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GROWING UP IN AN EGYPTIAN VILLAGE

Silwa, Province of Aswan

by

HAMED AMMAR

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Foreword

In writing a foreword to Dr. H. M. Ammar's study of growing up in an Egyptian village, I am expressing in particular terms the general satisfaction which every university teacher feels when a field of research which he has been advocating for some time, is adopted, investigated and made the subject of an original study. Dr. Ammar's book was the result of an intensive period of field work in Egypt, preceded by systematic study in London where he formulated his theories, argued his premises in seminars, and examined the main approaches to his problems. He has done me the honour of referring to several of my published papers, and it is clear from these references and from the way in which he has handled his topic, that his research was directed towards the almost unexplored field of the social and psychological aspects of the training of children in a village community. The village of Silwa which he chose for his study was a community which in its social structure and economic life was, to a large extent, homogeneous. Though it was relatively isolated geographically, it was not unaffected by social change, and an important section of Dr. Ammar's book deals with the impact of a modern system of schooling on the outlook and activities of the villagers.

The publication of this study marks a second stage in the contribution of the University of London Institute of Education to this important field. In 1940, Dr. Otto Raum, also a former post-graduate student at the Institute, published his *Chaga Childhood,* the first full-scale study of indigenous tribal education undertaken at a British university. Dr. Raum's book was the first landmark in a new approach to the study of what had formerly been called 'Primitive Education'. In this book he related the process of training Chaga children in their own environment to the nature and activities of Chaga tribal institutions, and relied on the teaching and field work of social anthropologists, chiefly those of the functional school, for his theoretical guidance.

The focus of interest of scholars in this field, up to the publication of Dr. Raum's book in 1940, was in societies which were then designated as 'primitive'. Subsequent field studies, between 1940 and 1953, were almost exclusively confined to tribal societies, where the culture was enshrined in institutions, distinctive to, and dominant in, a particular tribe, and hence

limited to that tribal group and tribal area. The notable exceptions to the limitation to tribal societies were the American field studies in Indian communities in North, Central, and South America, and in Negro communities in the southern states. Only one piece of research, and that hardly an intensive village study, had been undertaken in the cultural areas dominated by the Islamic tradition, and none in the cultural areas of the Far East and South-East Asia.

Dr. Ammar's book is therefore a landmark in two respects. He has carried out research in child training in a village community dominated by the Islamic cultural pattern, and has established the validity of these studies in a society which shows many contrasts with tribal societies. He has also demonstrated an original line of research. His dominant interest lay in the problems of personality and culture. In his exploratory research he ranged widely in the modern anthropological studies of culture, and also in the inter-disciplinary approach to the study of personality. In his theoretical examination of his problems, and in the organization and analysis of his field work, he has brought together the contributions of social anthropologists and of psychologists, both British and American. In his capacity as a trained educationist he has focused these contributions on the dual aspect of education of the children in Silwa village, in its traditional and modern forms. It is this correlation of the study of traditional child training, in its setting of the village culture of Upper Egypt, with the examination of the impact of modern schooling on that village culture, which distinguishes Dr. Ammar's contribution to the progress of research in this field.

There have been relatively few intensive and localized studies of the part played by modern education in social change in Western Europe. There have been fewer still in tropical areas, and in those parts of the Middle and Far East where the form and content and methods of modern schooling have been to a large extent exported from Western Europe, or at least have received their initial impetus and imprint from that source. Dr. Ammar has also accepted the challenge of the need for research in this second unexplored field, which is necessarily correlated with the problems of cultural continuity in societies where a traditional form of social and economic life still persists. There is often a time-lag between the introduction of educational reforms and their full implementation, due to the reluctance to accept reforms by those elements in the population which regard imposed cultural changes of any kind as a threat to their security. Here Dr. Ammar has indicated further lines of research which are significant in all plans for educational advance.

MARGARET READ

Institute of Education,
University of London.
February, 1954.

Preface

THE VILLAGE SETTING

SILWA, the village community chosen for this study, is an Egyptian village in the province of Aswan, the southern border province in Upper Egypt.[1] It lies at a distance of about 850 kilometres from Cairo and approximately 80 kilometres to the north of the town of Aswan itself. With a population of nearly 3,500, Silwa is an administrative headquarters with a Police Centre responsible for ten villages, five of which, including Silwa itself, are officially referred to as Northern Silwa (Silwa Bahari), while the other five are called Southern Silwa (Silwa Kibli).

The total area of this administrative unit covers more than 17 square kilometres along the eastern bank of the Nile, with a total population of more than 11,000. The density of population in these villages is about 700 persons per square kilometre, whereas it is slightly less than 600 for the whole country.[2] The sex distribution in the village of Northern Silwa, according to the official statistics of 1947, shows almost even number of males and females, a distribution which is similar to that in the whole country. The table overleaf shows the relation between age distribution in Silwa Bahari and that of the whole country.

Significant in the table is the fact that the figures in Silwa follow pretty closely the national figures, and that slightly less than 40 per cent of the total population both in Silwa and in the country as a whole are less than 14 years old, a population trend characteristic of peasant societies.[3] It cannot be ascertained how the malaria epidemic which spread in Silwa and in all parts of the province of Aswan between 1942 and 1945 has affected the percentages of age distribution in Silwa and might partly account for the slight discrepancies shown in the table.

[1] At present Egypt is divided into sixteen administrative provinces.

[2] *Census of Population of the Kingdom of Egypt for 1947*, Vol. I, pamphlet 1—The Province of Aswan, Govt. Press, 1951 (Arabic). The General Census for the whole country from 1947 had not been published during the writer's stay in Egypt (1951) and he had to work out figures for the whole country from the previous General Census of 1937, taking into account the increase of population from 17,000,000 in 1937 to 19,000,000 in 1947.

[3] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied*, University of Illinois Press, 1951, p. 30.

