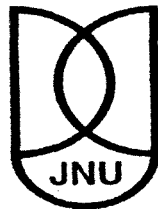


THE CRISIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

KHUSHBOO



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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "THE CRISIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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*Dedicated to My
Father*

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ACRONYMS

AKU	Aga Khan University
DAI	Degree Awarding Institutes
DU	University of Delhi
FY	Financial Year
GATS	General Agreement on Trade in Services
GRE	Graduate Record Examination.
HEC	Higher Education Commission
HEI	Higher Education Institutions
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IFC	International Finance Cooperation
IIM	Indian Institute of Management
IIT	Indian Institute of Technology
IJT	Islami Jamiat Talaba
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JI	Jama'at-i-Islami
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
LUMS	Lahore University of Management Sciences
MPO	Maintenance of Public Order
MQM	Muttahida Quami Movement
MTDF	Medium Term Development Framework
MUO	Model University Ordinance
NPS	New Pension Scheme
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PPP	Pakistan's People's Party
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme
PU	Punjab University
UET	University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore.

UGC

University Grants
Commission

UNESCO

United Nations Educational,
Scientific and Cultural
Organization.

WTO

World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of my work is to study the crisis manifesting in the higher education system of Pakistan. Higher education, as an area of research is relatively an under-researched area as compared to the research effort devoted to primary and secondary education and issues such as health care and development. Higher studies however as an area of study is developing rapidly and has gained remarkable attention by different countries and the international organizations in the new millennium. It is being realized by both the developed and developing countries today that higher education is the foundation stone of progress and prosperity of the nation and gives the capacity to compete in the international scenario. Higher education plays a key role in the development of human-being and a modern society by enhancing social, cultural and economic development and is necessary for backward and developing countries like Pakistan. It also promotes active citizenship and inculcates ethical values. Crisis in education especially higher education is a crucial issue for the socio-economic development of Pakistan as it is the base for generating human capital and resources directing towards progress of the country. Colonial tradition of education, inadequate funds, bureaucratic misplanning and administration are some of the significant factors responsible for the problematic condition in this sector. Issues constituting quantity, quality, gender, Islamization, privatization, and language policy are crucial concerns of this sector. Pakistan is facing inherent instability politically, economically, culturally and socially since its very inception. Lack of education at all levels-primary, secondary and higher can be attributed as a one of the major root cause of this inherent instability in the condition of Pakistan. Though in recent years considerable steps have been taken in this respect by the government, not much has been accomplished. It still continues to face difficulties in different areas. In fact the development of higher education in Pakistan has a long way to go. The purpose of my study is to look into the factors which are responsible for this dismal condition, to examine the issues and challenges in this sector, to evaluate the

policies of the government in this respect examining the success and failures, to evaluate the role of the World Bank and the Task Force in this regard and finally, on the basis of the whole, put forth recommendations for the improvement of the system.

Literature Review:

There has been a spate of literatures written on the educational system of Pakistan by eminent writers which also throw light on the problems of higher education in the country. Book by Umme Salma Zaman (1981), *Banners Unfurled- A Critical Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakistan* presents a critical analysis of higher education in Pakistan with special reference to students unrest. The book also talks about the historical background of education in Pakistan and the relation between education and society. It also contains chapters on contentious issues as politics, the bureaucracy, language and Ayub Khan's regime. Louis D. Hayes, for instance, in his book *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan* (1987) is an introductory work on the educational system of Pakistan and provides the educational history of Pakistan since independence, also discussing about higher education. The book, *Problems of Education in Pakistan* (1990) by Naseem Jaffer Qudus presents different aspects of education in Pakistan, both in the course of its development and the present day manifestations. The book discusses historical background, the various factors having a bearing on the system of education, the shortcomings of educational planning at every level, and the role of educationists as well as bureaucracy at different stages of education. *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan* (1994) written by Aftab A. Kazi discusses about the status of ethnic nationalities in the educational and political framework of Pakistan. He says that the status of ethnic identities in the national curriculum has continuously changed with major political changes in the government.

The Book, *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan* (1998) is edited by Pervez Hoodbhoy and contains interesting articles on the education system of Pakistan by different writers constituting of the editor himself, Nasir Jalil, Fayyaz Baqir, Akhtar

Hameed Khan, A.H. Nayyar and many more. The article by Hoodbhoy on Pakistani universities throws much light on the backwardness of the university system of Pakistan. Tariq Rahman made a special contribution through his scholarly work on the study of education, inequality and Polarization in Pakistan. His book entitled, *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan* (2004) talks about the socio-economic inequality created by the educational policies of the government throughout history. He also talks about the latest privatization of higher education in which the government has privatized the universities culminating in the imposition of higher fees on people. This in turn has deprived the poorer sections of the society from pursuing better education and favoured the elites. He has severely criticized the government's elitist policy in this respect.

A number of educationists wrote articles, research papers and books highlighting the way in which the educational space was being manipulated for ideological reasons. For instance, in the book, *Murder of History in Pakistan* (1993), Professor Aziz analyzed in detail 66 school textbooks and identified historical errors and inaccuracies.. The first known work on the deliberate distortion of history for ideological reasons was from Pervez Hoodbhoy and A.H. Nayyar, in the article, "Rewriting the History of Pakistan" in the book *Islam, Politics and the State: The Pakistan Experience* (1985) pointing out the policy directive that had brought about the change and the subsequent distortions entering the Pakistan studies textbooks, the foremost target of Islamization of education. Mubarak Ali through his thought provoking works like *In the Shadow of History* (1993) and *History on Trial* (1999) brought forth the distortions, inaccuracies and biases in textbooks through his books, newspaper articles and booklets both in English and Urdu.

Public Opinion Trends Analyses and News Service (POT), Pakistan Series and journals like *The Herald*, *South Asia* have been quite helpful in providing the recent developments in higher education in Pakistan and the related issues. *POT* series especially the November 23, November 29, December 6, December 10 issues of the year 2007 give resourceful information about the lawyers' movement during the Musharraf regime and the mass involvement of students in politics. The articles reflect the issue of politicization

of university campuses during the period, manifesting in mass mobilization of students against the emergency rule imposed by Musharraf, and the dismissal of the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Iftikhar Chaudhary. For instance, the students and professors of Lahore University of Management Sciences were charged under MPO 16 (Maintenance of Public Order). A very recent article in *The Herald*, June 2009, titled “Learning Lost” by Khawar Ghumman talks about the deep financial crisis the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan is facing today, because of which it is not able to meet its financial commitments towards many development projects and international universities on time because of which innumerable number of students are suffering. Article by Abbas Rashid and Ayesha Awan “Pakistan’s Education Crisis”, July-September 2007 talks about the crisis of education in general, also throwing light on the higher education sector. Along with these articles from *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 9 2006 by Nadeem O. Tarar, entitled “Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan” and August 31 2002 by Akbar S.Zaidi entitled “Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan” were quite enriching source of information and analysis.

Historical Background:

The educational crisis is persistent in the country since its very inception, after the partition of India in 1947. As a result of partition, India received a bigger share of the financial and military resources as well as the bulk of skilled manpower due in large measure to the fact that most industry, commercial institutions and government were on the Indian side of the border. Pakistan found itself with comparatively few educational institutions, especially colleges and universities. Politically, the Pakistanis shouldered an additional burden by attempting to create a state based on the religious principles of Islam, an effort that got extended into the educational system.¹ Moreover, repeated constitutional failures and long periods of martial law have not provided the kind of

¹ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-2.

political environment needed for the smooth development of public policy in any area especially in education.²

The colonial system of education was modified to fit the perceived needs of the British colonizers. The goals of the British education policy were those of political control and the production of a cost-effective administrative bureaucracy. In the early days of colonialism, the British East India Company ignored the indigenous Hindu and Muslim institutions, and a number of Madrassas disappeared for the lack of patronage.³ A crucial part of the British education policy was that the British through English education, did not introduce the knowledge of economics, technology, science and politics, but instead introduced English literature, philosophy and metaphysics in an imitative fashion. As a result, students were unable to learn anything of their own background and were sometimes unable to translate English passages into their own vernacular languages. For their own politico-economic interests in the Indian subcontinent, the British rulers successfully used education and culture as a device to achieve their objectives.⁴

As a result of this, the colonial system of education inherited by Pakistan from the British had been designed to produce literate manpower to assist the colonial masters at the lower levels of the governmental and economic administration. Fundamentally the British were guided in developing the institutions of their imperial holdings by their own imperial interests.⁵ Given its colonial purpose, the educational system erected by the British was not particularly effective in producing creative and self-reliant citizens. Education was meant only for the privileged few who were supposed to govern the masses rather than to serve them. Even professional education was limited as the main stress was on liberal arts in order to provide a class of administrative generalists.⁶ Thus, on the basis of all these, it is clear that Pakistan inherited a poorly developed educational system along the colonial pattern. Since the leadership in government had no political

² Ibid, p-2.

³ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-57.

⁴ Ibid, p-58.

⁵ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-3.

