis is a logical extension of this hypothesis as our theory suggests that females, because of the social structural arrangements of Pakistani society, are comparatively less amenable to diversified cultural stimuli and, thus, more consistent. This means that while in general Shi'ites will manifest greater degrees of self-consistency, girls from that sect will be even more consistent. However, this argument does not cover all females in that society. Sunnite female students would still be somewhat less consistent in their perception of self.

A Student's t test was used to test this hypothesis since we are concerned with only two groups and the differences in their means.

Table 5.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnite females</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>18.13</td>
<td>10.69</td>
<td>-1.21</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ite females</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15.19</td>
<td>9.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination of Table 5.11 indicates that the difference between the two groups was not found great enough to make the relationship significant. Means of both groups are not far enough apart to make us conclude that they differ significantly from each other in consistency of self-perceptions.
HYPOTHESIS 4  Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Shi'ite sect will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youngsters who belong to the Sunnite sect.

A greater degree of self-esteem was predicted to be manifested by Shi'a female high school students in comparison to the female high school students of Sunnite persuasion. Since we are concerned in this hypothesis with the self-esteem of our respondents belonging to the two religious groups, a difference of means test, the Student's t-test, was computed.

Table 5.12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnite females</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>13.36</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>-2.25</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ite females</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.10</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.12 shows that the relationship was not found to be significant. Our hypothesis did not find support.

HYPOTHESIS 5  Pakistani youths who are monolinguals will exhibit significantly greater consistency than Pakistani youths who are bilinguals.
This hypothesis was intended to tap into the effects of bilin- 
guality upon the self-concept of youngsters. In an effort to test this 
hypothesis, \( t \) values were calculated for the two groups involved. 

Further, all possible combinations of the languages and their effects 
upon self-consistency were utilized in the test of this hypothesis. In 
order to test the effects of monolinguality against the effects of bilin-
guality upon self-consistency, the Urdu-speaking and English-speaking respondents were combined. Results of our test of this hypothesis 
are presented below.

Table 5.13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>( t )</th>
<th>( p )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monolinguals</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>18.21</td>
<td>10.90</td>
<td>-1.03</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>18.09</td>
<td>9.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu only</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>17.98</td>
<td>10.77</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21.76</td>
<td>12.44</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>18.09</td>
<td>9.52</td>
<td>-1.54</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination of Table 5.13 reveals that the means for monol-
linguals and bilinguals are very much the same and therefore no signi-
ficient relationships are observed. Even when the three groups of 
respondents classified on the basis of the language or languages 
spoken by them are compared with each other, the relationships did 
not reach significant levels. This hypothesis is not supported.
HYPOTHESIS 6  In the Pakistani society, youths belonging to the Shi'a sect who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will also have significantly greater self-consistency.

This hypothesis focused upon the significant impact others have upon the individual. It was predicted that consensus perceived between the self and his significant others will lead to a greater degree of self-consistency in Shi'ites. A Student's t-test was performed. Results of the test of this hypothesis are presented in Table 5.14. It can be seen that our hypothesis did not find any support.

Table 5.14
Perceived Consistency between Self and Significant Others and its Impact upon Consistency of Self-Perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnites</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>11.31</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>-.54</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ites</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HYPOTHESIS 7  Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency between themselves and their significant others will also have greater self-consistency than female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.
In accordance with our earlier hypotheses regarding a high degree of self-consistency manifested by Shi'ites, we predicted that Shi'a females would be greatly consistent when they perceived greater harmony of viewpoints with their significant others. Since we were concerned in this hypothesis with only two groups, differences in means were tested through the Student's t test and results are presented below.

Table 5.15

Religious Affiliation, Consistency between Self and Significant Others and Self-consistency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnite females</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>-1.20</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ite females</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.25</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of the application of the t test indicate that the differences between Sunnite and Shi'ite females failed to reach a significant level. This hypothesis was not supported.

HYPOTHESIS 8  Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have greater self-consistency than Pakistani female high school students who belong to the Sunnite sect.
This hypothesis predicted that Shi'a female high school students who perceive consensus in the views of their significant others will also perceive greater consistency about their selves. A student's t-test was performed for this hypothesis and results are presented in Table 5.16. As can be seen from the table this hypothesis did not receive support as we had expected. No significant differences were observed among students belonging to the two religious groups.

Table 5.16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>t_</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnite females</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>- .25</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ite females</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.65</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HYPOTHESIS 9  Pakistani female youths who belong to the Shi'ite sect and who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self will have significantly greater self-esteem than Pakistani female youths who belong to the Sunnite sect.

In this hypothesis we predicted a positive relationship for Shi'a females who perceive greater consistency among their significant others' views about self to have greater self-esteem. The results
of the \textit{t} test are presented in Table 5.17. It is evident from this table that no differences of significant proportions were observed between the two religious groups.

Table 5.17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>(t)</th>
<th>(p)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunnite females</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>13.02</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shi'ite females</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.24</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to testing the above hypotheses with \textit{t} test and analysis of covariance, use was also made of the multiple regression technique to ascertain which predictor variables contribute the most to successful prediction of our two dependent variables, namely, self-consistency and self-esteem. Variables of language, father's occupation, education, income, mother's education, sex of respondents, present as well as home religious orientations and religion were used as predictor variables. Such attempts did not yield any significant results and the absolute and relative predictive value of these variables proved to be quite insignificant. The attempts to develop a model for either dependent variable proved unsuccessful.

To conclude, a set of nine hypotheses developed earlier were put to test. Student's \textit{t} test and analysis of covariance techniques
were used to analyze them. Major predictions were made concerning Shi'ite youngsters and particularly Shi'a females as compared to Sunnite youth relative to the degree of self-consistency and self-esteem. None of the hypotheses were supported.

Several conclusions can be drawn as to why our hypotheses were not supported. First, the lack of support for hypotheses could be attributed to the inadequacy of our theories. It was expected that the Durkheimian and symbolic interactionist theoretic perspectives would be appropriate in predicting the variance in the youngsters in Karachi schools. Perhaps the theories are capable of predicting variation but they were not the appropriate ones for use in Pakistan. As a special subset of theoretical considerations, another reason for lack of support for the hypotheses may be that the prediction of substantial variance for the dependent variables was wrong and an attempt to explain a non-existent or small variance was, of necessity, futile.

Another implication to be noted is that perhaps we did not choose more appropriate aspects or variables of self; the ones that would have had the greatest potential of variation for our respondents. Then it is also possible that our major independent variables of religious affiliation, sex, and language are also not the most appropriate in terms of their predictive potential.

Finally, the lack of support might be attributable to insufficient reliability and validity. The attempts to measure self-consis-
Tendency and self-esteem were, perhaps, faulty. Thus the use of faulty measurements may have obscured theoretically accurate predictions.

The implications of the negative findings of this study for theories of self-consistency and self-esteem are of considerable significance and will be discussed in the next chapter along with a further discussion of alternate reasons for the negative findings.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we will review the research. The discussion will focus upon the theoretical notions utilized in this investigation in light of the findings. In addition to a discussion of the limitations of the study, theoretical ramifications of our negative findings will be explored and future directions for theory and research will be suggested.

Personality Theory and Cultural Change

Approached from a social-psychological perspective, personality has been viewed as a social product. It is in the social setting and through social communication that the self arises. An individual becomes aware of himself through others. Self is not a static organization, it tends to change. Based upon the fact that it is capable of incorporating new information, it can more aptly be characterized as integrative. As indicated by Raimy (1943), it also serves as a perpetual frame of reference into which new data related to the self are fitted and therefore, despite variability in the stimuli, people continue to behave in much the same manner time after time (Lecky, 1945).

Lecky (1945) and others have emphasized that the mind is an
organized system of ideas and people tend to organize their ideas to be consistent with each other. Changes in the self are undertaken when the individual is convinced by experience that the present system fails to serve the goal of unity. But preservation of the present scheme of things becomes a goal in itself as the only insurance against an environment that the individual does not fully comprehend.