TABLE I

Comparison of age-group distribution of Silwa Bahari and Egypt as a whole.[1]

Age group	*Percentage of Total Population*	
	Silwa	*Egypt*
under 5	15·0	13·3
5–9	11·9	13·9
10–14	11·2	12·0
15–19	11·1	8·5
20–29	14·5	15·2
30–39	13·9	14·6
40–49	10·5	10·1
50–59	6·1	5·9
60 and over	5·7	6·3
unidentified ages	0·2	0·2

Like many other villages in Upper Egypt, Silwa lies at the foot of the Eastern Plateau. This physical setting divides the villagers' world in Silwa into three distinct parts: the 'hills', the villages, and the fields. The barren 'hills', with their rugged dark rocks, though a source of fear and apprehension to the children, are not so inhospitable for the adults who rely on the salty clay (nitrous soil) found in these hills for use as land fertilizer. The village itself is composed of compact houses built of sandstone, which is available in the environment. There is hardly any planning in the village scheme, except for three main streets cutting across the village from east to west and another main street leading from north to south; the first three forming the main routes from the village to the fields. The rest of the by-ways between the houses are narrow and twisted and are occasionally interrupted by heaps of stones and rubble. After 1936, owing to the increase of village population, a new space between the old village and the railway line was allotted free by the government for building purposes. Most of this space has been built upon and inhabited mainly by those married sons whose parental homes have not sufficient room for their accommodation. However, the finest buildings in the village are the two mosques. With whitewashed walls, elegant and dignified minarets, and a floor covered with mats, these mosques represent one of the most cohesive forces in the

[1] Here the percentages in Silwa are worked out from the figures given for 1947, but those of Egypt from the figures of 1937. Thus one could assume that the percentages of age groups have not radically changed. On the other hand, there are no details about age groups in Silwa in the 1937 Census.

life of the villagers—religion. Next to the mosques in appearance and cleanliness are some of the shops and stores. These must have a minimum standard of building requirements, according to official regulations. On the north side of the village stand the police station, the post office and the elementary school. As to the fields, they extend to the west of the railway road up to the Nile bank, where the water-pumping works, established in 1932, stands with its modern buildings and garden and electric light.

It is worth mentioning here that each of the ten villages constituting the administrative unit of Silwa has its own name and is separated from its neighbours, however close these may be, by a recognized boundary, e.g. a high mound, a valley, or a stretch of gravel or sand. Each of these villages (or two villages combined, as in the case of four of the villages) has its mosque and village saint tomb with a cemetery attached to it. In spite of the fact that all the villages attached to Silwa trace their origin to one ancestor, as will be discussed later, their spatial separation is associated with sub-divisions in their kinship relations.

The physical characteristics of the inhabitants of these villages show a considerable degree of homogeneity. With their dark skins and long heads, they seem to conform to the ancient Southern Egyptian type.[1] All the inhabitants of Silwa, however, take great pride in describing themselves as descendants of Arab stock related to the Prophet. They refer to their traditions and customs and even their dress as 'Arabian'. Whether their claim is true or not, the belief is of central importance as one of the cohesive forces in the village community, and it is the means by which the villagers, especially the older generation, distinguish their way of life from that of others.[2]

The rhythm of daily life in Silwa hardly varies. The crack of dawn witnesses the muazzin calling for morning prayers; youths and men, mounted on their donkeys or camels, call on each other to climb the hills to fetch the fertilizer. By sunrise, most men and boys are heading towards the fields with their cattle and tools; and by broad daylight the village seems

[1] A. Batrawi, who has studied the physical anthropology of Egyptians, maintains that there is some justification for the usual division of Egypt into Upper and Lower Regions as far as the cephalic index is concerned. The people of Upper Egypt have longer but narrower heads, and longer fingers, feet and forearms than those of Lower Egypt. His study of the living samples of modern Egyptian population from all over Egypt suggests that they conform more closely to the Ancient Southern type. Moreover, the distribution of blood groups in present-day Egypt shows that the mass of the population is very homogeneous and there are no significant differences in this respect between the Moslems and the Copts. 'The Racial History of Egypt, Part II—Relationships of the Ancient and Modern Population of Egypt and Nubia', in *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVI, 1946, pp. 131–55.

[2] Arab genealogies must be accepted with great caution. The notion of the Arabs as a conquering race, known for their gallantry, honour and power, played effectively on the minds of the indigenous stock of the fellaheen, who showed an earnest desire to be considered members of that race. Many fellaheen have succeeded in linking themselves to an Arab tribe. A. Ammar, *The People of Sharqiya* (Ph.D. thesis, Manchester University), pp. 13–21.

almost deserted, except for women going on visits or on business and young children noisily engaged in their games. By sunset the roads leading to the village become busy and crowded with villagers and cattle returning home, who in their hurried endeavour to get their evening meal raise the dense cloud of dust that characterizes the agricultural roads and the village streets during this hour. Some time later, the village witnesses the general exodus of women and girls from the village towards the Nile to fill their water jars, while the men sprawl outside the houses or cluster round a wood-fire in the guest house on cold nights to exchange news, smoke their tobacco and engage in gossip.

In portraying some of the features of the rustic setting and life in Silwa, a question emerges: to what extent is this village under study typical of the rural conditions in Egypt? To such a question an objective answer is almost impossible, considering the fact that there are five thousand large villages and twenty thousand hamlets (izbahs) in Egypt. The writer can only claim with confidence that Silwa is typical of the majority of villages in the province of Aswan. There are certainly differences from one province to another, with regard to the degree of urbanization, the infiltration of agencies of social change such as schools, means of communication, newspapers and radio. On the whole, Aswan, being the farthest province from the metropolis, could be considered relatively the least affected by such factors. It is also known as one of the poorest provinces, as the Nile Valley reaches its narrowest stretch in the south (with the exception of the district of Kom Ombo). Moreover, Silwa, as will be seen later, is composed mainly of small landowners. There are many other villages throughout Egypt where the inhabitants are mainly tenants or part-owners and part-tenants, while many others work as hired labour.[1] With the exception of Kom Ombo, the majority of the land in Aswan produces subsistence crops, while in other provinces cash crops such as cotton and sugar-cane may be the main agricultural crop.

At this juncture it is important to point out one of the striking differences between most of the provinces of Upper Egypt down to Beni Suef and the other provinces, especially in the Delta. This is while women in the former provinces go about veiled and do not actually work on the fields, those in the latter are neither veiled nor debarred from active work on the farm. The writer cannot satisfactorily account for such a difference and knows of no source that has tackled this question. Is it merely a result of some historical or racial difference between the two parts of the country? Has it some connection with cotton culture and the perennial irrigation which are mainly predominant in the North?[2] Is it an expression of some

[1] See A. Ammar, op. cit.