⁶ Ibid, p-3.

base in the land they ruled, the colonial pattern was maintained in educational, economic, and political matters. Instead of the culture and values of the British rulers, the culture and value of the new ruling elite (refugees from the Central Indian provinces) became the cornerstone of the educational patterns of Pakistan. With the imposition of Urdu (spoken by refugee groups who migrated at the time of independence) as the national language, a political and cultural hegemony inherent in the colonial policies of both the Mughal and the British empires was re-established over the majority of Sindhi, Balochi, and Pathan people. This hegemony affected the development of local educational institutions and languages, increasing socio-cultural and ethnic differences. On the developmental side, while enormous numbers of schools and colleges were established in Punjab and Karachi, the educational development of Balochistan, NWFP, and Sindh provinces has largely been ignored. As a result, these areas still remain underdeveloped. The crucial part of the re-established educational patterns in Pakistan has been the imposition of the culture and values of the Central Indian provinces, which has alienated the indigenous younger generation from their own native society.⁷ In 1947-48, Pakistan's entire educational infrastructure was estimated to comprise around 10,000 primary and middle schools (1,700 for girls), about 408 secondary schools (64 for girls), 46 secondary vocational institutions (18 for girls), 40 Arts and Science colleges including 5 for women, and two universities. There was not a single professional college in the country until the following year when the government opened 19 professional colleges (including 2 for women) over the period 1948-49. The total enrolment in various educational institutions⁸ in 1947-48 has been estimated to be one million in primary and middle schools (including 130,000 girls); 58,000 in secondary schools (including 7,000 girls); 4,000 in secondary vocational schools (1,000 women); and a total of 644 students (including 56 women) were enrolled in two universities.⁹

Talking about the socio-economic and the political context during the first decade after independence, Pakistan was confronted with the crucial issue of its survival. It had an

⁷ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-60.

⁸ Jalil, Nasir (1998), "Pakistan's Education: The First Decade" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-34.

⁹ Ibid, p-35.

inadequate administrative system and enormous refugee problems. It lacked infrastructure and adequate means of communications. There were no buildings in which a government could meet, and the government lacked financial resources. Pakistan faced the challenging task of building the state from nothing. According to a noted Pakistani political scientist, M. Waseem, 'the task of state-building was serious since Pakistan, unlike other post-colonial states, lacked continuity in terms of a political centre because it was carved out of the colonial state of India'. The political leaders faced the challenging task of streamlining the system of political governance and public policy-making. The Constituent Assembly was given the task of working out a constitution for Pakistan; it took nine years to produce the first constitution (1956). In the meantime, the Government of India Act 1935 (as amended by the Pakistan Provisional Constitutional Order) and the Indian Independence Act of 1947 provided an interim constitution for Pakistan.

As collaboration between the bureaucracy and merchant-industrial classes expanded, political elites became less and less relevant and the bureaucratic elites began to dominate economic decision-making during the period 1947-57.¹⁰ There had been almost ten years of manoeuvring among politicians with little attention given to the needs of the nation. Leadership was wanting, Jinnah died in 1948 and confusion became the norm.¹¹ The state (civil-bureaucracy and the military) gradually acquired political power and, therefore were in a position to play the key role in national policy-making and policy choice.¹² The state not only had a monopoly over the means of coercion; it also had the organizational superiority and military-bureaucratic elites who had captured the key governmental offices. This allowed the state to pre-empt and prevent the already weak societal interest groups from participating in public policy-making.

During 1947-57, the political parties were not very-well organized. Politicians spent most of the time and energy in factional politics. During a period of seven years (1951-8), there was quick succession of six political governments, where different prime-ministers

¹⁰ Ibid, p-27.

¹¹ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-10.

¹² Jalil, Nasir (1998), "Pakistan's Education: The First Decade" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-27.

were asked to form a cabinet. The political institutions were weak, and the bureaucracy, however small, had more experience in running a government as compared to the political parties or politicians who had a weak foothold in society. In short, the first decade of independence in Pakistan was marked by a high degree of political instability.¹³ There were frequent changes in the leadership of successive Pakistani governments before the military take-over in 1958 when Mohammad Ayub Khan, Chief of Staff of the Army was asked by the Governor General, himself a military man, to establish martial law. Ayub obliged, dismissed the government, abrogated the constitution and wrote a new one to his own specifications.

In the early “decades of (industrial) development” in Pakistan during the 1960s under the military regime of Ayub Khan(1958-69) two professional universities were opened for engineering and agriculture, along with a federal university in Islamabad in 1965. The government also tried to reform the educational institution by implementing the recommendations of the Sharif Commission with limited success. The first National Educational Conference (Karachi: 1947) produced a strong philosophy of education as well as number of ambitious recommendations indicating the future goals of education in Pakistan. Nevertheless many of its recommendations remained in documentary form only for the lack of institutional or economic resources to pursue them. In 1959, National Commission on Education was established which recommended that education should be made compulsory up to primary level by the year 1969, and up to middle level by 1974. In 1969, the New Education Policy emphasized adult literacy.¹⁴

The period from 1969 to 1971 was time of troubles from Pakistan. While Ayub’s successor – General Mohammad Yahya Khan- ruled by the virtue of the power of the army, his intentions were to reinstitute civilian government as soon as possible. The first, and only, truly free elections were held and the numerically larger population of East Pakistan was accommodated in the allocation of parliamentary seats. While the East wing was virtually unanimous in its support of the Awami League, the West wing was badly

¹³ Ibid, p-28.

¹⁴ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), “Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9, p-5081.

divided. The Pakistan People's Party, under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, won only a majority of the West wing's seats in the National Assembly. The Awami League headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held not only a majority but a commanding one. The task of drafting a new constitution fell to this assembly and the Awami League had every intention of making it reflect the desires of the East Wing, including greater autonomy from central government control. Bhutto, Yahya Khan and most West wing politicians saw the Awami League's plans as tantamount to dismemberment of united Pakistan. After months of fruitless negotiating, Yahya decided to suppress the League by resort to force. On March 26, 1971, he called out the army and civil war resulted in East Pakistan leading to separation of West and East Pakistan (which came to be called Bangladesh).¹⁵

Under the leadership of Bhutto and his Pakistan People's Party (PPP), a new constitution was formed in 1973.¹⁶ The populist government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-77) responded to the popular demands for mass public higher education and started seven more universities in Sindh and Punjab, irrespective of the depleting budgetary allocations for higher education. To promote high quality research in science, engineering, agriculture, biotechnology and psychology, 9 centres of excellence and seven area study centres were created through an act of parliament in 1974 in the provincial and federal universities. In the same year, under the federal education minister, a controlling authority formally known as the University Grants Commission (UGC) was put in place to regulate and dominate inter-university affairs, along the lines of similar institutions in India and Britain. As an apex institution, the UGC was given the task of disbursing funds to the universities in coordination with the ministries of education and finance.

With the advent of economic liberalization policies of the 1980s in Pakistan, there is a visible shift in policies of the state indicating a clear preference for professional education. Six new public universities in science, technology, engineering and agriculture were opened. The seventh Five Year Plan aimed to increase the number of students in technical and vocational schools to over 33% by increasing the number of polytechnics,

¹⁵ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-11.

¹⁶ Ibid, p-11.

commercial colleges and vocational training centres. Although the reform did add to the number of technical schools in the country, there is still a need for further expansion of vocational training at various levels of post secondary education today.

Private educational institutions reappeared on the Pakistan scene in the shadow of the policy of denationalization of public sector institutions implemented by the military regime of Zia ul Haq(1977-86) (Aga Khan University and Lahore University of Management Sciences).¹⁷ Main feature of Zia's policy was Islamization which was also incorporated in the education sector which is still continuing today. Though reforms have been taken in the education sector, not much attention in the past had been given to higher education sector in Pakistan.

Pakistan's situation is particularly grave, and some consider the system to be in a virtual state of collapse. Although the private sector (both non profit and profit) has set up a number of good quality institutions of higher education, they cover less than 10% of the relevant age cohort, and future projections do not create a basis for much optimism. As a result, the primary burden of higher education in Pakistan will have to be borne by public universities and colleges. They serve the vast majority of the population, are affordable by most Pakistanis, and cater to equity along regional, income and gender dimensions. In Pakistan, higher education refers to education above grade 12, which generally corresponds to the age bracket of 17 to 23 years. The higher education system in Pakistan is made up of two sectors: The University/ Degree Awarding Institutes (DAI) sector and the affiliated colleges sector.¹⁸

The problems that are identified in the system are legion. These include poor quality of teachers, low student motivation, lack of relevance of the course content to social or economic needs, gender and class disparities, student discipline, outdated curriculum and

¹⁷ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), "Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9: p-5082.