In short, the individual acts consistently and manifests characteristics that are stable and largely unchanging. Even the larger society values behavior that is predictable. The individual finds it less taxing and less anxiety-provoking.

In discussions of personality as a social phenomenon, three concepts or aspects of self stand out. While the dimension of self-esteem has been clearly conceptualized, the aspects of consistency and stability are not as clearly discriminated. Throughout the literature they are used interchangeably. However, while the two are closely related and intertwined dimensions of personality, they can be discriminated for theoretical and research purposes. Self-consistency functions more on a cognitive level and furnishes the individual with a firm base on which the most tangible, overt expressions of oneself can be made. This last characteristic of personality is what should be, for theoretical distinction, called stability of self. Self-consistency is somewhat more subtle and hidden, while stability is more observable. We maintain that there is more to a consistent
organization of self than just overt behavior.

On the other hand, the aspect of self called self-esteem in the literature is clearly demarcated and conceptualized. It is an individual's feelings of self-competence and a sense of personal worth. Self-esteem theorists recognize the significance of significant others in the formation of personality. The amount of respectful, concerned, and accepting treatment received by an individual from his significant others, as well as the endeavor made by the individual to live up to the aspirations he regards as valuable and personally significant, greatly contribute to the development of self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967).

The foregoing suggests that the idea of consistency of self is inherent in the human personality and that self-esteem greatly contributes to this and the development of personality. This discussion is also suggestive of the changes that occur in the personality system through culture. One's status in a culture, on a broader level, and influences from one's significant others, on a more specific level, serve as sources for change in personality. The expectations entailed in the roles assumed by the individual may in itself require that the individual change. For instance, as part of the role of a male, men may be expected to be flexible and receptive to new ideas, while female role calls for stability and respect for traditions.

The above represents a review of the personality theory, its
selected aspects and the sources of change. Two theoretical perspectives that were selected for this research were Durkheimian and the symbolic interactionist. These perspectives deal with personality and its sources of change. They were also felt to be amenable to application in the Pakistani setting.

Mead and others of the symbolic interactionist school focus upon personality and the importance of the evaluations of significant others. An individual's self-esteem is affected by how he is seen by his significant others. Significant others, through their evaluations, are capable of effecting an increase or decrease in feelings of worth.

On the other hand, Durkheim, in his classic work on suicide, focused upon the broader social structure and its impact upon personal integration. To him, rate of suicide varies with the degree of regulation and integration experienced by a religious group. Catholicism, due to the strong integrative effect upon its membership, evidences a low rate of suicide. The web of social interrelationships surrounding the individual systematizes his life and makes deviance from it extremely difficult. This is not only true of religious groupings but also of the sex status of an individual. Females, compared to males, are more socially integrated and, therefore, less prone to suicide.

Durkheim's concept of the relationship between social integration and personal integration was believed to be applicable to the
social structure of Pakistan. An eminently religious society, Pakistan is undergoing rapid change. Self-consistency is likely to be greatly affected in a society where traditional value-system is being challenged, and a new era is being ushered in tempered with Western cultural values. While the religious hold is somewhat lessening, it was observed that a religious group with greater integrative influence and disciplined life should be able to enhance the self-consistency of its youngsters. The Shi'ite sect, as compared to the Sunnites, is more rigid in its teachings and less charitable in free inquiry. Thus, the relevance of the Durkheimian principle that personal integration varies with social integration was seen as worthy of application to the Shi'a sect.

In sum, Durkheimian perspective provides the broader social context in which personality takes shape and changes; symbolic interactionist perspective, on the other hand, attempts to bridge the gap between the individual and the larger social structure by directing our attention to the conducive nature of the relationship between the self and his significant others and the subsequent personality growth. A combination of the two perspectives, it was felt, would provide a complementary completeness to understanding aspects of the personality in Pakistan.

As indicated elsewhere, in the changing society of Pakistan the social structural variables of sex status, religion, and language
were seen as significant for personality organization as they are, perhaps the most affected by the recent social changes. Since the partition of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, various sects within Islam, the state religion, have assumed greater importance for their respective membership. They serve as sources of integration. Sunnites, the majority sect, and Shi'ites generally agree on a set of broader Islamic principles; however, they differ greatly in their social organization. The Shi'a sect evolved out of a major religious conflict into a distinct group after the death of the third Muslim caliph; a cleavage that became apparent immediately after the death of Prophet Muhammad on the issue of a successor to the prophet. Shi'ites are more orthodox and conservative. The degree of involvement in religious ceremonies and attendance at such ceremonies is much higher for Shi'ites. Very little is left out of religious control in a Shi'ite's life; education, social-personal relationships and marriage are all permeated by religion.

Are Shi'ites more self-consistent than Sunnites? The vigor with which various religious and social ceremonies are carried out by Shi'ites served as the basis from which several propositions were enunciated.

To what extent does one's having been exposed to using a different language and therefore, different ways of organizing reality, have impact upon the consistency of self and esteem? Since one aspect of bilingualism is its implicit affinity to the culture of another
language, it was predicted that bilinguals would be torn between two sets of expectations and definitions of reality, hence a great deal of confusion in self-conception.

Another set of hypotheses was reasoned from the observation that significant others, in their capacity as evaluators of self, become the definers of reality for the self. Greater consistency and self-esteem was predicted based upon the perceived consistency between self and his significant others.

Derived from the application of Durkheimian and symbolic interactionist perspectives to Pakistani society, a total of nine hypotheses about self-esteem and consistency were produced for testing. None of the hypotheses were supported when put to test.

Where did we go wrong? Failure of our hypotheses could have occurred for a number of reasons. We begin our discussion with the theory. What is presented here is a set of criticisms of Durkheim and symbolic interactionism which lend themselves to theoretical discussion when seen through the negative findings.

Examination of the Theory

This is an appropriate time to take stock of the theories we have used in this study. One of the things that made Durkeim most appealing as a basis for the research was his consideration of social structural variables, their role in social change and their relation to
personality integration. The relevance of this perspective to the changing structure of Pakistani society was obvious.

Perhaps the most outstanding criticism of Durkheim has focused upon a lack of systematic articulation about his theoretical postulates and methodology. It will be recalled that Durkheim's *Suicide* has been approached from the standpoint of his general conclusion about the relationship of the degree of social integration to suicide. Durkheim did not provide any clear theoretical definition of concepts of integration. He used "integration," "regulation," and "cohesion" interchangeably and often the distinction between "integration" as a concept and the causes of integration are impossible to determine. To quote Gibbs and Martin (1964):

> Running throughout Durkheim's comments on the nature of integration is the suggestion that the concept has to do with the strength of the individual's ties to his society. In formal terms, the stronger the ties of the individual members to a society the lower the suicide rate of that society (p. 141).

Further, there exists an ambivalence in Durkheim concerning the relationship between behavior and shared sentiments or social meanings. Does social behavior cause social meaning and thus suicide or, on the contrary, is it social meaning that causes social behavior and thence suicide (Douglas, 1973:41)? A great deal of vacillation is to be observed over just what is his fundamental theory. Also, as noted by Douglas (1973:155), in their use of Durkheim's theory, people have assumed that there are no fundamental differ-
ences in patterns of behavior of groups that are caused by the existence of sub-cultures. That is, no cultural differences between classes exist. Finally, Durkheim's major treatises on the subjects of suicide and division of labor utilize European societies for the development and derivation of social structural variables in the explanation of suicidal behavior and degree of integration. Theories based on or derived from Durkheim's works have been utilized more extensively in Western society. Their use in societies other than Western, and particularly the U.S., has been minimal.

Both division of labor and suicide were based on data procured primarily from European countries and the concepts and social structural variables used by Durkheim were also derived from Western society. In other words, most of Durkheim's considerations of the interrelations of individual and social factors, suicide and social integration are culture-bound; however, because Durkheim was relating social-psychological variables to the immanent change in European societies and this study, too, was looking at change in Pakistani society, we found his theoretical notions appealing for use.