[2] The cultivation of cotton requires not only a dense population, but one with a birth rate above the average. Charles Issawi, *Egypt—An Economic and Social Analysis*, London, 1947. In the light of this, female labour was perhaps essential for the economic activities in those provinces.

major cultural variation between these regions? Or is it a combination of these factors? At present the writer finds himself unable to settle such an issue.

In conclusion, it is extremely difficult to show the extent to which Silwa is a typical Egyptian village. All that can be claimed is that Silwa at least represents one of the village types prevailing in Upper Egypt. It also reflects in its community life some of the national problems of population pressure, of agricultural economy, malnutrition, and slow rate of accepting government-sponsored programmes as evidenced by instances of resistance and evasion which will be discussed later.

If, however, no single concrete statement about Silwa applies to other villages in Upper Egypt, the writer can tentatively assume that through the diversity of details there runs a common outlook and ethos of life and that very few differences obtain with regard to the cultural values and the aims and methods of socialization.[1]

Silwa, however, was not primarily chosen for a field-work investigation for its 'typicalness' or otherwise, and the writer must admit that 'the prime mover' for this selection was his personal connection with the village. In it he was born and brought up till the age of seven, when he left to receive his primary-school education in Aswan, his secondary education in Sohaj, province of Jirja, and his university course in Cairo. Throughout his life he has never severed his contacts with his birthplace as he used to stay there during summer holidays and the short-term vacations. The writer lived in close emotional, spiritual and intellectual touch with the villagers, a position which has its merits and demerits for such a study.

The choice of such a village was also appropriate as it presents a convenient starting point for a first study of this kind, as the village is relatively isolated and homogeneous where the traditional culture is presumably better preserved than others in more contact with city life. With fewer social sub-divisions, with no complexity of social classes, of differential functions and of division of labour, and with the dominance of universals and a minimum of alternatives and specialities in social behaviour, such a community is more amenable to study for a single investigator.[2]

With no problem of learning the language or even the dialect, the six months of field work were fairly adequate to carry out such an investigation.

[1] For the substantiation or modification of such a statement, research in other Provinces has to be considered. The gap in such studies has been felt by many scholars. 'The Near and Middle East can show practically no contributions to these studies.' Margaret Read, *Education and Cultural Tradition*, London, 1951, p. 20. 'No Moslem writer, in either medieval or modern times, has condescended to describe the organization of village life in his country.' H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, Part 1, London, 1950, p. 5.

[2] The terms 'universals, alternatives and specialities' have been introduced by R. Linton and are used here in the same way. See his book *The Study of Man*, New York, 1946, pp. 272–4. R. Firth refers to the value of concentrated observation of small-unit behaviour, a type of study for which he suggests the term micro-sociology, in *Elements of Social Organization*, London, 1951.

If there is not to be a wide gulf between the élite, and the ordinary run of people, then it is necessary that our cultural mentors should train themselves in a sympathetic sensibility towards the tastes . . . and the day-to-day habits of common folk. . . . What is rather needed is much more study of the nature of the impulses which the supposedly vulgar mass is obeying, and of the reasons why the impulses take the direction they do.

SIR FRED CLARKE, *Freedom in the Educative Society.*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIRST, I should like to express my thanks to my father and mother in Silwa who have patiently endured sacrifices for my education. To them I dedicate this book, and to the people of Silwa who, all the time the study was in progress, were wondering about the purpose of this work.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Prof. Margaret Read, who on all occasions has provided me with sound guidance and valuable advice. Without her keen insight and critical suggestions I would have been unable to see the 'wood'; and would have been lost among the 'trees'.

I should like also to express my gratitude to all those teachers whose ideas and suggestions, whether directly or indirectly, have influenced me in writing this book, especially the late Prof. Mannheim, Prof. Lauwerys, Prof. Fortes, and Prof. Sprott.

Last, but not least, I should like to pay tribute to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research (New York) without whose generous aid the manuscript could not have been published. To the members of its Board, for their encouragement, I am extremely grateful.

Introduction

THEORETICAL LEADS AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

THIS is a study of the social and psychological aspects of education in a village community in which an interdisciplinary approach has been adopted. For the sociological part which forms the main body of the book, the writer has attempted to utilize many of the conceptual categories and methods usually employed in studies of total culture which aims at creating out of the diverse pieces of human realities 'a coherent representation of a society, in terms of the general principles of organization and motivation that regulate behaviour in it'.[1] To achieve this purpose, many of the theoretical assumptions utilized in research in Anthropology and Sociology have been applied, for 'there can be no valuable empirical observations without the lead of a theory'.[2] There is no claim of originality in the theoretical leads of this work, as the writer only attempted to examine 'how finely some tools given by wiser men might cut'. It is becoming increasingly important in any research to satisfy three main requirements; the first is to make explicit one's own assumptions that guided the work; the second is to describe the methods and techniques used; and the third is the extent to which one's ideas and methods have undergone change during the actual work, for research is equally a learning process for the person conducting it.[3]

Throughout the book the cultural approach has been the dominant one. The appreciation of 'culture' as a phenomenon *sui generis* and its explanatory value for the understanding of human behaviour have been one of the major achievements of modern anthropology.[4] There is no need here

[1] Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, London, 1945, Foreword, p. vii.

[2] B. Malinowski, in his preface to A. Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Society*, London, 1932, p. xi.

[3] Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven, 1941, p. 6.

[4] In such a statement, it is recognized that the continuity of culture does not depend upon the existence of any particular individuals. Clyde Kluckhohn and William Kelly, 'The Concept of Culture', *The Science of Man*, New York, 1946, pp. 78–106. However, there need be no contradiction between viewing culture as organic or personalistic and

to discuss the development of this concept of culture; it is sufficient only to state the ways in which the term is to be used. Wherever possible, the writer has tried to perceive culture at its three levels, the functional, the historical and the psychological.