¹⁸ World Bank, *Pakistan: Country Summary of Higher Education*, Accessed 24th March, 2009 URL: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1193249163062/Pakistan_countrySummary.pdf

course materials, fiscal insolvency, and absence of research. Teacher quality is affected by the poor salary and benefits and perverse incentives provided by systems of retention and promotion. Students face an unsatisfactory learning environment, overcrowded classrooms, rote learning, inadequate and outdated teaching materials, and a highly charged political situation. The result is that the vast, rather the overwhelming majority of students emerge from Pakistani universities and colleges with no significant social or technical skills. Notwithstanding the rhetorical commitment to scientific and technical education, the actual quality of technical institutions has deteriorated over the last three decades. In other areas, the situation is even more depressing. There is little emphasis on communication, languages, writing or the humanities. Built on the tradition of the British system from the 19th century, the educational programmes purport to train students for employment in the public services and therefore do not provide any training in the entrepreneurship, marketing or other skills that would be more relevant. An environment that encourages cheating and corruption mars even the training for public service. More generally, the course content as well as the extra curricular environment ill prepares the students for participation in the social and political development of the country. Institutions of higher education have sat on the sidelines as the major current of globalization, corporate concentration, technological revolution and fundamentalism swept the globe; students have learnt about these areas mainly from other sources, and often by private education centres. The weakness is most glaring in the case of technological revolution; notwithstanding the high demand, mainstream Pakistani educational institutions still do not have credible course offerings in the area of information technology and do not have any program to provide such courses on biotechnology and nano technology. Arguably, the physical and social infrastructures of universities and colleges lag far behind other national institutions in terms of exposure to the electronic age.¹⁹

Politicization of education is one of the serious concerns in the education system of Pakistan in all the three sectors of education. Centralized control of public education has historically served the ruling elite and should be addressed appropriately. The public

¹⁹ The Boston Group (2002), *Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda*.

education in Pakistan is deeply politicized. Instead of comprehending and then addressing the challenges posed by the country's diverse ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic mix, policies tend to widen and exacerbate divisions.²⁰ The politicization of education in Pakistan has become as extensive as to be a major debility. Decisions about or effecting education in too many instances are the product of political priorities rather than the needs of learning and skill development. The admission of students, especially at the university and college levels, is a matter of considerable interest to groups of all political persuasions. Administration of education as a product of professional dedication is diminished by the extent of political manipulation.²¹

Language policy and centralized curriculum process also exacerbates divisions along ethnic and sectarian lines. The political use of Urdu in a country where the great majority of its multiethnic, multi linguistic population are not native Urdu speakers, has devastating consequences, and as noted contributed significantly to Pakistan's traumatic dismemberment in 1971, that is, creation of Bangladesh.²²

Influence of Islam on education system is another grave challenge to deal with. The centralized curriculum has also propelled the ascent of political Islam in Pakistan's public education system. While the role of political Islam in Pakistan's madrassas has received considerable international attention, the implications of its penetration of the mainstream public education sector syllabus have rightly been neglected. An overemphasis on Islamic interpretations in the government prescribed syllabus has distorted historical data, nurtured intolerance for other religions and confined the scope of the physical and social sciences.²³

The military government of General Zia-ul-Haq after the coup in 1977 had its own problem of legitimacy, which it tried to guise in the overarching quest for Islamization of

²⁰ International Crisis Group (2004). *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N.84, Islamabad/ Brussels, p-18.

²¹ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-169.

²² International Crisis Group (2004). *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N.84, Islamabad/ Brussels, p-18.

²³ Ibid, p-17.

the society. Education was among the first of its victims. Religious political parties became enthusiastic partners in this quest. In the educational sphere, this amounted to a distorted narration of history, factual inaccuracies, inclusion of hate material, a disproportionate inclusion of Islamic studies in other disciplines, glorification of war and the military, gender bias etc. Subsequent governments either failed to check these harmful deviations, or willingly perpetuated them.²⁴

Gender issue is another challenge in higher education system of Pakistan. Strong gender disparities exist in literacy and educational attainment between rural and urban areas and between provinces. The literacy rate in urban areas has been recorded as 58.3% while in rural areas it is 28.3% and only 12% among rural women. There are also considerable inequalities in literacy rates among the four provinces especially disparity between males and females. It is interesting to note that female enrolment is recorded as high at the primary level but it progressively decreases at secondary, college and tertiary levels. It is estimated that 3% of less than 17 to 23 age group have access to higher education. Women in particular have limited opportunities to higher education and attain professional and technical degrees. Besides the cultural prescription of gender roles, this disparity is also due to an inadequate number of vocational training and professional institutions for women.²⁵

The **Higher Education Commission** (HEC-a reincarnation of the erstwhile UGC) was made as an autonomous apex body responsible for allocating public funds from the federal government to universities to universities and DAIs and accrediting their degree programmes. Colleges are funded and regulated by provincial governments, but follow the curriculum of the HEC funded universities/DAIs with which they are affiliated. The ongoing government strategy and reforms have been showing considerable commitment towards improvement in higher education in Pakistan. The situation began to reverse itself in the early 2000s with the government showing a clear commitment to improving

²⁴ Sustainable Development Policy Institute (2002), *The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbook in Pakistan*, Islamabad, p-5.

²⁵ Khan, Saeeda A.(2007), "Gender Issues on Higher Education in Pakistan", [Online: web] Accessed 24th Feb, 2009 URL: <http://www.acu.ac.uk/12-13GenderHEPakistanonline.pdf>

higher education, as evidenced by significant increases in spending on higher education, the creation of HEC in 2002 and the establishment of the ongoing major reform policy programmes outlined in the **Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) 2005-2010** developed by HEC. Developments have been made in the areas of **quality, access, governance and management**.

Recent developments in the areas of quality, access, and governance and management include: Quality: (i) establishment of Quality Assurance Agency at the HEC and Quality Enhancement Cell at HEIs; (ii) a program launched to equip both new and existing faculty with the advanced qualifications; (iii) introduction of a new compensation system (Tenure Track System); (iv) provision for laboratories, equipment and scientific material; (v) alignment of academic degrees with international norms and (vi) curriculum revision.

Access - measures have been taken both to expand supply and to boost demand: (i) expansion of existing infrastructure; (ii) exploitation of the potential of distance learning; and (iii) provision of undergraduate and post-graduate scholarships to students in both the public and private sectors.

Governance: (i) implementation of measures to introduce a culture of accountability in Universities/DAI, to clarify administrative procedures, and to institute transparent quality assurance mechanisms; and (ii) strengthening capacity of HEC through streamlining of financial management and procurement procedures, and stakeholder consultations.

Along with this considerable efforts have been put up by the World Bank, UNESCO and the Task Force whose role will be discussed later.²⁶

The globalization of higher education and the changes in the knowledge economy provide a backdrop against which national policies relating to higher education may be located. Higher education in Pakistan is being restructured as a result of the neo-liberal

²⁶ World Bank, *Pakistan: Country Summary of Higher Education*, Accessed 24th March, 2009 URL: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1193249163062/Pakistan_countrySummary.pdf

reform currently in process. As with other areas these reforms are also influencing ideas about the role of universities and policy framework underlying higher education. But while the crisis of quantity and quality needs to be addressed, the reform process emphasizes privatization through mushrooming of private universities and institutions and self financing through higher fees which has far reaching implications for society leading to favoring of rich elites and increasing polarity in the society.²⁷ The study will attempt to examine the extent to which private sector contributes to the efficiency and equity in higher education provision in Pakistan and its demerits and merits in comparison to the public sector.

However despite all these implications, as a result of the increasing attention of the government towards this sector and role played by World Bank and the Task Force, the higher education sector in Pakistan has made some progress towards addressing the significant issues and challenges that faced the sector at the turn of the 21st century. The impact of these initial measures have been substantial and the results can be seen at both the University level/DAI and college levels, for example: total enrollments grew at an average annual rate of 21% between 2002/3 and 2004/5 recruitment procedures for HEI leadership and academic staff are now explicitly based on merit and many more developments.²⁸ However, despite considerable progress in addressing the issues and challenges facing Pakistan's higher education sector, much remains to be accomplished. Pakistan is still one of the lowest ranking countries amongst all developing countries and has a long way to go in improving the overall educational structure including higher education structure.

²⁷ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), "Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9:p-5080.

²⁸ World Bank, *Pakistan: Country Summary of Higher Education*, Accessed 24th March, 2009 URL: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/278200-1121703274255/1439264-1193249163062/Pakistan_countrySummary.pdf

Theories and Significance of Higher Education

Studies by Schultz, Dennison and others in the economics of education have clearly established that education plays an important role in the socio-economic development of the country. Though regarded as the 'residual', its contribution to the growth of GNP/GDP is much greater than that of any other factor of production viz. land, labour or capital.²⁹ Education can be defined as a process through which a nation develops its self consciousness by developing the self consciousness of the individuals who composed it. Another definition of education is that "it is a social institution which provides mental, physical, ideological and moral training to the individuals of the society, so as to enable them to have full consciousness of their mission, purpose in life and to equip them to achieve that purpose."³⁰ Aside from having a positive impact on growth in output, education has a vital role in overall social, economic and political development. As stated by Lockheed and M. Verspoor in their study for the World Bank titled *Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries*, "education forges national unity and social cohesion by teaching common mores, ideologies and languages. It also improves income distribution, increases saving, encourages more rational consumption, enhances the status of women, and promotes adaptability to technical change".³¹

Pakistan is a developing country and in most of the developing or third world countries, the story of education has been one of conserving or perpetuating intact what man has already created. According to Dr.A.H.Hommadi, this is essentially the conservative conception of education. Where it is held, schools and colleges serve as effective shelters against winds of change. He says that certainly one of the most arresting features of the educational scene in many of the less economically privileged portions of the world is the confrontation of various conservative forces in education with forces that are directed

²⁹ Hommadi, A.H. (1989), *University in the Third World*, Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau, p-2.