However, change that looks so similar in Pakistani society should not be treated lightly. The data from our study reveal that this might be a superficial similarity. The group most likely to be affected by change in that society does not differ significantly from the other religious group. One has to be aware that the changes that have come about are not entirely the result of the most immediate forces
in the history of Pakistan. Rather, they can be traced back to the period of colonialism and the resulting change phenomena are more complicated than we had anticipated. It will be recalled that the bifurcation of the Indo-Pak subcontinent was based upon religious sentiments. Historically, then, the strength of religious sentiments or strong religious orientations stem from conditions existing in pre-partition days which were maintained throughout and helped bring the independence movement to fruition in 1947.

The findings of our study give support to criticisms of the Durkheimian theory. The theory is too broad. While it has been successful in relating social structural variables to suicide and status integration in Western cultures (Douglas, 1973) with a few notable exceptions (Gibbs & Martin, 1964), its application in a Southeast Asian society has not been completely useful in predicting effects upon self-conceptions of youngsters. However, there is one consolation to be had. It is widely accepted that functionalism emerged from the traditions epitomized by Durkheim (Gouldner, 1970). In this tradition technology is not seen as a necessary condition for stability. Indeed, "given shared moral values in a society, a low level of technology and material scarcity need not be destabilizing. Thus, it made no difference for its stability whether a society had a highly productive technology or whether it was industrial or pre-industrial. It was the state of morality, not of the technology, that counted most

We have reasoned all along in the application of Durkheimian perspective to Pakistani society that religious sentiments and shared values, in general, are integral to Pakistani youngsters. The findings in part support this theoretical notion that was formulated in earlier Durkheim and later on went into obscurity.

Our criticism of the Durkheimian theory should in no way be construed as completely and totally denying the utility of this theory. After all, the test of a theory does not depend on the results of one research and one research alone. What this research has been able to accomplish is to raise questions and draw the attention of future researchers.

We suggest that future studies utilizing Durkheimian perspective in cross-cultural settings or in different cultures should give foremost attention to the dimension of shared values and religious sentiments in technologically less developed cultures.

Symbolic interactionism, the other perspective used in this study, has come into a barrage of cross-fire. It has been the subject of extensive criticism and such strictures have been "in house" as well as "non-interactionist" in origin. Meltzer and associates (1975) summarize the most frequently appearing "in house" criticism in their book:

1. Symbolic interactionism is beset with numerous methodological problems, i.e., its concepts are difficult to
operationalize; it generates too few really testable hypotheses; its concepts and cardinal ideas too often have to be intuitively grasped rather than being readily apparent or easily made so; and it has failed to clearly spell out its specific methodological procedures.

2. One of interactionism's key concepts, the concept of self, is the object of much confusion in the writings of both past and present symbolic interactionists. The self is defined in numerous, and often conflicting, ways by both past and contemporary representatives of the paradigm; and, in fact, the self is sometimes defined and employed in inconsistent fashion by the same interactionist within the confines of a single article, text, or manuscript.

3. Interactionism has neglected both the affective and unconscious components of human behavior in constructing its overall picture of humans (p. 92).

In the application of symbolic interactionism to this study, we note that an attempt has been made to overcome some of these criticisms. This we have done by noting and discriminating stability from consistency as aspects of self on a theoretical level. We were also able to produce testable hypotheses (rather a large number) and, in the final analysis, distill them into nine hypotheses that were tested for a sample of Karachi youngsters. As to the last criticism of interactionism, we have not addressed ourselves to it in toto. The aspect not incorporated into this study is that of an unconscious component of human behavior which remains the locus of controversy among its adherents (Meltzer et al., 1975).

It is also worth noting here that difficulties exist in terms of what constitutes symbolic interactionism; there is a "welter of sub-
theories going by a variety of names" (Kuhn, 1964:63). There are a
great number of variants of this perspective, with William James,
C. H. Cooley, John Dewey, W. I. Thomas, and G. H. Mead being the
founders of this school of thought; the Chicago and Iowa schools, the
dramaturgical approach, and ethnomethodology representing the later
day varieties of symbolic interactionism. The Chicago school, with
H. G. Blumer continuing the Meadian tradition, and the Iowa school
through M. H. Kuhn, went on to develop its own brand, differing
significantly in matters of substance and methodology (Meltzer et al.,
1975). The Chicago school emphasized the more subjective aspects,
whereas the Iowa school espoused a positivistic methodology. Over-
all, interactionists have assumed a more eclectic stance.

Noteworthy of the differences in the above two schools of inter-
actionists are the ways in which self is conceptualized. The Chicago
version essentially views self as a unitary phenomenon, a feature
that has drawn strong criticism, particularly from Brittan (1973).
As restated by Meltzer et al. (1975:85): "adaptive aspects of a mul-
tiple identity are seldom given the attention they would appear to
warrant." This last criticism of the Chicago school, as a matter of
fact, is how self is conceived by the Iowa school: "a person has as
many selves as there are people about whose opinions he/she cares,
or that a person has as many selves as there are groups in which he/
she holds membership" (Meltzer et al., 1975:94).
The "non-interactionists" criticisms are spelled out in the writings of Shaskolsky (1970), Lichtman (1970), Huber (1973), and Gouldner (1970) dealing with social, historical, economic and ideological aspects of interactionism. The criticisms highlight the historical episodic, non-economic, and limited view of the nature of social power. Additionally, neglect or a faulty conception of social organization and social structure, social biases of the researcher and subjects, perspective's cultural and temporal limitations, and its presentation of an exotic picture of social reality are among the most significant of the criticisms (Meltzer et al., 1975).

We relied on the Meadian version of symbolic interactionism and thus tested for the unitary perspective of self. Our theoretical logic, as well as the measures, were based on the reasoning that the individual strives for consistency and presents a unified image. Sunnites were found to be as consistent as Shi'ites. We might have found differences between Sunnites and Shi'ites if we had used the interactionist version that underlines the possibility of multiple-self. Gergen (1968) summarizes the findings of a number of studies to argue for a modification and revision of self-consistency and self-esteem constructs directed toward a theory of multiple selves.

According to Gergen (1968):

A demand for thoroughgoing consistency would fly in the face of a major mode of social adaptation. It would essentially freeze the individual personality in such a way that a person would fail to meet the requisites of a changing social
environment. To be continuously serious, lighthearted, understanding, domineering, or the like will reduce one's option for behavior and limit his potential for being within situations which require the opposite characteristics (p. 307).

In light of the criticisms, as well as the negative findings of this study, it is imperative that interactionists pay more attention to the criticisms if the theory were to be valid for cross-cultural study. One concept that seems to be in dire need of rectification is that of significant others. The negative findings of our study give support to this contention, i.e., not all significant others enjoy our relentless attention and are held in equal esteem. It would be more reasonable and sensible to contend that an individual has "specific others" who influence him in significant ways, in significant aspects, i.e., in the roles and institution of his life. Thus the individual would accord a differential weight to the opinion of his teacher or someone who has more knowledge than the individual. In sports or athletics, the individual is likely to turn to his favorite ball player for inspiration.

Therefore, while it is true that how deeply we are concerned about the opinion of those who are important to us and whose judgment we value will affect what we think of ourselves, it is also valid to argue that "not only the attitudes of others, but also the attitudes toward others affect our self-concept" (Rosenberg, 1973:857). Not all looking-glass selves are reflected with the same compellingness.
In this study, we asked our respondents to report how they think generalized others see them. We attempted to assess the impact of significant others at the most generalized level.

In fact, this investigation into the influence of others on self was done on such a synthesized and broad level that we can now see an element of "unreal" in it, since we assumed that all significant others affect us equally. To this effect, Rosenberg (1973:857) suggests an amendment in Mead's statement to read: "We are more or less unconsciously seeing ourselves as we think others who are important to us and whose opinions we trust see us."

We further contend that while considering the influence of significant others, studies invariably select others that are very close to each other. Others that are generally included are teachers, friends and parents. These others tend to exercise somewhat consistent influence, and we do not get to detect the anomalies in the socialization process. The range of "generalized others" or significant others should be enlarged so that reference groups widely apart from each other are investigated vis-a-vis their influence upon the growth of personality. This may be particularly important in a changing society where reference groups may be accepted or disregarded partially on the basis of the change they reflect or fail to reflect.