What Malinowski expressed as the functional point of view is concerned with the interrelatedness of the various institutions, social structures, artifacts, mental and moral disciplines in the life of the human group studied. The functional approach is basically 'holistic', and culture is conceived as an integral in which the various items are interdependent.[1] As the social system is not an aggregate, but an integrated whole, 'the function of a particular usage is the contribution it makes to the total social life as the functioning of the total social system'.[2]

The second level of 'culture' is the historical; time being as important as space. Temporal factors and historical determinants have been taken into account by many of the present-day 'functionalists' for the understanding of the social present and of the phenomena of social change.[3] It would have been of great value if there had been historical records about the village under study; there are even no past statistics that might indicate the historical development of such social items as population, resources, division of land and the like. For the villagers, history is mainly what is contained in the memories of the living generations through oral transmission, or what is communicated by the literate section of the community, e.g. smatterings of the history of the Arabs, the Prophet and the Saints. It is obvious, however, that the village cannot be considered as a self-contained structural unit but has to be related to the forces of the national history and their repercussions, if any, on the village.[4]

In dealing with the psychological level of culture, the trend is not so clear, since this approach is relatively recent. Moreover, the issue concerning the extent to which a sociological study of this kind should extend its inquiry into the psychological field has not been fully accepted.[5] Added

as super-organic or impersonalistic, provided we are aware that they are two different levels of abstraction, with the former being prior to the latter logically and genetically. David Bidney, 'Human Nature and the Cultural Process', in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLIX, 1947, p. 380.

[1] B. Malinowski, article 'Culture' in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* and in *Scientific Theory of Culture*, University of North Carolina Press, 1944.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown, quoted by E. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, London, 1951, p. 54.

[3] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 60. For a criticism of the extreme functionalists who ignore the historical dimension see A. Victor Murray, 'The Limits of Functional Anthropology', in *Overseas Education*, Vol. X, 1938–9, pp. 41–5, and Max Gluckman, 'An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronislow Malinowski', *Rhodes Livingstone Papers*, No. 16, O.U.P., 1949.

[4] Julian H. Steward, *Area Research* (Social Research Science Council), New York, 1950, p. 22.

[5] The British school of Anthropology, in contrast with the American school, is on the whole reluctant to include the 'subjective' psychological phenomena of 'culture' in its

to this, is the fact that there is no single system of psychology which one could apply with scientific assurance; and even experimental psychology contains an air of unreality and artificiality with regard to cultural and social behaviour.[1] Yet the increasing attempts for rapprochement between the social sciences as an ideal to be achieved, as evidenced in the challenging literature already written, made the writer convinced of the value of an integrative approach in his study.[2]

Nadel, for instance, maintains that both the functional and historical approaches to culture imply, to a greater or lesser degree, the influence of psychological phenomena, but that in neither of them is the part played by psychology in human culture explicitly and openly recognized.[3] Moreover, many of the American anthropologists assert that 'there is more to any culture than meets the eye', and that the 'functionalists' have only confined themselves to the 'overt' or 'explicit' aspects of culture that lie open to observation. The data of culture, however, contain 'feelings', 'thoughts', and 'motivations' for which they suggested terms such as 'covert' or 'implicit' culture which is not synonymous with 'subjective'.[4] In this way society is likened to the individual, the understanding of whom does not only depend on what he can tell us, or what he knows about himself, but equally on what he is reticent about and what he does not know about himself, which is an important factor in his personality.[5]

The recent interest in the psychological phenomena of culture has produced a specific type of approach called the 'typological or characterological', expressed mainly in the writings of Mead, Benedict, and Bateson. The three writers in their statements have attempted to establish an analogy between the variations between cultural selectivity and the individuals' temperaments, thus bringing problems of psychology to the foreground in sociological research. According to Mead, 'each simple homogeneous culture can give scope only to a few of the varied human endowments, disallowing or penalizing others too antithetical to its major emphases to find room in its walls. Having originally taken its values from

orbit of inquiry and prefers to keep the two disciplines separate. See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit.

[1] F. C. Bartlett, 'Psychological Methods and Anthropological Problems' in *Africa*, Vol. X, 1937, pp. 401–19.

[2] A plea for inter-disciplinary approach for 'the explanation and prediction of human behaviour, individual and collective' is made by John Gillin, 'A Unified Science of Human Behaviour' in *Social Forces*, Vol. XXVIII, October 1949, pp. 110–12. The same need runs through all the writings of Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, London, 1946; *Man and Society*, London, 1946; his introduction to Viola Klein, *Feminine Character*, London, 1946. Studies towards the Integration of Social Science are carried out by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations; see its journal *Human Relations*.

[3] S. F. Nadel, 'The Typological Approach to Culture' in *Character and Personality*, Vol. V, 1937, p. 268.

[4] Covert—overt culture is Linton's term, and explicit—implicit is Kluckhohn's.

[5] Clyde Kluckhohn, 'Covert Culture and Administrative Problems' in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLV, 1943, pp. 213–29, and his review of Malinowski's 'Dynamics of Culture Change' in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LI, 1946, pp. 571–3.

the values dear to some human temperaments and alien to others, a culture embodies these values more and more firmly in its structure, in its political and religious systems, in its art and literature, and each new generation is shaped firmly and definitely to the dominant trends.'[1] For Benedict, cultural configurations are mere expressions of autonomous psychological trends, leading to the integration of culture and producing the 'ideal type' and the 'deviant'. In this way, the typical personality amongst the Plains Indians is somewhat manic or Dionysian, while that of the Zuni Indians is self-effacing or Apollonian.[2] Bateson explains culture change as the appropriateness of such a given change to the properties and 'genius' of the culture concerned. The circularity between the individual and his society must mean that 'the culture in some way affects the psychology of the individuals, causing whole groups of individuals to think and feel alike. A culture perpetuates itself through education, inducing and promoting certain types of psychological processes, or by selection, favouring those individuals who have an innate tendency to psychological processes of a certain kind.'[3]

The exponents of the 'culture pattern theory' have been subjected to various criticisms. The type of integration they infer is 'impressionistic' and oversimplified. Other critics maintain that the patterns formulated are of an 'aesthetic nature' rather than scientific, and that pattern-consciousness is a product of the mind of these writers and not necessarily derived from the cultural data observed.[4] If this 'pattern-formation' is based on an analogy with the individual, psychologists, and especially clinical psychologists, categorically deny the fact that there is an individual who is 'fully integrated' or 'inherently harmonious'.[5] As one of the most trenchant critics of the cultural pattern theory, Nadel finds it something of a miscellany made up of various cultural sectors and forces, e.g. unconscious choices, tacit impulses and diffuse emotional motives, rational purposes, and moral values and judgments.[6] If some kind of integration is necessary for the survival of society, it does not necessarily have to be focused on one *idée fixe*, a single attitude or value about which the rest of cultural content is organized. 'Many cultures seem to include a considerable number of attitudes and values all of which are significant, and each of which serves as a focal point for the integration of a different sector of the total culture.'[7]

[1] Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*, London, 1935, Introduction.