³⁰ Niazi H.K. and John Mace (2007), "Efficiency and Equity and Private Higher Education in Pakistan", *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, XXI (1): 43-61.

³¹ Jalazai, M.K. (2004), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan: State Policies and Textbooks*, Lahore: Al-Abbas International, p-24.

towards promoting change. They represent simply an arrested stage of the modernization process. In most of the nations of the modernizing world, the process of cultural transition through formal education was initiated in the colonial period. Here education made a major contribution in transforming the “colonial” into a person who, in a unique way and often in a subordinate role, was oriented towards one or other variation of the European conception of civilization. In this respect, the success of various educational systems created in or transplanted on colonial soils varied widely. Thus the problem of educational reconstruction in new lands is often not one of the confrontations of modern Western education with traditional indigenous education but one far more subtle of altering educational systems designed to shape individuals for one type of relationship with modernity into educational systems designed to produce individuals who stand in a radically different relationship with it. What is sought is a process of democratic social reconstruction through education.³²

Talking about Higher Education, it is a primary engine through which advanced knowledge (as opposed to training) is produced and imparted. Policymakers have tended to view higher education as relatively unimportant compared with other development imperatives such as primary education and health. Yet most developing countries are being buffeted by new powerful forces, including democratization, rapid demographic change, the knowledge and information technology revolutions, and the process of globalization.³³

The World Bank- UNESCO Task Force report on higher education, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (2000) acknowledges the fact that higher education has always been given a low priority in the policy agendas of developing countries. It says that during the past two or three decades, attention has focused on primary education especially for girls. This has led to a neglect of secondary and tertiary education, with higher education in perilous state, in many, if not most developing countries with a few notable exceptions, it is under funded by governments and donors.

³² Hommadi, A. H. (1989), *University in the Third World*, Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau, p-3.

³³ Bloom David E. and H. Rosovsky(2007), “Higher Education in Developing Countries” in James J.F.Forest and Philip G. Altbach (eds.) *International Handbook of Higher Education*, Springer,p-443.

As a result, quality is low and often deteriorating, while access remains limited. Higher education institutions (and whole systems) are politicized, poorly regulated and sometimes corrupt. The report says that a more balanced approach to education at all levels is needed. The focus on primary education is important, but an approach that pursues primary education alone will leave societies dangerously unprepared for survival in tomorrow's world.³⁴

David E. Bloom in his article, *Mastering Globalization: From Ideas to Action on Higher Education Reform* (2002) highlights the importance of higher education in a globalizing world. He says that almost everybody sees education essential to development, but until recently very few of those responsible for formulating education policy for the developing world have acknowledged the value of higher education. This is one of the several contradictions that characterize higher education and higher education policy in the developing countries. He continues that education is always given a prominent position in lists of developing goals, but higher education is almost never mentioned. Organizations like World Bank have traditionally accorded higher education a very low priority, believing both that it favoured the elite in the society and that returns on higher education investment were much lower than returns on investment in primary and secondary education. In its report, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* (2002), the bank itself has admitted that "Much of the support provided by World Bank to tertiary education was piecemeal....The Bank was rarely able to offer the type of long term comprehensive support for tertiary education that is required for successful reform and effective institution building."

Where on the one hand, we believe that education is essential and on the other we neglect the most advanced type of education- is being exposed by globalization as being fundamentally inappropriate to developing countries' needs. The process of globalization is making higher education more important than ever before, and neglect of this sector seriously threatens development.

³⁴ The Task Force on Higher Education and Society (2000), *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, Washington.

Bloom argues that globalization exerts new pressure on higher education, making reform essential. But ideas on reform are not enough and he points out another contradiction relating to both development and higher education: the policy community spends an inordinate amount of time coming up with clever ideas of reform, but very little time working out how to implement the policies effectively. This, of course, applies to most development priority areas; he limits himself to higher education.

In this context, he makes three points:

- Firstly, higher education is essential to promoting sustainable human development and economic growth. It is no longer a luxury that only rich countries can afford, but an absolute necessity for all countries, and especially for poor countries.
- Secondly, the pressures of globalization make it urgent that we devote substantially more resources to the tertiary education sector, and that we also reform it at both the level of individual institutions and the system as a whole.
- Thirdly, good ideas are not enough; focusing on implementation is at least as important as policy design. The harsh realities of taking an idea to the field and bringing it to scale must be considered in the design of policy.³⁵

Given the centrality of the knowledge economy to the twenty-first century development, higher education has assumed a higher profile both within countries and internationally because of its roles in educating people for the new economy and in creating new knowledge. As evidence, the World Trade Organization (WTO) is now focusing on higher education. Currently, a debate is under way concerning the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). Multinational corporations and some government agencies in the rich countries are seeking to integrate higher education into the legal structures of

³⁵ Bloom, David E. (2002), "Mastering Globalization: From Ideas to Action on Higher Education Reform", [Online: Web] Accessed 2nd June 2009 URL: <http://www.bi.ulaval.ca/Globalisation-Universities/pages/actes/BloomDavid.pdf>

world trade through the WTO. These developments indicate how important universities and knowledge have become in the contemporary world.³⁶

Higher education in developing countries has become very crucial for social and economic development. This view has been backed by all the forces connected with globalization. Although international organizations and strong governments put a lot of emphasis that there is relationship between higher education and development, but yet theoretically very little research is done on this relation. According to Naidoo(2008), there is relatively little recent theoretical or empirical work done which can be drawn on to contribute to an adequate understanding of the relationship between higher education and development.

The relationship between higher education and development has taken a U-turn from the long held policy that there should be little investment on higher education than primary or secondary education, since it was considered that higher education achieves few social returns as compared with the lower levels of education. According to Naidoo, the view that has emerged in the 1990s from powerful governments and international organizations is that quality higher education, as an incubator for social and economic change, is central to the knowledge economy, the ability of a country to compete successfully in the global context is seen to rely on the production of higher value added scientific and technological knowledge and continued innovations. According to Castells , the rationale is that in a context in which knowledge related products and services are valued at premiums, the ability to generate, utilize, access and transmit information rapidly across the globe will enable developing countries to utilize knowledge 'leap-frog' over intermediate stages and improve their position in the global economy. World Bank believes strongly on the power of higher education, although billions of people are living in the darkness of poverty. In this context, Carnoy argues that higher education in developing countries have been positioned as a crucial site for the production, dissemination and transfer of economically productive knowledge, innovation and

³⁶ Altbach, Philip G. (2007), "Globalization and the University: Realization in an Unequal World" in James J.F.Forest and Philip G. Altbach (eds.) *International Handbook of Higher Education*, Springer.

technology. Here now is huge pressure on the universities in developing countries to produce such students who have the ability to compete in the knowledge market.

According to the World Bank, “Higher education has never been as important to the developing world as it is now, it cannot guarantee economic development but sustainable progress is impossible without it.” No doubt this relation of development with higher education is being welcomed in developing countries. However it has created another matter of concern for the developed world and the international community that higher education will reduce the economic gulf between low and high income countries.

However, there are also few arguments against the focusing on development of higher education. For instance, as a result of globalization and merging with the world economy and as such the country will have to follow western model of higher education to compete with the whole system and to make it strong. Also, current focus on higher education may result on neglecting the other levels of education, the result of which may be that instead of joining up of different levels of education, there may be a problematic relation. Along with these, every country has its own traditional system and it will be difficult to break them which could lead to creation of disharmony throughout. However, irrespective of these facts, the development of nation is above all and as stated by Naidoo, “the importance of higher education to the economic, political and social development strategies of all nations is clearly beyond the dispute”.³⁷

Regarding the conceptual understanding of Higher Education, Ronald Barnett in his book, *The Idea of Higher Education* (1990) says that the term higher education has a conceptual weight of its own. It is not simply a sub-set of the concept of education, and it should not be assumed that our thinking about education in general automatically holds for higher education. Nor is higher education to be identified with any of its institutional forms. It certainly makes sense to explore the idea of the university. But higher education

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³⁷ Hussain, T.(2008), “Dilemma in Higher Education in Pakistan and Role of World Bank”, [Online:Web] Accessed 2nd June, 2009: URL: http://www.ruc.dk/paes/forskerskolen/program/info/summer_school/summer2008/paper/tanveer_maken/



is worth exploring in its own terms. And it is so, not just for the sake of higher education itself, but for wider reasons.