A wide range of significant others and their influence could
not be considered in our study as the data we worked with did not allow for such specification.

Having reviewed the shortcomings of the two theories and their applications to the research, a poignant question remains to be answered: Why, in the face of this knowledge, did we decide to use Durkheim and symbolic interactionism? This question was partially answered when we stated our rationale for the merger of the two perspectives. We reiterate here that symbolic interactionism deals essentially with social process; what it either ignores of treats lightly is social structure.

On the other hand, focus on social structure should be construed as the upshot of the Durkheimian view of personality. While interactionists have been concerned with meaning and gloss over social change and social structure, Durkheim has been concerned with the idea of a collectivity-origination thesis. Therefore we decided to use both in order to give complementarity and completeness.

In addition, one of the criticisms directed at interactionism is its ideological bias. Meltzer et al. (1975:100-101) present a good account of several authors' thinking on this issue. Briefly, the ideological bias imbedded in interactionism is its immersion in American pragmatism, in the "cultural environment of American life." This, indeed, is a reference to its being culturally circumspect. Accord-
ing to Shaskolsky (1970:16) one negative effect of this "encapsulation of American values" is that it is "an ethnocentric factor which has vitiated... its adoption into the academic thinking of other countries" (Meltzer et al., 1975:101) and they turn this negative into a plus by their insightful comment: "one could just as well argue that the adoption of symbolic interactionism into a social and cultural context differing from the American scene would lend it specific critical dimension which Shaskolsky feels is now missing."

Frankly, we are not aware of the extent to which symbolic interactionism has been adopted or assimilated into Pakistani academic institutions in the past decade or so and the extent to which it has been used, if at all, in research in that society. But as part of the rationale for its use and as a positive contribution, the use of interactionist perspective in this study should be seen as complementing the critical dimension so astutely brought to our attention by Meltzer and his colleagues.

Summing up, then, despite the shortcomings of the two theoretical perspectives, we feel this study has made a bold attempt by combining the two in an innovative fashion. By reaching for the two different parts of sociological theory, we have demonstrated that numerous combinations of variables are possible and predictions about personality structure of youngsters can be made. The contribution and strength of theories should be seen more in the construc-
tion of relationships and not in the specifying of independent variables that belong in one or the other theoretical framework.

We have noted, in light of the criticisms on Durkheim and interactionists, that certain amendments should be made if the two theories are to be valid cross-culturally. The forgotten dimension in Durkheimian tradition of ascendance of religious sentiment over the level of technology in a society as a stabilizing influence should be explored further. Likewise, the differential weight carried by significant others, as well as the attitude of self toward others, and a broadening of range of significant others reflecting others who are widely apart from each other need to be specified in symbolic interactionist perspective for better understanding of self-concept.

Reasoning for the Selection of Independent Variables

Since we did not find significant differences in the way Sunnites and Shi'ites perceive their selves, we should examine the reasons for the failure of our predictions. Having discussed the shortcomings of the theoretical perspectives, the next step will be to examine the reasoning that lies at the base of this research.

Role of Religion

We reasoned, using the assumption of "immutable givens," that religion is a pivotal factor in the life of Pakistani youngsters. The influence of religion is constant. While this is a widely held
belief, the validity of this assumption is not tested in that society. This assumption lies at the base of our study. Yet the only proof for this assertion comes from historical and descriptive sources and the individual, subjective experiences of this researcher. Such impressions could very well be the product of specific socialization experiences or the biased view of that society held by this researcher. The preponderance of religion was overwhelming and seemed to this researcher, while growing up in Karachi, that Shi'ites were more integrated into the religious life of their sect than Sunnites. However, it should be noted that it is in such subjective notions of reality that empirical efforts often find their beginnings. Perhaps another variable, such as occupation (for an older sample), would have better predicted personality integration.

Impact of Social Change

Our reasoning suggested that the sweeping changes in Pakistani society are affecting Sunnites more than Shi'ites. Sunnites, because of the enormity of size of their religious group, wider exposure to conflicting and sometimes confusing stimuli, and their tendency for free inquiry (like Protestants as opposed to Catholics) are more prone to be affected by such changes. We neglected to consider the impact of change upon Shi'ites who are part of that society, especially the youngsters. From a systemic perspective,
changes in one part of society are liable to have impact upon other parts too. We should have given attention to this tendency of social systems to be affected by social change and predicted that only those Shi'ites are liable to be more consistent and high in self-esteem whose lives have not been touched deeply by change. This is further exemplified by Rokeach (1960): "It is not that open persons are expected to change their values and closed persons are not, but rather that both groups should change—but in different ways" (p. 337).

Compartmentalization of Self

That an individual can compartmentalize his life is widely held. We reasoned that the Shi'a youngster brings his religious convictions into various social spheres and does not differentiate between what is religious and what is not. That is, the Shi'a youngster does not have either the ability or the need for compartmentalizing the social from the religious. The mechanism of compartmentalization is designed by an individual to see himself as consistent, also frequently described as "double think." Rokeach's (1960) exemplification of this mechanism is supportive and illustrative of our point here:

In everyday life we may note examples of "double think": expressing an abhorrence of violence and at the same time believing that it is justifiable under certain conditions; affirming a faith in the intelligence of the common man and at the same time believing that the masses are stupid; being for democracy but also advocating a government run by an
intellectual elite; believing that science makes no value judgments, but also knowing a good theory from a bad theory, and a good experiment from a bad experiment; such expressions of clearly contradictory beliefs will be taken as one indication of isolation in the belief system (p. 36).

Adolescent Sub-culture

Perhaps, for lack of any empirical evidence or a great deal of explicit discussion of this issue, we assumed that young adolescents are assimilated in their respective religious sub-cultures; that either they do not have a sub-culture of their own or do not perceive the need to be part of a student or adolescent sub-culture. Studies in other cultures have documented the existence of adolescent and student sub-cultures as a universal phenomenon. What we failed to incorporate in our considerations is a rather large, highly visible and effective group of students who have been the cause of several populist movements and who deserve the credit for being the driving force behind political changes ever since Pakistan came into being. This additional source of both social conflict and social integration might have been developed as an independent variable.

Religious-minded and Religious

It is true that the majority of respondents in our sample indicated strong present religious orientations and also came from homes where religious orientations were strong. But here a distinction is necessary between religious-minded and religious or actively
religious. Being religiously oriented is one thing; being an active Muslim is another. In their minds the youngsters could very well be religious, but this does not mean that their behavior remains unaffected by the changes occurring in the society under the aegis of Western values through television, movies, and literature. Perhaps future research can tap into the seriousness, commitment to, or involvement in religion. Further specification of religiosity should enormously help in making more accurate predictions.

Tradition and Modernity

This refers to a paradox in the life of a youngster. While he is aspiring for Western values, he is not completely able to sever his ties from tradition. On the one hand, he is attracted by the modern; on the other, he has yet to make a complete break from traditional values such as respect for parents, friendship as an end in itself and a somewhat ascetic attitude toward life. Although gesellschaft has made inroads into his life, gemeinschaft still retains control over some important areas in his life. Evaluation of self and evaluation of others, particularly significant others like parents, teachers, and friends, is still a foreign element. It is deemed inappropriate, even unethical, to critically evaluate those one had learned from or those who must be respected no matter what their shortcomings may be, or those who have been accepted into the realm of
friendship. If anything, one is obligated to come to their defense. To be critical of them is to be blasphemous.

In the criticism of interactionists, Meltzer et al. (1975) note that:

It seems to apply best in those societies and situations where one habitually addresses himself/herself to the expectations of a multitude of different others (generalized others) rather than to those situations where one attempts to present the "same self" on all or nearly all occasions (p. 98).