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, London, 1949.

[3] Gregory Bateson, *Naven*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 113.

[4] Petrim Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality*, New York, 1947, pp. 337–41, reviews the various concepts of integrations and attempts to establish the criteria of causal-functional and meaningful logico-aesthetic integration. See also S. F. Nadel, op. cit.

[5] Géza Roheïm, *Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology* (*Culture, Personality and the Unconscious*), New York, 1950.

[6] *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, London, 1951, pp. 391–2.

[7] Ralph Linton in Abraham Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, New York, 1939, Foreword, p. ix.

While the 'typologists' have carried their concept of integration to that length, the critics of their approach however have not abandoned the concept of 'the unitary character of society', not on a single value or affect, but in a threefold frame of reference, including the integration of purposes, a pattern of psychological nature and a pattern of logical consistency. With the alignment, coincidence, and interrelation of these facets of culture, its possible unity and consistency emerge as an outcome of analysis and social understanding. In this way, certain constellations of cultural behaviour could be solely and intelligibly understood in terms of either logical consistency or rational purposes, implying some measure of fitness between this type of behaviour and its psychological functions. However, certain actions cannot be explained in the light of these two categories, being irrational or non-logical, and in such cases psychological explanations are required and appropriate.[1]

With this frame of reference, it would be possible to conceive different expressions in cultural contents as well as selected biases and 'preferred persistent tendences' as put forward by Bartlett.[2] From Nadel and Linton, the writer finds his most satisfactory theoretical explanations for the selectivity of culture and for the interlocking of its contents, and he turns now to search for his leads with regard to the various methods used by a society for its cultural continuity. This leads to the vast field of culture, personality, and national character studies which has been extending so rapidly during the last ten years. The purpose of these studies is to ascertain how various cultures affect the personality of their individuals, producing different personality structures. What is meant here by the personality is neither the autonomous nor the purely biological or universal characteristics of the individual. Personality must be viewed primarily as a configuration of responses which an individual has developed as a result of his experience.[3] With Linton's masterly analysis of the relation between culture and personality, it is only important here to note that by the explanatory concept of personality we mean the 'typical individual' or, according to Bartlett, 'the Social Personality'.[4] It is impossible to give here any adequate review of such studies, but it could be stated that they bring out the impact of culture, the ways it conditions individual behaviour, motivations, perception, and attitudes, and portray the cultural forces

[1] S. F. Nadel, op. cit., Chapter xiii.

[2] F. C. Bartlett, *Remembering*, London, 1932, p. 255.

[3] R. Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, London, 1947, p. 83. G. Bateson, 'The Cultural Determinants of Personality', in McV. Hunt (ed.), *Personality and Behaviour Disorders*, Vol. XI, New York, 1944. P. Sorokin, likening the newly-born baby to a phonograph, says with reference to the biological endowments that 'a well-constructed phonograph, to be sure, plays any record better than a poorly constructed phonograph. . . . But what "socio-cultural records" he will play (whether a Beethoven symphony or jazz) are dependent relatively little on the biological factors and are acquired mainly through the process of interaction with other human beings.' Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 5.

[4] 'Personality Structure', like 'culture', is an abstraction, based on the observation of the 'norm' in variations of behaviour exhibited by individuals.

producing a type of personality with 'predictable behaviour'.[1] Many of these studies, under the influence of the Freudian psychology, lay their emphasis on child-rearing practices, such as sphincter control, the weaning situation or manner of swaddling, as the basic determinant of adult personality or national character, or as ultimate causes of Japan's or Germany's going to war.[2] Moreover, many of these studies ignore or attribute little importance to social institutions, value systems, and forces of history, economics, and politics. One of the most sober and balanced approaches to this question is that of Kluckhohn and Leighton in their writings on the Navaho.[3]

This approach of Culture-Personality brought to the forefront the problems involved in the individual's development and his adaptation to the cultural situation in the process of growing up. Some social anthropologists, such as Firth and Richards, have described 'what' is transmitted to the growing child during his life cycle, but 'how' the transmission of the cultural heritage takes place has received less attention.[4] According to Kardiner, the 'minutiae' of the cultural procedures are as important as the end-product to the understanding of both culture and personality formation.[5] It is only recently that anthropology, enriched by personality psychology and psycho-analytical concepts, has concerned itself with the genetic development of cultural norms, attitudes, and skills in the growing individual. This type of approach, with its varying emphases, is sometimes called 'diachronic', explaining how an antecedent condition of society is converted into some subsequent condition and thus includes the study of individuals.[6] In the 'synchronic' approach, however, culture is regarded as something 'given' and as a matter of adult transmission from one group to another and from one generation to another. 'The supposed "givenness" of culture is the most serious obstacle to our real understanding of culture and culture change and their relationship to individual personality. . . . From the culture-acquiring child point of view, we find that culture is

[1] For a valuable collection of articles on this theme of 'Culture-Personality' see Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (ed.), *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, New York, 1948. For a good bibliography and survey of studies on national character see Julian H. Steward, ibid., pp. 75–83, and G. Bateson, 'Morale and National Character', in Godwin Watson, *Civilian Morale*.

[2] An extreme example of this approach is Geoffrey Gorer's *The American People*, New York, 1948, and in collaboration with J. Rickman, *The People of Great Russia*, London, 1950. For a specific type of approach to national character see Raymond B. Cattell, 'The Dimensions of Culture Patterns by Factorization of National Characteristics', in *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, October 1949.