Barnett, in his book, *The Idea of Higher Education* (1990) basically focuses on higher education in the western world. He says that one of the distinguishing features of higher education is that it is concerned with the development of elaborate conceptual structures or theories. However, it has no theory of itself. When it comes to understanding itself, higher education fails to practice what it preaches. He basically talks about it in the context of UK, mainly the western world. His focus is on liberal higher education. He says that a number of books have been published in the UK on the aims, values and goals of higher education. But it is fair to say that we are still short of a properly worked out examination of the meaning of higher education.³⁸

Tracing the history of idea of higher education since the Greek and Medieval times, Barnett says that it has developed over time, emerging from its institutional forms in classical Greece and in the Middle Ages, to be articulated in written form in successive versions in the nineteenth and twentieth century. While there are definite links between the successive formulations of the idea, each version has to be understood in its own age. And over the last 150 years, there have been, at any one time, not just one idea on offer, but a number of conceptions of higher education, often set up as rivals to each other. He basically lays out a conceptual archaeology, looking at the main historical stages, and extracting the key elements, of the idea of higher education.³⁹ He basically describes four ideas, namely: *The Greek Idea of Higher Education*; *The Medieval Idea of Higher Education*; *Newman's Idea of a University*; *Karl Jaspers and The Idea of University*.

The Greek idea of higher education is basically represented in Plato's dialogues. The dialogues of most help here are those concerned with the guardians and the lengthy preparation that they were to undergo to fit them for their role as leaders of the community. But of more interest are the dialogues as a whole, for dialogue itself is

³⁸ Barnett, R. (1990), *The Idea of Higher Education*, Buckingham: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, p-4.

³⁹ Ibid, p-16.

central to Plato's idea of higher education. The key elements in Plato's idea of higher education are these:

- A sense that what ordinarily counts as knowledge is contaminated: Plato says that our conventional views of the world, which we call knowledge, are epiphenomena: they are the products of other events in the world, the way in which we are situated in relation to those events, and the way in which those events appear before us, given our circumstances and the conceptual tools at our disposal.
- It is possible to see through the conventional knowledge of appearances to a new realm of 'unchanging knowledge', though to achieve it 'the entire soul must be turned away from this changing world' and embark on 'the ascent to see things in the upper world...into the region of the intelligible'.
- The way forward lies in the criticism of conventional knowledge through a process of dialogue involving the learner. Only in the 'discourse of the reason' can fundamental assumptions be uncovered and questioned, although the competence was, for Plato, only acquired after a long and arduous developmental process around the age of 30-35. The process was to be accomplished through a method of open, critical dialogue. Certainly, there were differences between masters and pupils in their possession of insight and understanding. The pupil, though, learned not through the master's didactic instruction, but through the pupil's own mastering of the 'technique of asking and answering questions'.
- In this process, the student critically examines the knowledge acquired. In modern terminology, we could call it a reflexive process. However, the Greeks were clear that this kind of education was not just a matter of cognitive development. For them, it provided a broader process of development in which individuals realized their good or potential. The process of dialogue was not just an effective technique, therefore. It was deliberately and explicitly value-laden.
- This conception of education was connected with the idea of freedom in two distinct senses. First, there were to be no limits in principle to the range and form of a critical inquiry. 'The philosopher, with his passion for wisdom, will be the one who pursues all wisdom, not only some part of it.' Secondly, through the

exercise of critical reason, the student could free himself from the constraints of the world of appearances and attain a new life of independence.

Barnett says that we do not have to accept this Platonic model in its entirety. For our purposes, we can ignore Plato's metaphysical epistemology of a world of unchanging forms; and we can also question the notion of approaching middle ages as the time of one's life when that kind of knowledge is most likely to be possible.⁴⁰

Coming to the Medieval Idea of Higher Education, Barnett says that the modern institutions of higher learning- the university- had its origins in medieval times. He lays out several dominant themes as constitutive of medieval idea of higher learning or university, namely: participative approach to learning and inquiry; a collaborative form of internal government, institutional autonomy; institutions being open to all comers, and a belief in the value of study in itself tempered by a critical discourse. Overall, the medieval universities were democratic in a sense. Although the objects of study were strictly controlled- essentially the study of texts- there was an underlying axiom that what counted as knowledge required continual reassertion and demonstration. One of the key methods for this purpose lay in the use of structured discussions, or disputations as they were termed.

Coming to the Newman's Idea of a University, Newman set out his ideas in a series of *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education*, which began in Dublin in May 1852. Those ideas need to be seen in part as a response to the growing impact on education and knowledge of the developing industrial society. Consequently, we see in Newman's writings many of the themes which have characterized debates over higher education since.

Firstly, Newman considered that a university education should be 'liberal', by which he meant primarily that knowledge it imparted should be 'its own end'. Another view of Newman was that learning should form 'a connected view or grasp of things' or as he describes it, a 'philosophical' acquisition of knowledge. In both senses, Newman was

⁴⁰ Ibid, p-17.

attempting to keep the emerging industrial society at arm's length. On the one hand, Newman was carving out an idea of higher education grounded in something more than its being 'useful'; on the other hand, he also held to a conception of knowledge unconfined to 'the particular' which the increasing fragmentation of work, even professional work, seemed to him to be bringing. In order to be able to offer this larger view, the university had to take a generous approach to the domains of knowledge that it embraced. Accordingly, the university 'teaches all knowledge by teaching all branches of knowledge.'⁴¹

Over all, Newman's idea of a university offered an 'intellectual enlargement' or 'an expansion of the mind'. Secondly, it was intended to produce 'the formation of a character', namely those aspects of a person's character that were developed by the cultivation of the mind.' Barnett says that what Newman was offering us, then, is a particularly radical conception of liberal education. It was liberal not only in relation to the range of potential subject matter or the teaching and learning methods, but also, and more importantly, it was liberal in terms of its effects on individual. The general effect of such a university education was intellectual self empowerment.⁴²

Karl Jaspers' idea on higher education was published in his book *The Idea of University* (1946). The writing is informed by a sense that the university, through the fragmentation of knowledge and its emphasis on useful knowledge, had underwritten nationalism and the new technological age. Against this background, Jaspers saw the possibility of the university playing a role in the construction of a more humane society, but based on a more unitary and purposeful conception of knowledge. To a certain extent, the book is wrapped up in a European philosophical outlook, and is both idealist and existentialist in orientation. And it reflects the tension acutely felt within Germany between the state (and nationalism) and the university. Nevertheless, Jaspers' idea of the university contains many points of continuing relevance.

⁴¹ Ibid, p-18.

⁴² Ibid, p-19.

Jaspers considered that the modern university had four main functions: research, teaching, a professional education, and the transmission of a particular kind of culture. Even so, the essence of the university remained that of a community of scholars and students seeking knowledge and truth. As a philosopher, Jaspers could not remain content with that kind of traditional formulation: he felt bound to offer an account of what seeking knowledge and truth meant. He was arguably the first theorist of the university to confront the knowledge base of the university and to provide an appropriate theory of knowledge or, in short, an epistemology.

Jaspers was particularly conscious of the theoretical difficulties of securing reliable knowledge. Although it might be 'universally valid', knowledge is not absolutely objective, for what counts as knowledge is the product of a particular method, chosen by the investigator, and which involves 'a framework of assumptions which we know to be only relatively valid'. Jaspers was clear that 'consensus is the mark of universal validity.'

In parallel with Newman, Jaspers considered that the different disciplines constituted a single cosmos of knowledge, and so the university could not arbitrarily restrict the range of knowledge in which it was interested. But Jaspers recognized that the disciplines had become so fragmented that they constituted separate cultures of their own; the split between the sciences and the humanities was especially problematic. Jaspers also observed that the pursuit of 'universally valid' knowledge was more difficult as a result of the increasing tension between the university and the modern state. Academic freedom was therefore necessary, if the essential tasks of the university were to be safeguarded.

Knowledge could be pursued as a narrow enterprise, focused only on the world of appearances. But it can also, Jasper reminded us, be pursued with a broad sense of rationality, of the value and power of the creativity of the human mind. This kind of 'purposive reason' can give 'meaning and vitality' to the inquiry into knowledge. The life of inquiry into truth is none other than research. There was, therefore, for Jaspers, a necessary relationship between teaching and learning on the one hand, and research on the other.

From this epistemology and sociology of knowledge, Jaspers drew certain implications of the university curriculum. First, students must be allowed to be personally active in the academic inquiry, and this in turn implies that they must have academic freedom in order to be able to learn in that way. Secondly, the importance of student's own active inquiry (or research) is bound up with Jaspers' view of the nature of the individual's encounter with knowledge. Higher learning implies more than mere acquisition of knowledge. It requires a skeptical and questioning attitude to that which is encountered as knowledge. Thirdly, and connected with the different realms of knowledge being ultimately complementary to each other, there needs to be an interdisciplinary approach to knowledge.

Higher education could never, for Jaspers, just rely on the individual student's approach to knowledge, however critical. For the search of truth and the critical outlook depended on interpersonal communication. And the form of communication required was essentially Socratic dialogue in which participants 'stand on the same level'. It is a dialogue in which neither imposes a view on the other: both are meant to be free.