Sex and Language

This study also predicted that females, particularly Shi'a girls, would manifest greater consistency and esteem than Sunni girls. Similarly, monolinguals were hypothesized to differ significantly from bilinguals. The results, however, were contrary to our predictions. The number of female youngsters as well as bilinguals was so small that no conclusions seem warranted. Perhaps a wider dissemination of information and the thrust toward more education has served to liberate Pakistani women, if not completely at least to the extent that they are sharing in the culture not differentiated by sex roles as the culture changes.

In conclusion, the negative findings of our analysis and the alternate reasons listed above lead us to consider that the selection of variables to represent the social forces of change in the Pakistani society may have been flawed. In order to better test the theoretical
formulations other variables might have been developed. Instead of using religious affiliation, we might have used the intensity and frequency of participation in religious activities, exposure to and assimilation of Western values, sources of such exposure, and the effect of such exposure on the traditional values held by the subjects. The conflicts thus emanating and their impact on self-concept, as well as a set of broad and widely apart reference groups, and the differential importance of significant others might have proved to be better predictors of relative changes in self-conception.

In the light of our observation made above concerning the natural reluctance of a youngster to evaluate others, we feel that instead of the self-administered, highly structured and short-circuited mode of data collection--the questionnaire--in-depth, intensive interviews may have proved to be more beneficial. Given the particular structure of that society, interviews perhaps would be more amenable to anthropological and ethnomethodological design. We present it as a possible alternative.

Limitations

It was noted earlier that one of the reasons why our hypotheses did not find support may have been due to the limited sensitivity of our measurement and/or inadequate instrumentation. This section discusses the intrinsic limitations of the study.
Measurements

We started out with instruments that had been used in the U.S. and found reliable. However, these instruments were not used in the form which had been validated for large adolescent groups. We used adaptations of measurements used by Gergen and Morse (1967) and Rosenberg (1972). However, since these modified versions, in our analysis, failed to reach acceptable levels of reliability, we were forced to derive new measures of self-consistency and self-esteem from other sections of the questionnaire. These measures met an acceptable level of reliability and were taken at their face validity.

The distribution of actual scores on consistency and esteem variables revealed that our respondents scored high on both. Our measurements, however, failed to discriminate between the respondents of the two religious groups on these dimensions of self. It may be that the instruments were just not sensitive enough to discriminate among the subjects.

Therefore, the measures used were very rough approaches to the aspects of self which they purported to measure. Had we been able to use measures developed by Gergen and Morse (1967) and Rosenberg (1972) in their original form, we might have been able to make a comparative analysis.

In the development of alternate measures, we were also working with a small set of items that had only face validity. Another
weakness of the study stems from the fact that instruments should not have been developed and used on the same sample. It would have been appropriate to use an alternate sample. But given the limitations of the research, time, money, and resources it was not feasible.

Sample

Our sample consists of those youngsters who were accessible and willing to participate in the study. No systematic sampling procedure could be employed due to lack of pertinent information with respect to the target population. As our comparison of the sample distributions to the actual population of Pakistan revealed, we had a representative sample in some respects but we could not assess the relative representativeness of the sample to the population. Perhaps had it been possible to use some systematic sampling plan, we may have found more variation in the two dimensions of self-concepts used in this study. Presently, we do not know the full range of these variables in the Pakistani population.

One of the serious shortcomings had to do with the small sample size of Shi'ite students included in the sample. We had no effective mechanism by which to identify students of Shi'ite persuasion before the administration of our questionnaire. Of particular concern is the small number of Shi'a females which has somewhat hindered our comparative analysis. This should not be construed as an invalidating source of our study. Rather, while the small
number of Shi'ites are reflective of their proportion in the general population, a higher proportion of Shi'ite youngsters in our sample might have added strength to our analysis.

Audience

Subjects in the study were required to report their perceptions of self and how they thought others see them. That is, the discrepancy in self-conceptions is based upon the subjects' perceptions. Ideally responses should have been obtained from a number of different audiences: teachers, parents and friends. But neither time nor financial constraints would permit. While perceptions of self about how others evaluate the self are considered to be valid indicators of how others actually see them, in the case of Pakistani society where youngsters are shy of making such evaluations, use of actual responses from others might have helped construct a more accurate picture.

Common Universe of Discourse between Researcher and Respondents

A lack of proper appreciation of and participation in social scientific research itself may have proved to be an impediment in obtaining spontaneous responses from the respondent sample of Karachi high school students. An informed audience sets the tone for research; that frame of mind essential for respondents to assume
different roles in answering questions. From one perspective, it might be considered a plus as the subjects have not yet developed a "blase" attitude toward research or "fatigue" due to saturation. It was observed that youngsters had difficulty in using themselves as objects while evaluating their selves, or putting themselves in other's positions.

Evaluations of this kind are not part of a youngster's everyday life. While comparisons and evaluations of others might be an implicit, subtle part of one's personality, they are perhaps not pronounced. They might be kept close to one's heart. Perhaps the attitude is more pragmatic. For the sake of reducing cognitive dissonance, one is given to ignore negative opinions or to develop more positive ones about self and others. In sum, a more cultivated audience might have helped achieve the goals of the research.

High Consistency and Esteem

Another observation, and an obvious one, is derived from a perusal of the distribution of our respondents on the self-consistency and self-esteem scores (see p.176). It should be noted that we expected far more variation on the dependent variables. The theoretical range was quite large, but the actual distribution, at least on self-consistency, covers slightly more than half of the possible range. On the basis of this observation, we are led to conclude that our sample proved to be more consistent and showed higher self-esteem than we
had anticipated. If we had had more sensitive and discriminating instruments, we might have found more variation in our sample.

Socially Desirable Response

Socially desirable response is another variable for which this study had not controlled. To appear attentive, smart, intelligent and modern is highly desirable among youngsters in Pakistan. Respondents may have been influenced in their responses by this factor. Data not reported here concerning the future aspirations of youngsters in Karachi revealed that a vast majority chose engineering and medicine as their aspired professions. This is highly significant when viewed in light of the socioeconomic background of the youngsters. It is typical of youngsters in Karachi, their social class notwithstanding, to aspire to occupations that are highly respected in that society. This hints at the possibility of a socially desirable response, but does not necessarily make the youngsters inconsistent in their self-report. However, we have no way of ascertaining this; it is purely conjecture.

Major Conclusions of This Study

The negative findings of this study should not blur the positive aspects or functions of the research. In the following we take account of the major conclusions and contributions of this research.

1) The overall conclusion to be made is that Karachi youth
generally are self-consistent and have fairly good self-esteem.

2) Our data did not allow us to specifically pin down what it is that makes respondents of both religious groups consistent (contrary to our predictions), and to hold themselves in equal esteem, but the fact is of considerable interest to permit speculation. Rosenberg (1975) provides some interesting insights as to why black children do not have lower self-esteem than whites. To him:

Their comparison reference groups are chiefly in consonant contexts: in comparing themselves with others of equal poverty, similar family structure, and equal school performance, their average self-esteem is not damaged. One reason that, among children, socioeconomic status, or racial, religious, or nationality prestige is so weakly related is that the structure of society maximizes the amount of social identity dissonance that actually exists (p. 113).

It is reasonable to argue that our sample of Sunnites, as well as Shi'ites, compare themselves with those of similar circumstances and hence differ neither in consistency nor esteem.

3) The evidence that Pakistan has experienced tremendous change and continues to do so is unequivocal. What is not clear is the extent to which the institution of religion has been affected by such change. The analysis of this study revealed that youngsters belonging to the two major sects

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in Islam do not differ significantly in their self-conceptions.

4) The results of this study also lend support to the criticisms of Durkheimian and symbolic interactionist perspectives; particularly lack of attention to which others are actually significant to people and why.

5) This study clearly directs our attention to the necessity of examining self-concept and significant changes in it at a later stage in the life of a youngster beyond adolescence.

Self-concept studies have paid particular attention to age in that adolescence has been viewed as the most crucial and critical stage. Self-theory has almost completely ignored any discussion of young adults.