[3] A. and D. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Harvard University Press, 1945. A. Leighton and C. Kluckhohn, *The Children of the People*, Harvard, 1948.

[4] See Meyer Fortes, *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland*, London, 1938, p. 6.

[5] A. Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York, 1945, p. 4.

[6] M. Mead, 'Character Formation and the Diachronic Theory', in M. Fortes (ed.), *Social Structure*, Oxford, 1949, p. 18.

something to be gradually and gropingly explored and discovered.'[1]

This approach has resulted in a number of studies on the 'socialization' and the 'growing up' of the individual in his or her cultural context, showing how the child in its development gradually approximates to the general orientations of the social personality of the mature adult. In this manner, these studies directly touch the educational issues involved in social and cultural adaptation. They bring to the forefront the ways in which the individual becomes a culture-carrier and a culture-modifier. The details of the learning process, 'the cultural shaping of appetites', the social disciplines, and the system of reward and punishment, all find their place in the study of socialization, through which cultural transmission is made possible by replacing 'outer force' by 'inner compulsion'. In this manner the link between 'culture' and 'education' becomes obvious, and the approaches of cultural anthropology and sociology can be greatly relevant to educational questions.

This process of replacing the social force by individual acceptance of a basic minimum of conformity has led to the adoption of certain theoretical concepts and findings of psychology by some social anthropologists. In this particular field of child development, the work of psycho-analysts and clinical psychologists has been the most relevant to anthropologists. Some of their findings, believed to be universal with regard to characteristics of adolescence or the absolute connection between toilet training, early infantile experience, and character traits, have been checked and modified by anthropologists working in cultures different from the European background.[2]

However, the orthodox psycho-analytical emphasis on childhood experiences to the minimization of later possibilities of re-education has been criticized by many psychologists and psycho-analysts of the so-called 'Neo-Freudian' school, with its sociological orientation.[3] Whatever the criticism of clinical psychology may be, the writer accepts their assumption that childhood training and disciplines form one of the resources of society for channelling human energy into the preferred cultural responses. The position of psycho-analysts sophisticated with the findings of social anthropology is made clear in Erikson's recent work on *Childhood and Society* from which the following statement has been taken in connection with education amongst the Sioux Indians:

'A first impression suggests that the cultural demand for generosity received its early foundation from the privilege of enjoying the nourishment and reassurance emanating from the unlimited breast-feeding; while the necessity of suppressing the biting rage contributed to the tribe's always ready ferocity.

[1] E. Sapir, 'The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Cultures' in *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. V, 1943, pp. 408–15.

[2] M. Mead, 'The Primitive Child', in Murchison, *Handbook of Child Psychology*, New York, 1946.

[3] Famous amongst these 'Neo-Freudians' are Karen Horney, Erich Fromm, and Abram Kardiner.

'We are not saying here that their treatment in babyhood causes a group of adults to have certain traits—as if you turned a few knobs in your child-training system and you fabricated this or that kind of tribal or national character. In fact we are not discussing traits in the sense of irreversible aspects of character. We are speaking of goals and values and of the energy put at their disposal by child-training systems. Such values persist because public opinion continues to consider them "natural" and does not admit of alternatives. . . . But values do not persist unless they work, economically, psychologically and spiritually, and I argue that to this end they must continue to be anchored, generation after generation, in early child-training; to remain consistent, must be embedded in a system of continued economic and cultural syntheses. For it is the synthesis operating within a culture which increasingly tends to bring into close-knit thematic relationship and mutual amplification such matters as climate and anatomy, economy and psychology, society and child-training.'[1]

Kardiner, in collaboration with Linton, is perhaps one of the most important clinical psychologists who have applied psycho-analysis to the study of culture. He developed the concept of basic personality structure, an abstraction which can be deduced from the content and organization of a culture, with a kind of dialectic between it and the cultural institutions. Kardiner maintains that, in this way, his scheme is interactional and dynamic, as 'changes in certain institutions result in changes in basic personality structure, while such basic personality changes, in turn, lead to the modification and reinterpretation of existing institutions'.[2] Kardiner and Linton themselves are aware of the difficulties in their concept of the basic personality structure and especially that of equating it with the personality of the individuals of that society. Its advantage, however, over the framework of the culture pattern exponents, is that it groups together certain interrelated items of behaviour and treats them as units. A number of institutions and constellations of institutional behaviour may be orientated towards food, another towards sex, and a third towards attitudes arising out of childhood training. This concept of the 'basic personality structure' takes into account the varied range of cultural institutions with such values as rank, prestige, and status. Such an approach renders it possible to make certain predictions about the institutions which such a personality structure is likely to invent, accept, or reject.[3] Unlike the orthodox psycho-analysts, Kardiner includes in his scheme the boon of culture as well as its discontents, as evidenced in his emphasis on the term 'ego structure' rather than 'the libidinal ties'.[4] He places adequate emphasis on the social

[1] Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, London, 1950, pp. 121–2.

[2] R. Linton in Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, p. vii.

[3] A. Kardiner, *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, p. 29.

[4] In this way he accepts the functionalist approach, in which culture is viewed as increasing the individual power of achievement, an 'initial instalment' of freedom as well

forces, although here the interaction of the basic personality structure on the cultural institutions has not been worked out satisfactorily. His methodology of culture analysis on the criteria of security systems, sexual controls, points of tension, satisfaction of dependency cravings, social disciplines, fantasy gratification provides possible and feasible 'pegs' for constellations of human behaviour. It also provides a scope for a better understanding of certain universal features of culture, such as dreams and folklore, in a functional way, by establishing their linkage with other cultural constellations.[1] Thus, in this work, many of Kardiner's constructs have been utilized for the explanation of certain aspects of our data, especially in connection with folk and children's tales, dreams, food anxieties, and sexual behaviour.

The field methods used in this study are those of the current anthropological repertory depending mainly on hearing and seeing through participant observation, informants, and asking questions of many adults and children on certain problems and to check data given by informants.[2] For information about children, the Kuttabs and the elementary school were available centres together with a 'children's hour' organized in the writer's house to which children between seven and twelve years old came on three occasions. It was impossible to stimulate adolescent interest in such a gathering, partly because of their economic responsibilities, and partly because of their excessive shyness and reserve, and this perhaps accounts for the thinness of our observations concerning this age group. Intelligence tests, Stewart Emotional Response, Moral Ideology, Story Completion and Rorschach tests, were administered to children, with the exception of the last test which included adults as well.