Barnett concludes that Jaspers' idea of the university was not simply an idea of university as such. It was intimately connected with larger views both about what it meant to be a person in modern society, and about the proper development of modern society itself. At the level of the individual, the educational process typical of the university cannot just be confined to the acquisition of knowledge, or the preparation for professional life. Understood properly, it is a 'formative process aiming at meaningful freedom', producing the 'transformation of the whole man'. This is a transformation, though, produced essentially by the student acting upon himself. It is a process of self-formation through 'self criticism' in which the learner is 'referred back to himself for all his decisions'. At the level of society itself, 'criticism is a necessary condition of life'.⁴³

⁴³ Ibid, p-21.

Having discussed all the four sets of idea of higher education, Barnett concludes that these sets have to be understood in terms of their own history and culture and the social interests they represent. The education of the Greek philosopher kings, the formation of a clerkly stratum in medieval Europe, the response of the university in the nineteenth century to industrial society, and the contribution that the university could make to social reconstruction following the twentieth century world wars: contrasting historical contexts such as these are bound to generate a view of the university which is each partly specific. We can readily see that there are certain recurring themes, such as knowledge, truth, reason, wholeness, dialogue and criticism.

We can, though, be more definite. We can say that there is a general allegiance to the university having as its dominant idea a community of individuals collaborating in a particular form of life, namely an inquiry which is sensitive to the interconnectedness of different domains of knowledge, and the difficulties of obtaining real knowledge.⁴⁴ According to Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998), the components of a modern university are its faculty, students, administration, and physical infrastructure. Transmission of existing knowledge, creation of new knowledge, and stimulation of analytical and creative powers is its purpose in broad terms. In post- Renaissance Europe, universities were both the result of social evolution and the engines of economic and scientific progress. Research is a prime function of the modern university. This involves generation of new ideas, principles to new situations and problems, thereby generating new knowledge. This knowledge can range from the highly significant to the fairly trivial; each field of specialization has its own criteria for judging good and bad research.⁴⁵

Coming to the aims and goals of higher education, Barnett talks about Kenneth Minogue, who in his book, *The Concept of a University* (1973) lays down functionalist view of higher education. There are a number of elements to the functionalist view: it is not so much a particular view as a general perspective. It includes the tendency to understand higher education in terms of the values and goals of the wider society, and the drive to

⁴⁴ Ibid, p-25.

⁴⁵ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press

evaluate the effectiveness of higher education in terms of its demonstrable impact on the wealth generating capacity of the society. As a result, the costs of higher education and its contribution to the economy come to the fore. These kinds of claims should not be taken lightly. Higher education owes its size and influence to its host society which underwrites its bills. Barnett criticizes this saying that issues of this type exert a disproportionate influence, in two senses. First, even as reflecting the interests of the wider society, they reflect a narrow set of interests. Secondly, and more significantly, the functional approach neglects the intrinsic character of higher education.⁴⁶

As the purpose of the study is about the higher education system in Pakistan, it is imperative to discuss the meaning and aims of education in the context of Islam. Rukhsana Zia in her article, "Religion and Education in Pakistan: An Overview" (2003) states that knowledge and learning is exalted in the Quran, with God as the ultimate teacher. Humanity was bestowed the superior status among all of God's creations because of its capacity for knowledge. Reading and writing is incumbent upon Muslims, thus, leaving no place for illiteracy in a Muslim society. With a focus on an integrated harmonious and evolutionary philosophy of living, the essence of Islamic education is to strive for excellence in the spiritual, moral, social and intellectual realms.⁴⁷

Naseem Jaffer Quddus in her book, *Problems of Education in Pakistan* (1990) describes the Islamic interpretation of education. According to Islam, the aims of education and learning are to seek the pleasure and bounties of Allah and not for the purposes of gaining the frailties of this world.⁴⁸ Quddus continues saying that in Islam, education is the process of enlightenment of the soul with divine wisdom for the attainment of self-perfection and self-realization. It is of paramount importance to every Muslim, male and female equally to seek education for their mental and spiritual enlightenment. The prophet of Islam summed up the aims of education thus, "Acquire knowledge; it enables its possessor to distinguish right from wrong; it lightens the way to heaven, a friend in the

⁴⁶ Barnett, R. (1990), *The Idea of Higher Education*, Buckingham: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, p-2.

⁴⁷ Zia, R. (2003), "Religion and Education in Pakistan: An Overview", *Prospects*, XXXIII (2), p-168.

⁴⁸ Quddus, Naseem J. (1990), *Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-56.

desert, society in solitude, companion when friendless, guides to happiness, sustains us in misery, an ornament amongst friends and an armour against enemies.”⁴⁹

Quddus says that the genesis and the aspirations of education in Islam transcend the narrower scope of other systems and concepts of education. It is designed to cater for that large and liberal purpose which we associate with the historical mission of the Prophet of Islam and its sole purpose is to enable the Muslims to realize the modern ideas and to imbibe the spirit of Islam and become true prototypes of the model of man Islam came to create. Here education programme is coextensive with the whole range of human activity which has to be inspired by the Islamic spirit which transcends what may be called education which is designed merely to fulfil the narrower national purpose of modern nationalist states. As Islam transcends the territorial concept of the State, its paramount and distinctive contribution is to create Ummah-i-Islamia which embraces all believers within its scope and indeed unites them in one vast brotherhood. Thus, in keeping with that large and liberal purpose of the historical mission of the prophet of Islam, the concept of education in Islam is primarily to serve the need of providing education in Islamic learning, sciences, arts, culture as these are emphasized by the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet of Islam. It serves humanity, brings relief and redemption to it in keeping with the letter and spirit of the teachings of Islam.

N.J.Quddus criticizes the western models of secular education which, according to her, in some sense at present dominate their educational institutions have an approach to the citadels of learning called the universities which is one of the mechanical kind and to that extent one which is not relevant for the purpose of people of Pakistan. Their approach is anthropocentric. They place man; his needs, his wants, his likes and his dislikes in the centre, and proceed to adjust their programme of educating man in that perspective- so that verily man becomes the measure of everything. But in the concept of education in Islam the approach is theocentric, in the sense that here and His Will as also his Law, His Pleasure and Displeasure, are the sole determining norms in terms of which educational policies and programmes for securing the transformation of man in the height of higher

⁴⁹ Ibid, p-56-7.

ideals would be attempted- so that not the man's will but God's Will shall come to prevail.⁵⁰ In this context, Rukhsana Zia in her article, "Religion and Education in Pakistan: An Overview"(2003) says that it is understandable that most philosophers differentiate between traditional Muslim education and secular education. In direct contradiction to the belief of western philosophers, who view religion as a personal matter, Islam strongly opposes such a perception. Faith thus, is the axis around which life turns and religion the common denominator, whatever the field of learning. The concept of education as various other concepts, is embodied in the Quran, and demonstrated in the life of the prophet (Sunnah) and in his words saying Hadith.

According to the Quran, various educational methods have been propounded, thus making way for a variety of appropriate and effective methods, for example: learning by participation and doing; observation and enquiry; example and friendship; learning from history; rational dialogue; teaching by questioning; use of proverbs; parables and similes; presentation in rhetorical style; reward and punishment; repentance and forgiveness.⁵¹

Regarding Higher Education, Quddus highlights the importance of higher education in general and in Pakistan, attributing it to rapid social and economic progress of the country. She says that the strategic point in education lies in the colleges and universities. These institutions set the tone for primary, secondary and specialized education. They train the teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, philosophers, agriculturists, businessmen and government officials who provide leadership and establish standards for moral, economic and social life. They are responsible for conserving knowledge, for keeping abreast of new knowledge and adding to knowledge through research. Therefore, most diligent attention should be directed towards higher education. Such attention will be rewarded by the most immediate results in the national reconstruction of Pakistan and will bring the most lasting results in the structure and excellence of education, public administration, science, agriculture, industry and business.⁵²

⁵⁰ Ibid, p-48-9.

⁵¹ Zia, R. (2003), "Religion and Education in Pakistan: An Overview", *Prospects*, XXXIII (2), p-168.

⁵² Quddus, Naseem J. (1990), *Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-195.

Conclusion:

Having discussed briefly, historical background of higher education in Pakistan, conceptual understanding and significance of higher education in general, we can say that higher education in Pakistan has been inherently defective and full of setbacks and had not been given proper attention since the very beginning. Though in the new millennium it has gained remarkable attention by the government of Pakistan and the international community, a lot has still to be accomplished in this sector. Pakistan suffers badly economically and socially and it needs a serious revamping in higher education since higher education plays a key role in the socio-economic development of a nation. The following chapters will discuss about the various issues and challenges in higher education in Pakistan; state policies in higher education and the impact on society; role of international organizations like the World Bank, and the UNESCO-Task force in higher education in Pakistan and the final chapter will conclude the whole analysis.