This study found no differences in self-conceptions of adolescents in the Karachi sample. Perhaps the strains or emotional traumas associated with adolescents in U.S. society are not the same for Pakistani youngsters. The conflicts and strains, we believe, do not appear until later in the life of a youngster, let us say until the youngster has reached adulthood. It is at this stage that the youngster comes face to face with the hard realities of life.

Future Research Suggestions

Suggestions for future research are closely tied in with the major conclusions of this study. A number of problems have been
identified in this research in the area of theory, sample, and design. Some of the problems or issues remain unanswered because of the intrinsic problems of data we inherited. Therefore, it is important that they be discussed here as suggestions for future research.

Sample

Future research should utilize systematic sampling plans in order to achieve greater representation of Pakistani youth. A much wider representation in terms of the socioeconomic background of the respondent is important. In the present sample, the industrial segment of the population was underrepresented. Similarly, the proportion of Shi'ite to Sunnite youngsters was rather small. Not only the proportion of Shi'ites in general was low, the proportion of Shi'a high school girls was also very small; the small number of respondents in this category hindered our analysis and meaningful comparisons.

We have not been able to examine the impact of the full range of certain variables such as the ones mentioned above and language or various combinations thereof on consistency and esteem.

The importance of a representative sample is obvious, but in order to ensure an equal number of respondents in all independent variable categories, perhaps a purposive sample may have to be carried out, especially in the categories of Shi'a youngsters, Shi'a females, and language that are relatively small in reality.

A related suggestion deals with the inclusion of successful
cohorts of students over a number of years. A much longer period might be necessary to examine the significant changes in self-conceptions. It might also be useful to obtain data on high school students as well as those at the college level to see what significance, if any, affiliation in the educational context has upon self-conceptions.

Measurements

We noted that instruments of dependent variables derived from and used on the same sample were a weakness of this study. Further, the instruments lacked sensitivity and discriminant power. We suggest that, in future studies, ideally measures that have had tests of validity should be used, or if new measures are to be developed, they should be constructed with the target population in mind and in collaboration with those who are in close touch with the target population. Measurements should also be simple to comprehend, parsimonious and economical.

Questionnaire

Particular attention will be required in the area of questionnaire construction. The present study suffered because of not having a large number of items to choose from for the development of measures of dependent variables. As a result, only a fraction of items included in the questionnaire were identifiable with the research dimensions of self-concept included in our study.
While our attempts at translating the original English version of the questionnaire into Urdu language were successful, it would enormously enhance the goals of research if the questionnaire is devised originally in the language of the target population as it would minimize the possible errors in response generally attributed to translation.

Analysis

Analysis by school was not attempted in this research. Future research might include it as an important variable. Schools can be classified according to their average socioeconomic levels. Similarly, respondents can be divided in class groups. Analysis can then proceed to determine differences in the self-conceptions of youngsters relative to these variables. Of particular relevance for this sort of analysis would be the variables of language and religiosity.

For instance, a youngster of an upper-middle or upper class is more likely to use more than one language in his daily life. If this youngster spoke English at home and also attended an English-medium school, he is then likely to also have peers or friends of similar background. Hence, this youngster is more likely to be exposed to a more consistent influence than the youth who comes from a lower-class background, speaks a language different than that used for instruction purposes in school, and perhaps has another language-speaking group for friends.
Independent Variables

Future research should also be more specific in its selection of independent variables. For instance, more specificity is needed in terms of the degree, intensity and involvement in religious activities. Other variables such as Westernism, modernization, modernity, and variables representing the social forces of change should be made part of the study in order to see their relationship with self-concept.

Dependent Variables

This reflects a long-felt concern on the part of some social psychologists that research on self-concept depicts a "narrowness of vision"; the "richness," "complexity," and "explanatory power" of the idea of self-concept has not been fully explored and appreciated. According to Rosenberg (1976), "We will never understand self-esteem unless we go beyond self-esteem," and that "we have scarcely scratched the surface of this complex but fascinating topic" (p. 25). Some of the neglected areas pointed out by him are self-confidence, desired self, and presenting self.

Alternate Design and Variables

Difficulties experienced by this researcher while administering the questionnaire to respondents in Karachi may have stemmed from a lack of universe of discourse between the researcher and his respondents. The subjects in Pakistan are little exposed to partici-
pating in research situations that call for their opinions and evaluations of imaginary situations. More fruitful results might have been obtained if an alternate mode of data collection were to be utilized. For a number of years anthropologists have been engaged in the study of underdeveloped and developing societies. They have been quite successful in studying and analyzing less structured societies. Anthropological approach to the study of such societies and cultures has utilized a variety of methods ranging from in-depth interviews with the natives, use of informants to participant observations, unobtrusive methods, or a triangulation of methods.

In our study, use of in-depth face-to-face interviews or open-ended questions might have been instrumental in securing spontaneous and more meaningful responses. Further, this research has not taken into account variables that might intervene such as modernity, or urban as opposed to rural residence. For instance, a younger high on modernity might turn out to be less consistent, and likewise the size of his community might make a difference in that the urban dweller would more likely be less consistent than someone who comes from a more homogeneous, simple and uncomplicated background. Inclusion of such variables in considering the self-conceptions of Pakistani youngsters should add to future research.

To conclude, our central interest in this study has been to explore the relationship of the structural variables of religious
affiliation, sex, and language to the self-conception of high school students in Karachi, Pakistan. It was believed that the religion, sex, and language of respondents would be related to dimensions of self-concept. Self-consistency has received too little attention from researchers examining personality change. It has been shown in this research that Sunnites and Shi'ites do not differ significantly from each other in their self-conceptions. Further, one's sex and exposure to a different linguistic culture does not have any significant bearing on consistency of self and esteem. It is suggested that more adequate measures of these two concepts should be devised. While discussing the limitations of this study, it has also been suggested that future research examining the impact on self-conceptions in a changing society should incorporate considerations of the traditions of that society and how they might help minimize strains emanating from the impetus to social change and their negative impact on personality.

Durkheim argued that the consequence of increasing complexity is a decline in the kind of solidarity that is directed at propagating likeness and producing integrated personality. It has been shown in this research that, despite the impetus to change, the Pakistani youngster, generally, is consistent and possesses fairly good self-esteem. The life of the youngster at the time we intersected it is, perhaps, not ridden with as many strains as that of his counterpart in other developed countries. We have to bear in mind that despite
the recent thrust toward the nuclear family in Pakistan and the changes in the functions of other institutions, family and religion still retain their influence as integrative and stabilizing social forces.

Perhaps a social-psychological measure can be designed to "locate" individuals at different stages on the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft continuum to study the effects of such status on personality structure. Future research would do a great service to the discipline by testing social-psychological theories in cross-cultural research situations. This would not only help various personality concepts to break out of their culture-boundedness but would also allow social structural variables to be worked into personality and social-psychological theories.
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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Section A

1. Your sex: ___M ___F

2. Date of birth: __________________________

3. How long have you lived in Karachi? _______________________

4. How long have you attended the present school? ____________

5. Is your father living? ___yes ___no

6. What is (was) your father’s occupation?
   a. Name of job ________________________________
   b. Where does (did) he work? ______________________
   c. What kinds of things does (did) he do in his job? _______
   d. How many people work(ed) for your father? (check one)
      _____ none _____ 1-4 _____ 5 or more

7. What was the highest amount of education your father received?
   a. _____ never attended school
   b. _____ attended primary school but did not finish
   c. _____ finished primary school
   d. _____ attended high school but did not finish
   e. _____ finished high school
   f. _____ attended college but did not finish (1-3 years)
   g. _____ graduated from 4-year college with degree

8. Please estimate your father’s yearly income (rupees). (If father
   is not living or retired, estimate his income in his last job.)
   a. _____ less than 3,000
   b. _____ 3,001-6,000
   c. _____ 6,001-10,000
   d. _____ 10,001-15,000
   e. _____ over 15,000

9. Is your mother living? ___yes ___no
10. Is your mother working?  ____yes  ____no

11. If your mother works, what is her occupation and where does she work?  ____________________________________________________________