A preliminary statement about the choice of certain psychological tests is necessary here to indicate the extent of their relevance to our study. The Moral Ideology, the Emotional Response, and the Story Completion tests are intended to reveal some of the norms and the attitudes which children acquire at various stages of development and some of their

as restricting individual impulses for the purposes of social action. See Malinowski, *Freedom and Civilization*, London, 1947, p. 31. Freud has emphasized the inhibitory and restrictive forces of culture (Super-Ego). See his book *Civilization and its Discontents*.

[1] For criticisms of the Kardiner-Linton approach see S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, pp. 403–8; Henry Ozanne, 'Synthesis in Social Sciences', in *Sociometry*, Vol. VIII, 1945, pp. 208–15, where he maintains that Kardiner's interpretations of the primitive cultures studied, though feasible and meaningful, are only possible explanations and are not necessarily ones arising from the material concerned. As a psychologist he, like some anthropologists, objects to the superimposition of psychological categories, conceptualized in terms of the individual, on sociology, which conceptualizes in terms of the group. See also L. M. Hanks in his review of Kardiner, 'The Individual and His Society', *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XII, 1940, p. 475, where he emphasizes the importance of behaviour and attitudes falling outside the range defined by institutional behaviour.

[2] For an assessment of my informants, see Appendix I. See also Audrey T. Richards, 'The Development of Field Work Methods in Social Anthropology', in *The Study of Society*, ed. by F. C. Bartlett, London, 1939.

reactions and sentiments for different situations. These tests are also expected to draw the attention of the field worker to data which otherwise might escape his notice.

The Projective Test of the Rorschach Ink Blots is growing in popularity as a technique in field work especially amongst those anthropologists who are concerned with the relations between culture and personality. The test is intended to reveal 'the basic organization of the personality structure, including the fundamental affective and cognitive features of mental life'.[1] In spite of many difficulties and limitations in applying such a test, some Rorschach researchers, working with anthropologists, have noted that the principles of the test could be applied with some validity in cross-cultural situations.[2]

Our purpose in administering Intelligence tests was not primarily for inter-group comparisons, but mainly to elicit information regarding the mental 'orientation' characteristic of the group. Three types of tests were selected, verbal (Kabbani's test for primary school children), a paper and pencil test (Porteus Maze), and a practical performance test (Alexander's pass-along). The assumption is that the significant differences in the score of these tests would be considered as different adjustment to different test material and situations. This could be legitimately regarded as reflection of specific qualitative factors of culture, and culturally determined forms of intelligence. In a study of the effects of culture upon children's thoughts and actions, these data are deemed relevant to our purposes.[3]

Our methods lack the sociological depth afforded by the gathering of life histories, and intensive case studies of families and individuals supplementing a more diffused and general study of a greater number of individuals. Resistance was expected and encountered in such attempts, even with my informants as shown in Appendix I. Various reasons can be given for such resistance. They were ill at ease at doing things for research, reluctant to engage in an activity which might be considered as dangerous gossip, especially when recorded on paper, and might reach official circles. Their attitude is that personal problems should be 'covered' and not 'exposed' to others. Perhaps their interest was not sufficiently stimulated, for they would ask me, 'And what is the use of all this to us?' It became obvious to me during my field work that in order to get the full co-operation of the people for such research, it was necessary to be able to help them in their everyday problems. One villager expressed this in a candid way: 'You must now be useful to us as we have been helpful to you.' A similar observation has been made by Oscar Lewis, who advocates, on the basis of his experience in Tepoztlan, the combination of research

[1] B. Klopfer and D. Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique*, New York, 1946 edition, p. ix.

[2] Cora du Bois, *The People of Alor*, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, p. 589.

[3] S. Nadel, 'The Application of Intelligence Tests in the Anthropological Field', in *The Study of Society*, pp. 184–97. For a full account of these tests and their application and findings, see Appendices.

and service programmes as an excellent way of integrating the fields of both applied and theoretical Anthropology.[1] This constraint and fear of divulging personal information could be also attributed to the vulnerability of the villagers' ego-structure, to which we shall refer later.[2]

What relevance have such assumptions and approach to a study in education? A great part of the answer to such a question must be obvious by now. If education, in its broadest sense, is the process of transmitting the cultural contents, values, attitudes, and the body of technical and social experience from one generation to another, surely the sociological approach is of the greatest value in educational research and educational policies. As Sir Fred Clarke expressed it, culture is the whole life-medium, and not the background with which education is concerned.[3] Formal educational institutions, from schools to universities, are only one transmissive agent of any nation's 'way of life'. Our approach does not preclude the assumption that they are amongst the most efficient means of such transmission or that they are also a potent force in effecting social change. Here we are mainly concerned with education as the means of cultural continuity, of building social solidarity and cohesion. It is probably because of uncritical faith in schools and other formal educational institutions that this transmissive role of education has been ignored. This is vaguely felt when some educationists go to the extreme and advocate leaving children absolutely free for the development of their peculiarities of interest and behaviour. Such are rightly designated as cranks. Apart from those who entertain the ideas of Rousseau's Emile, 'we are well aware that children learn their patterns of social behaviour, their ideas on family life and earning a living, their value systems in relation to social and economic life, far more extensively and intensively outside school than inside'.[4] Society thus keeps itself as a going concern by educating its individuals to its established and time-tested ways of believing, feeling, thinking, and reacting for purposes of social action.[5]

Looking at education from this viewpoint may perhaps be disheartening to those educational planners and administrators who are anxious to go

[1] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village*, Introduction, p. xv.

[2] Differences between cultures are also reflected in the varying ease with which field workers could procure life-histories. This point was brought to my attention by Cora du Bois who mentioned to me the striking difference in this connection between the flow of the Navaho and the constraint of the Alorese. Of course, my informants, being related to me, would not have accepted money, but perhaps other services. In such a community, people would not accept financial recompense for information given to one from the village itself. In case of an outsider, such payment might be a good incentive in a community which jealously guards against the divulging of personal and family privacies. For motivation of informants see S. F. Nadel, 'The Interview in Social Anthropology', in *The Study of Society*, ed. by F. C. Bartlett.