CHAPTER II

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN

In the previous chapter, we discussed about the historical background of the higher education of Pakistan, the significance and the conceptual understanding of higher education in general. This chapter will analyze the different issues and challenges in the higher education sector of Pakistan persisting since the beginning. Broadly speaking, higher education is the primary engine through which advanced knowledge (as opposed to training) is produced and imparted. Policy makers have however tended to view higher education as relatively unimportant compared with other development imperatives such as primary education and health⁵³. Institutions of higher education and research are central to a nation's capacity to connect with the new international knowledge system and adopt, adapt and further develop the new technologies. Yet in many developing countries, they do not effectively play this role. Enrolments have skyrocketed while funding stagnated. Many of the brightest students from developing countries today avoid their national universities and have enrolled in universities in industrialized countries. Many of them especially those with advanced degrees are reluctant to return to their country because of the absence of research facilities, unfavourable economic conditions or political considerations. In large part of the developing world higher education is in the midst of crisis and Pakistan is one of them. The quality of teaching and learning has dropped far below international standards. Research activities are under funded and often of questionable merit.⁵⁴ Although outstanding scientific work continues to be done by individual scholars, most third world institutions of higher learning, like Pakistan are intellectually peripheral to the international scholarly community.⁵⁵ However, today

⁵³ Bloom, D and H. Rosovsky (2007), "Higher Education in Developing Countries", in James J.F. Forest and Philip G. Altbach (eds.) *International Handbook of Higher Education*, Springer, p-443.

⁵⁴ Verspoor, Adriaan M. (1994), "Introduction: Improvement and Innovation in Higher Education", in Jamil Salmi and Adriaan M. Verspoor (eds.) *Issues in Higher Education: Revitalizing Higher Education*, Oxford: IAU Press, p-1.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p-2.

higher education has gained significant attention from even governments of developed countries like the United States. It is felt that even countries like U.S. face strong competition in this sector. The president, Barack Obama feels that there is a need to revamp the higher education even in U.S. to equip people with skills needed to fill the jobs of the future. He highlights the need to improve the U.S. education system to compete with students from India and China. He also said that his country wants to lead the world in college degrees by 2020 and this could only be done by helping Americans better afford a higher education.⁵⁶ Thus, it can be deduced from this that if this is the concern shown by developed countries like U.S., developing countries like Pakistan which is down below the list should undoubtedly gain direct and immediate attention from the state as the higher education system in Pakistan suffers severely from neglect since the beginning itself. As such, it is on the verge of collapse.

The higher education in Pakistan has been neglected since its birth in 1947 and as such it is one of the weakest amongst the modern nations and also one of the most backward countries of South Asia. It is the second most populous country of South Asia and world's sixth most populous nation. Literacy level is also quite low compared to other South Asian countries like India, Srilanka and Maldives. According to World Development Indicators 2008, male literacy level in Pakistan is 63 percent as compared to India, Srilanka and Maldives which have 73.4, 92.3 and 96.2 percent respectively. Female literacy in Pakistan is 36 percent while that of India, Srilanka and Maldives is 47.8, 89.1 and 96.4 percent respectively.

⁵⁶ International (2009), "Obama calls for Higher Education Revamp in U.S.", *The Hindu*, Delhi, 12th July, 2009.

Demographic Profile of South Asian Countries

Country	Population (July 2007 in millions)	Median Age	Population Growth Rate in %	Population below poverty in %	Male Literacy in %	Female Literacy in %
India	1,129.9	24.8	1.60	25	73.4	47.8
Pakistan	164.7	20.9	1.83	-	63	36
Bangladesh	150.5	22.5	2.06	45	53	31.8
Afghanistan	31.9	17.6	2.63	53	43.1	12.6
Nepal	28.9	20.5	2.13	30.9	62.7	34.9
Srilanka	20.9	30.0	0.98	-	92.3	89.1
Bhutan	2.3	20.5	2.08	31.7	60.0	34
Maldives	0.37	18.1	2.73	21	96.2	96.4

Table:1

The South Asian countries provide a sizeable portion of the total labour force in the world. Despite being well endowed in human resources these countries are marred by high rates of unemployment. To some extent, this is due to the poor quality of education, particularly higher education. There are large numbers of higher education institutions that render overly theoretical curriculum and adopt inappropriate teaching methods. This limits the effective utilization of available manpower in these countries.⁵⁷ Pakistani society reflects the problems of newly independent nations of Africa and Asia. The long stretch of colonial rule in Indo-Pakistani sub-continent happened to coincide with the era of scientific and technological progress in the West- the latter half of the eighteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. The pace of progress in the sub-continent during these two centuries became much slower compared to that of the technologically advanced

⁵⁷ Agarwal P. (2008), "Privatization and Internationalization of Higher Education in the countries of South Asia: An Empirical Analysis", [Online: Web] Accessed 2nd June 2009 URL: http://www.saneinetwork.net/pdf/SANEI_VIII/7.pdf

countries of the West and created a formidable gap between them, which is very difficult to fill within a period of few decades.⁵⁸

Broadly speaking, the crisis of higher education mainly manifests in overcrowding, inadequate staffing, deteriorating physical facilities, poor library resources and inadequate scientific equipment. The consequences are poor internal efficiency, graduate unemployment and limited scientific output⁵⁹. Higher education is faced with a number of challenges related to ever expanding disciplines, lack of real focus on science and technology, availability of qualified faculty and the quality of instruction, skill based training, research and development, financing, equity of conditions at access, and employability of graduates. At the same time, there are new opportunities relating to technologies that are improving the ways in which knowledge can be accessed, harnessed and disseminated. Equally relevant is the issue of greater involvement of private sector in higher education and instituting strong and rigorous regulatory mechanisms

In Pakistan, higher education has been facing the challenges which impacted on its quality and quantity. Soon after the partition of 1947, there was a rapid expansion in the number of educational institutions and enrollments on both sides of the border. The only university within Pakistan at that time was the Punjab University in Lahore which had been established by the British in 1882⁶⁰. At the time of independence, the nation's political leaders had clearly recognized Pakistan's educational problems and had suggested a thorough overhaul of the system. One of the important steps in this direction was the suggestion eliminating for the impact that the British colonial legacy had had on the education system. The education system of the new ideological state of Pakistan was, according to Jinnah, to be more in accord with 'genius of our people' rather than the

⁵⁸ Zaman, Umme S. (1981), *Banners Unfurled: A Critical Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-87.

⁵⁹ Verspoor, Adriaan M. (1994), "Introduction: Improvement and Innovation in Higher Education", in Jamil Salmi and Adriaan M. Verspoor (eds.) *Issues in Higher Education: Revitalizing Higher Education*, Oxford: IAU Press, p-2.

⁶⁰ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-259.

needs imposed by its colonial masters.⁶¹ One of the root and major cause for the present crisis of education including higher education in Pakistan is the presence of colonial tradition of education inherited since the British times. The present system of education prevalent in Pakistan is the heritage of the pre-partitioned British India. The system of education followed in colonial India was introduced by the British primarily for turning out clerks and subordinates necessary for carrying on the administration of the country in English under the British masters in the colonial set up that was India then. The system of education was designed by Lord Macaulay to produce “your most obedient servants”. The cardinal principle of this system was according to Macaulay to want “Indians in colour but Englishmen in taste and aptitude”.⁶² The consensus of opinion is that since the existing system was designed by alien rulers to serve their own imperialistic ends, it can hardly be expected to cater for the requirements of an independent Islamic state. The British in devising their system had no other end in view except the creation of a class of bureaucrats to fit in the administrative hierarchy which was the mainstay of the British rule in the subcontinent.⁶³

It is said that while we are in the twenty-first century, most of the public universities of the country of Pakistan are stuck in the middle of the nineteenth century almost when they were first established in 1857 (the University of Calcutta) by the British rulers of India. Dr. Tariq Rahman in his book, *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan* (2004), says that the universities retained their colonial character after 1947. As in colonial times, it was the official sector- the military and the bureaucracy in that order- that got more financial support, more power and more prestige than the academia. What is obvious is that, primarily because of lack of prestige, power and money, the brightest students still drifted towards initially into the bureaucracy and later into the NGOs, the corporate sector and the international bureaucracy (UNO, UNDP, World Bank etc). The three defects of the colonial university- subordination to the government, paucity of funds and lack of high academic

⁶¹ Jalil, Nasir (1998), “Pakistan’s Education: The First Decade” in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*”, Oxford University Press, p-35.

⁶² Quddus, Syed A.(1979), *Education and National Reconstruction of Pakistan*, Lahore: S.I. Gillani pub, p-41.

⁶³ Ibid, p-42.

standards- remained and have become worse.⁶⁴ He says that the Pakistani universities are sub-standard because the colonial past has left behind a legacy of the over-developed state with less money going into higher education than is required. Moreover, because of the prestige and power of the state, academia remains dominated and subservient in the country. Thus, both because of lack of high salaries and lack of power and influence, the brightest minds are not attracted to the academic profession.⁶⁵ The socio-economic and political system, even after independence, is unfortunately, a continuation of the system practised and followed during British rule. The ignorance and poverty of the masses and the existence of small pressure groups of small vested interests stands in the way of balanced economic development. Hence, most of the institutions go on unchanged and flourish undisturbed.⁶⁶

According to Aftab A. Kazi in *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan* (1994), the restrictive and elitist nature of colonial education has continued in post-colonial Pakistan, and as a result, high quality education is inaccessible to a large majority of the population, thereby restricting upward mobility within the society and leading to misdistribution of societal wealth. If the goal is access to education, it becomes apparent that the education system in Pakistan has not been geared towards such a realization.⁶⁷ Inadequate funds, bureaucratic misplanning and administration are all traits of colonial legacy of education and they undoubtedly are responsible for the crisis in the system. Though as a change of policy, allocation of funds has been increased in this sector, a lot needs to be done.