12. What was the highest amount of education your mother received?
   a.  ____never attended school
   b.  ____attended primary school but did not finish
   c.  ____finished primary school
   d.  ____attended high school but did not finish
   e.  ____finished high school
   f.  ____attended college but did not finish (1-3 years)
   g.  ____graduated from 4-year college with degree

13. What do you see yourself doing next year?
   a.  ____going to college or vocational school only
   b.  ____going to college full-time and also working
   c.  ____working primarily and going to college part-time
   d.  ____working only
   e.  ____Other (please specify) ____________________________________

14. What are your future plans beyond those just indicated in question 13?  (Please be as specific as possible) __________

15. How certain are you about these plans?  (check one)
   a.  ____very certain
   b.  ____fairly certain
   c.  ____fairly uncertain
   d.  ____very uncertain

16. How often do you think about plans for the future?  (check one)
   a.  ____very frequently (practically all the time)
   b.  ____frequently (at least once a week)
   c.  ____fairly often (at least once a week)
   d.  ____sometimes (less than once a week)
   e.  ____hardly ever (less than monthly)

17. How would you characterize your present religious orientation?
   a.  ____strongly religious
   b.  ____moderately religious
   c.  ____slightly religious
   d.  ____not religious at all
18. How would you characterize the religious orientation in the home in which you grew up?
   a. _____strongly religious
   b. _____moderately religious
   c. _____slightly religious
   d. _____not religious at all

19. In what religious sect, if any, were you brought up? ______

20. What language is usually spoken at your home?
   a. _____English
   b. _____Urdu
   c. _____both

21. Is there any other language you speak? Please specify: __________________________
Instructions: In this section, we would like you to indicate how you think or feel about yourself.

Here is an example of the kind of questions you will answer.

I see myself as:

Happy |________|________|________|_______| |________| Sad

Look at the words at both ends of the line and decide how well they describe you. Then place an X above one of the numbers along the line according to the following guide.

1. If you feel you are a very happy person place an X above number 1.
2. If you are a fairly happy person place an X above number 2.
3. If you are a little more happy than sad place an X above number 3.
4. If you are a little more sad than happy place an X above number 4.
5. If you are a fairly sad person place an X above number 5.
6. If you are a very sad person place an X above number 6.
Section B

Now mark the following to indicate the way you generally see yourself.

I SEE MYSELF as:

1. Outgoing
   - Outgoing
   - Shy

2. Self-centered
   - Self-centered
   - Unselfish

3. Rarely angry
   - Rarely angry
   - Often angry

4. Optimistic
   - Optimistic
   - Pessimistic

5. Irresponsible
   - Irresponsible
   - Responsible

6. Traditional
   - Traditional
   - Modern

7. Entertaining
   - Entertaining
   - Boring

8. Lazy
   - Lazy
   - Hard working

9. Practical
   - Practical
   - Idealistic

10. Relaxed
    - Relaxed
    - Tense

11. Let others know me
    - Let others know me
    - Keep myself secret

12. Not very intelligent
    - Not very intelligent
    - Very intelligent
Now think of your friends. Mark the following to describe how you think they see you.

**MY FRIENDS** see me as:

1. **Outgoing**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Shy

2. **Self-centered**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Unselfish

3. **Rarely angry**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Often angry

4. **Optimistic**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Pessimistic

5. **Irresponsible**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Responsible

6. **Traditional**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Modern

7. **Entertaining**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Boring

8. **Lazy**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Hard working

9. **Practical**
   - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Idealistic

10. **Relaxed**
    - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Tense

11. **Let others know me**
    - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Keep myself secret

12. **Not very intelligent**
    - 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Very intelligent
Now think of your parents. Mark the following to indicate how you think they see you.

**MY PARENTS** see me as:

1. Outgoing  | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Shy
2. Self-centered | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Unselfish
3. Rarely angry | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Often angry
4. Optimistic | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Pessimistic
5. Irresponsible | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Responsible
6. Traditional | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Modern
7. Entertaining | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Boring
8. Lazy | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Hard working
9. Practical | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Idealistic
10. Relaxed | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Tense
11. Let others know me | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Keep myself secret
12. Not very intelligent | 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Very intelligent

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Now think of your teachers. Mark the following to describe how you think they see you.

**MY TEACHERS** see me as:

1. Outgoing
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Shy
2. Self-centered
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Unselfish
3. Rarely angry
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Often angry
4. Optimistic
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Pessimistic
5. Irresponsible
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Responsible
6. Traditional
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Modern
7. Entertaining
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Boring
8. Lazy
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Hard working
9. Practical
   - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Idealistic
10. Relaxed
    - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Tense
11. Let others know me
    - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Keep myself secret
12. Not very intelligent
    - 1 2 3 4 5 6 | Very intelligent
Section C

In this section you will be asked to take several of the characteristics used in the last section and rate how well you think they go together in the same person. For this you should make use of the following numbering system.

"0"--means that the two traits fit together very well in the same person. They don't contradict each other, but go hand in hand. They are consistent with each other.

"1"--means that the two traits neither go together nor contradict each other in the same person. They are not related to each other.

"2"--means that the traits contradict or conflict with each other in the same person. Possessing one trait is somewhat inconsistent with having the other trait.

"3"--means that there is a great deal of inconsistency or contradiction between these two traits in the same person. They seem to be very much opposed to each other.

Use the above numbering system to rate the degree to which each of the following pairs of traits fit together with each other. Do this by putting one of the above numbers (0, 1, 2, or 3) in each of the squares following.

Outgoing -- Relaxed

Practical -- Optimistic

Tense--Unselfish

Idealistic--Lazy

Responsible -- Often Angry

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Section D

1. Pick out three traits from List A which best or most accurately describe you. Do this by placing a check beside each of the three traits you select. Also pick out and check the three traits from List B which describe you most accurately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List A</th>
<th>List B</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventurous</td>
<td>Disorganized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cautious</td>
<td>Domineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>Easily influenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>Envious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humorous</td>
<td>Feels guilty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idealistic</td>
<td>Feels misunderstood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>Immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>Impatient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optimistic</td>
<td>Lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical</td>
<td>Moody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliable</td>
<td>Noisy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sincere</td>
<td>Rebellious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studious</td>
<td>Self-conscious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerant</td>
<td>Stubborn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Take the three traits you have chosen from List A and write them in the blank spaces marked A along the left side of the drawing below. Then write in the three traits from List B in the spaces marked B. Finally, write your List A words and then your List B words in the blanks along the top of the drawing. Write them in the same order along the top as they are written along the left side.
3. Put a number (0, 1, 2, or 3) in each of the squares in the drawing. For each square, you will be comparing one of the traits written along the left side of the drawing with one of the traits written along the top. When you compare each pair of traits, think of how they fit together in your own personality. Describe the way these traits fit together by choosing a number according to the following set of definitions.

"0"--means that the two traits fit together very well in my own personality. They don't contradict each other, but go hand in hand.

"1"--means that the two traits neither go together nor contradict each other in my personality. They are not related to each other.

"2"--means that the traits contradict or conflict with each other in my personality. Possessing one trait is somewhat inconsistent with having the other trait.

"3"--means that there is a great deal of inconsistency or contradiction between this pair of traits in my personality. They seem to be very much opposed to each other.
Section E

For each of the following statements please choose the answer which best describes the way you think or feel. Answer all questions by placing an "X" in the space next to the answer you have chosen. If you have difficulty making a choice, pick the answer that is closest to what you think or feel. You must give only one answer for each question.

1. Let's say that you had always wanted to participate in a particular activity and then you were finally given a chance. However, you found that your parents didn't approve. Would you...

   ____ definitely participate anyway
   ____ probably participate
   ____ probably not participate
   ____ definitely not participate

2. What if you parents approved, but your teachers disapproved of the activity. Would you...

   ____ definitely participate anyway
   ____ probably participate
   ____ probably not participate
   ____ definitely not participate

3. Suppose both your parents and teachers approved, but your friends of the same sex disapproved of the activity. Would you...

   ____ definitely participate anyway
   ____ probably participate
   ____ probably not participate
   ____ definitely not participate

4. Suppose your parents and teachers approved of your participation, but persons of the opposite sex disapproved of the activity. Would you...