[3] Sir Fred Clarke, *Freedom in the Educative Society*, London, 1948.

[4] Paper read by M. Read before the Education Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Edinburgh, August, 1951.

[5] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, New York, 1949, p. 188.

ahead with the job, but, as Karl Mannheim repeatedly emphasized, 'no educational activity or research is adequate in the present stage of consciousness unless it is conceived in terms of sociology of education'. 'Society blindness' or lack of 'social awareness' may lead to totalitarianism, or at least to educational malaise and wishful thinking.[1]

This sociological approach to education has stimulated few studies for the evaluation of educational systems and policies as a function of a certain social order. In his *Education and Social Change* Sir Fred Clarke has shown that, in England, although many formulations about educational policy are consistently adopted in practice, they are yet less explicitly recognized in theory. Such policies and practices taken for granted are nonetheless potent in shaping the trends of English education, and his book consists of an analysis of the social and historical determinants of the educational system. He also made a plea for examining the various types of educational institutions and for analysing the extent to which they have reflected certain characteristics of English life.[2]

For the United States, the book entitled *Who Shall be Educated?* is an example of a sociological approach to the function of the public school system in the American society. It shows how only partly true is the Americans' faith that their education system provides everybody with an equal chance to the realization of the 'American dream'. The authors, on the basis of their sociological findings, maintain that the American educational institutions cannot be satisfactorily explained by such labels as the democratic spirit, the American Constitution, or equality of educational opportunities, but must be examined in the light of the status system which operates in the lives of American children. The freedom of educators and administrators who conceive of the educational system as serving democratic purposes is hedged about by certain irreducible stubborn facts about human beings, social institutions and the spheres of valuations within them.[3] After describing some case studies of children, the authors observe that 'even at the early age of ten or twelve, these children all were travelling different paths of life. The school, with its common life, brought most of them together and gave them a common experience and a common literacy. But, as Miss Crane (their teacher) knew, the prescribed social lines of the community fell upon them and even influenced their learning in school. What a given child learned was not in Miss Crane's power to determine. She could try to teach them all the same things, but they would not learn the same things.'[4]

In the light of such facts, the authors conclude that it is desirable to gear the selecting machinery of educational institutions to the demands and capacity of the social structure. If too few people are selected and

[1] K. Mannheim, *Diagnosis of Our Time*, London, 1943.
[2] Sir Fred Clarke, *Education and Social Change—An English Interpretation*, London, 1940.
[3] By W. Lloyd Warner, Robert Havighurst and Martin B. Loeb, London, 1946.
[4] W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, op cit., p. 15.

promoted through the educational system, the upper levels will be filled through other agencies and perhaps filled with people not properly trained. If too many are selected and pushed up, competition will become fierce for the higher jobs; some people will have to accept jobs below the level for which they are trained, and will consequently become frustrated and cynical. The authors assert: 'We need to see more clearly that various sub-groups in our society can aim at different goals and that it is not necessary for everyone to shoot for the top.' A certain amount of social mobility seems necessary to maintain cohesion; a large measure of it would spell social instability and too little would give rise to dissatisfaction.[1]

A more functional approach has been adopted in a project carried out by the American Youth Council in connection with the Negroes in the United States. The project has centred around the question 'How does the fact of being born a Negro affect the developing personality of a boy or a girl?' In this manner the writers attempted to show the relation between the home environment and the school. We cannot review the findings of these studies here.[2] It is only relevant to refer to them as another example of the increasing awareness to the importance of sociological research for programmes of educational reconstruction.

With these assumptions of theory and methods of research, this study has been written with the transmissive function of education as the centre around which the village institutions, value-systems, attitudes and aims and methods of 'growing up' are arranged. Education here is considered in its two aspects. The first, the technical, consists in acquiring the skills and techniques which enable the individual to become socially useful and a productive member, contributing to the group wealth and strength. The second aspect, which Kluckhohn calls the regulatory training, is the society's means of reducing as much as possible the individual's 'nuisance value' within the group and of promoting to the maximum social cohesion.[3]

Moreover, studies of this kind would help in evaluating or at least viewing in perspective the national policy in education. What is the function of the modern system of schools and universities in Egyptian society? To what extent are these institutions functionally related to the needs of

[1] It must be noted here that the frame of reference of this book is status and rank and their effect on equality of educational opportunity in the American class-structured society. The same approach has been adopted by Warner and others in their studies in the Yankee City series.

[2] This series contains five volumes:

Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (American Council of Education), Washington, 1940.

Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways*, 1940.

Charles Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, 1941.

Lloyd Warner, Buford Junker and Walter Adams, *Colour and Human Nature*, 1941.

Robert Sutherland, *Colour, Class and Personality*, 1942.

[3] The distinction between these two aspects of education is made by Clyde Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man*, p. 190. A similar distinction is also made by M. Fortes, *Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland.*

cultural continuity and social change? How can modern schooling be organized to promote economic productivity? Does the national system of education operate within the traditional value system and social sanctions, and if not what does it offer instead? Of course, these issues cannot be answered in this book, for we are mainly concerned with the educative process of the traditional pattern in a community which is hardly influenced by modern schooling.

In summary we may say that this is an attempt to study childhood in an Egyptian village community. Children are not only observed in school or classroom, but also in their everyday life within the social group in which they live, work, play, and move. As far as is known to the writer there have been no studies of this kind, except a few autobiographies written by some eminent writers.[1] Such autobiographies, however, must be regarded, if to be made use of in sociological studies, in the light of two main reservations. The first is the therapeutic manipulation of the writer's memory for certain experiences, and the second is the requirements of literary style.[2]

[1] See, for example, Taha Hussain, *al Ayyam* (in Arabic), translated into English by E. H. Paxton, *An Egyptian Childhood*, London, 1932. Ahmad Amcen, *Hayati* (*My Life*), Cairo, 1950 (in Arabic). Edward Atiyah, *An Arab Tells His Story*, London, 1946.

[2] See Margaret Mead, 'Research on Primitive Children', in L. Carmichael, *Manual of Child Psychology*, New York, 1946, pp. 694–5.

PART ONE