   ____ definitely participate anyway
   ____ probably participate
   ____ probably not participate
   ____ definitely not participate
5. Whose disapproval would be hardest for you to take?

_____ disapproval from my parents
_____ disapproval from my teachers
_____ disapproval from my same sex friends
_____ disapproval from my opposite sex friends

6. I like the way I am

_____ usually
_____ often
_____ sometimes
_____ seldom

7. Do you ever find that on one day you have one opinion of yourself and on another day you have a different opinion?

_____ this almost never happens
_____ this seldom happens
_____ this happens sometimes
_____ this happens often

8. When I have made an important decision, I wonder about whether it was the best decision.

_____ rarely
_____ sometimes
_____ often
_____ usually

9. At times I think I'm no good at all.

_____ generally
_____ sometimes
_____ occasionally
_____ seldom

10. I feel that I am "putting on an act" when I am with others.

_____ rarely
_____ sometimes
_____ often
_____ usually
11. It is better not to think too much about ideas that would cause a person to doubt his/her basic beliefs.

____ agree
____ not sure
____ disagree

12. Compared to most other people, I am able to do things...

____ much better
____ slightly better
____ about the same
____ not quite as well
____ generally not as well

13. When I am with others, I act naturally and don't have to put up a front.

____ sometimes
____ often
____ usually
____ always

14. I am dissatisfied with myself...

____ usually
____ often
____ sometimes
____ seldom

15. I like my life to be simple and clear cut rather than complicated and confusing

____ disagree
____ not sure
____ agree

16. Does the opinion you have of yourself change?

____ changes a great deal
____ changes somewhat
____ changes very little
____ does not change at all
17. How often do you talk to members of the opposite sex about things other than schoolwork?

- several times a day
- at least once a day
- two or more times a week
- at least once a week
- less than once a week
APPENDIX B

INFORMATION ON THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

Secondary education in Pakistan is organized in three stages: the first stage comprises middle or junior secondary (grades 6-8) and serves the age group 10-12; the second stage is high school, enrolling the 13-14 age group (grades 9-10); and thirdly, the higher secondary or intermediate (grades 11-12) for the 14-16 age group. The second stage or second group, comprising grades 9 and 10, is also termed the matric stage and those passing this grade are awarded matriculation certificates (Pakistan Yearbook, 1971:432-433.

Until the nationalization of most private institutions in Pakistan, three different types of schools offered education to the school-going population. The first type consisted of government or privately managed junior/middle and high schools, charging moderate fees, with national and regional languages as the medium of instruction; the second group consisted of institutions called maktabs and madrasahs with major emphasis on Islamic education and allied religious subjects; and finally, the group that consisted of model and public schools, residential, cadet, missionary schools and privately run schools which impart education in the English language

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and whose fee structure was generally very high and thus out of the reach of low-income groups. They catered, by and large, to the children of higher-income groups (Pakistan Yearbook, 1971). All in all, 67% of the secondary schools in Pakistan until recently were privately managed, although about 70% of the enrollment in high schools was in schools administered by the government or local bodies. Students from the middle class generally enroll in liberal arts subjects, while those from the lower class, in hopes of quickly getting occupational placements, opt for technical or vocational training. One advantage of the new education policy has been the nationalization of schools that catered to the low-income groups, thereby increasing the accessibility of such institutions to those who could not afford them. Examination of Table 1A reveals that of the total 6,100 secondary schools in 1967, 3,500 were in East Pakistan and 2,600 in West Pakistan. This total reached 11,100 in 1970 with East Pakistan sharing 5,500 and West Pakistan 5,600. Over a period of about 23 years this net gain is not phenomenal given the annual population growth rate of 3.2%.

Table 2A shows the number of teachers in middle and high schools in the years 1967 and 1970. The number of such teachers totals 42,800 for the whole of Pakistan in 1947. There was, however, a sharp increase in this figure when it rose to 117,000 in 1970.
### Table 1A

Number of Secondary Schools in Pakistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Middle/Junior High</td>
<td>4,400</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,100</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Middle/Junior High</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11,100</td>
<td>5,500</td>
<td>5,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 2A

Number of Teachers in Secondary Schools (including their Primary Sections)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>20,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24,000</td>
<td>18,800</td>
<td>42,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>31,500</td>
<td>39,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td>40,500</td>
<td>77,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>72,000</td>
<td>117,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


An interesting comparison between the total number of female teachers working in secondary schools in West Pakistan in 1947 and 1970 and the number of females passing the secondary or high school examination is to be noted by a perusal of the next two tables.
Table 3A shows that in 1947 there were 16,000 females teaching in West Pakistan, 8% of the total teaching force. This number rose to 20,000, registering an increase of 30% in female teachers in 1970.

Table 3A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Actual No. of Female Teachers</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Pakistan Education Index. Islamabad: Central Bureau of Education, 1970, p. 15

Table 4A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
<th>West Pakistan</th>
<th>East Pakistan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>237,000</td>
<td>117,000</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>39,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Pakistan Education Index. Islamabad: Central Bureau of Education, 1970, p. 15

Table 4A reveals that in 1948 only 33,000 candidates passed the high school examination, of which 1,700 were females with 900 in West Pakistan, and 800 in East Pakistan. The number increased
over 16 times, thus bringing it up to 39,000 for the whole of Pakistan.

The number of girls passing matriculation examinations in West Pakistan between 1948 and 1970 increased from 900 to 26,000, whereas in East Pakistan the increase for the same period was from 800 to 13,000.

Table 5A shows the students enrolled during the years 1954-1955, 1964-1965 and 1969-1970 for grades 6 through 10. These figures represent the total enrollment in pre-divided Pakistan.

Enrollments in these grades during 1954-1955 doubled whereas, in the period 1964-1965, grew at a cumulative rate of 7.5%, and the following five year enrollments registered an annual increase rate of over 10% and reached an unprecedented high of 2.71 million in the years 1969-1970.

Table 5A

Student Enrollments for Grades 6-10 between the Years 1954-1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Enrollments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1954-1955</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>829,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1965</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>1,650,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1970</td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>2.71 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 6A shows a five-fold increase in student enrollment between the years 1947-1970; the figures for the whole of Pakistan
rose from 143,000 in 1947 to 775,000 in 1970. This increase is also reflected in the case of girls and is much higher. In East Pakistan alone the increase is phenomenal, from 2,000 in 1967 to 75,000 in 1970. West Pakistan, too, shows a tremendous increase in these figures which is indicative of the interest manifested by, and the educational opportunities available to, the girls in Pakistan.

Most recent figures available on the educational programs in post-war Pakistan regarding enrollment at the primary and secondary levels, the number of such schools, output, and the teaching force at the two levels are presented in Table 7A.

Figure 2A presents the percentage of school enrollments for primary through high school and intermediate secondary education by age in 1972 and projections for 1980. The new educational policy enunciated by Prime Minister Zulfigar Ali Bhutto's regime envisions tremendous expansion in all areas of education in Pakistan.

Table 6A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grades</th>
<th>Actual Enrollments (Total)</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>E. Pak.</th>
<th>W. Pak.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>143,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>775,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Pakistan Education Index. Islamabad: Central Bureau of Education, 1971, p. 14

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Table 7A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools and their Enrollments</th>
<th>1971-72</th>
<th>1973-74</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of primary schools</td>
<td>45,854</td>
<td>49,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment at primary stage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Classes 1 to 5)</td>
<td>41,000,000</td>
<td>47,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of secondary schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Middle and High)</td>
<td>6,350</td>
<td>7,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment at secondary stage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Classes 6 to 10)</td>
<td>1,300,000</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Output of matriculates</td>
<td>143,000 (1971)</td>
<td>153,000 (1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of primary school teachers</td>
<td>106,000</td>
<td>117,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of secondary school teachers</td>
<td>74,000</td>
<td>87,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 2A. Pakistan, Percentage School Enrollment by Age in 1972 and Projected for 1980

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