If we compare the number of students in higher education at the time of independence with the number of students enrolled now in the universities and colleges, we see a tremendous rise. Unfortunately, there has been an inability to cater to the increasing

⁶⁴ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-109.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p-127.

⁶⁶ Zaman, Umme S. (1981), *Banners Unfurled : A Critical Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p- 87.

⁶⁷ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-90.

demands of the students due to crisis in the number of higher education institutions.⁶⁸ In 1947-48, Pakistan's entire educational infrastructure was estimated to comprise around 10,000 primary and middle schools (1,700 for girls), about 408 secondary schools (64 for girls), 46 secondary vocational institutions (18 for girls), 40 Arts and Science colleges including 5 for women, and two universities. There was not a single professional college in the country until the following year when the government opened 19 professional colleges (including 2 for women) over the period 1948-49. The total enrollment in various educational institutions in 1947-48 has been estimated to be one million in primary and middle schools (including 130,000 girls); 58,000 in secondary schools (including 7,000 girls); 4,000 in secondary vocational schools (1,000 women); and a total of 644 students (including 56 women) were enrolled in two universities.⁶⁹ On the developmental side, while enormous numbers of schools and colleges were established in Punjab and Karachi, the educational development of Balochistan, NWFP and Sindh provinces were largely ignored. As a result, these areas still remain underdeveloped.⁷⁰ The ordinance for a university in Balochistan was issued in 1971 and the university opened its doors in 1973. However, there is a continuing problem in hiring and retaining faculty.⁷¹

One response to the quantitative crisis and failure of the public universities is the mushrooming of private universities. The first private university was the Aga Khan University established in 1983 and the second was the Lahore University of Management Sciences in 1985. The first taught only medical science and the second business studies. Thus, to begin with, the government of Pakistan allowed one-subject degree awarding institutions to be set up. While both Aga Khan University (AKU) and Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) kept up their high standards and are expanding into other fields, many other private institutions established later did not. They teach subjects

⁶⁸ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (2005), "Pakistan's Universities: Problems and Solutions", (Online web), accessed 20 th Feb, 2009, URL: <http://www.chowk.com/articles/pakistans-universities-problems-and-solutions-Pervez-Hoodbhoy.htm>

⁶⁹ Jalil, Nasir (1998), "Pakistan's Education: The First Decade" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, p-34-35.

⁷⁰ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-60.

⁷¹ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-114.

that the market demanded- business, information-technology, engineering, medicine, fashion-design etc and charge exorbitantly high fees while providing sub-standard education. According to Tariq Rahman (2004), the mushrooming of private universities teaching subjects supposedly leading to lucrative employment is undermining the concept that, among other things, a university education enlightens a person and gives him or her knowledge to understand the human significance of policies and advances in knowledge.⁷²

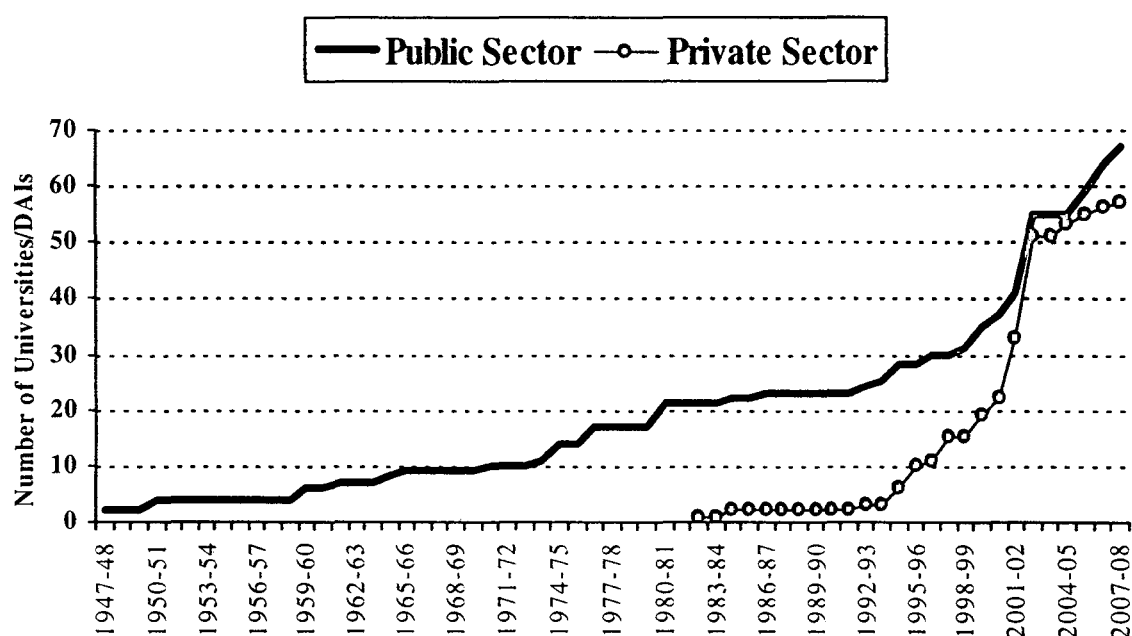
Louis D.Hayes in his book *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan* (1987) says that construction of institutions of higher education proceeded rapidly over the past decade (since 1970s). Several new universities had been created and dozens of colleges, many of the latter are little more than paper institutions with practically no physical plant and few students. Much of this development was the result of political pressure. While there is no denying in the educational needs of the country at all levels, the pace at which new institutions had been created has not been matched by the development of resources. With resources being spread so thin, maintenance and renovation of older facilities was de-emphasized if not discarded together. Thus, buildings deteriorated and laboratories grew progressively more outdated.⁷³

The armed forces have influenced the elitist cadet colleges and public schools by either being part of their Boards of Governors or principals since the 1950s. It is only recently, however, that they have responded to the breakdown of the public university system by creating universities of their own. Tariq Rahman gives the list of armed forces universities functioning in 2004, which include: the National University of Science and Technology (NUST); Bahria University; Air University; National University of Modern Languages (NUML) and the Foundation University. Moreover, the military academies of the three armed forces are also degree awarding institutions counted among universities by the HEC though in some cases they are affiliated with the armed forces universities. The five major military universities work like other private universities, charging high

⁷² Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-120.

⁷³ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-113.

tuition fees and offering subjects of utilitarian value.⁷⁴ There are many positive points of these universities, for example, presence of discipline, better teachers, well-equipped and comfortable class rooms etc. However, the military universities essentially negate the idea of the university as a place created by academics in order to experiment in new ideas. These institutions do not have the air of academic freedom, the bold experimentation with new thoughts and ideas that generally come from independent scholars on the campuses like Cambridge, Berkeley or even the larger universities of Pakistan. Students who see academics as subordinates tend to respect power rather than knowledge. This phenomenon, according to Rahman, is not new since the bureaucracy has always been dominating academia in Pakistan. What is new is that now, in addition to bureaucracy, the military too has begun to dominate some sections of academia. Thus, the autonomy and power of academics, such as it was, is being eroded even further.⁷⁵



Source: Higher Education Commission, Pakistan.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-123.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p-124-25.

⁷⁶ Available on URL:

http://www.hec.gov.pk/components/com_bnvcontent/images/resources/2165_number-of-universitiest-2007-08-update.doc.

According to the Task Force Report (2002), the prominent amongst the key issues identified in higher education in Pakistan are: ineffective governance and management structures and practices; inefficient use of available resources; inadequate funding; poor recruitment practices and inadequate development of faculty and staff; inadequate attention to research and support for it; politicization of faculty, staff and students; strong skepticism about the realization of the reform.⁷⁷

Regarding ineffective governance and management structures and practices, as in colonial times, the chancellor is still a high state functionary. For the provincial universities, he is the governor of the province, for the federal ones, the president of Pakistan. The vice-chancellor is always his nominee which in, practice, means that the bureaucrats of the ministry of education have a major say in deciding who he or she is to be. While the provincial, or federal, governments exercise administrative control over university affairs, financial control is exercised through the centre that provides funds through the University Grants Commission (now Higher Education Commission or HEC) first established in 1974. In short, government influence has increased since British times because at that time, the only controlling body was the provincial government. Now three separate sets of bureaucrats are involved: the provincial bureaucracy; the federal bureaucracy, and the HEC's bureaucracy. While control has become more diversified and red-tape has multiplied, responsibility has become diffused.⁷⁸

The lack of accountability in Pakistani universities is a direct consequence of the flawed nature of the administrative structures in place. The most problematic amongst these are the appointment of the vice chancellor by the chancellor with a nominal consultative process, the appointment of the syndicate through a similar process, and the effective chairing of the syndicate by the vice chancellor. In the best cases, these appointments are not just based on performance, and in the worst cases, they are based on political

⁷⁷ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

⁷⁸ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-110.

patronage or nepotism. Although, in theory, the vice chancellor is answerable to the syndicate in practice, he effectively chairs the body. The fact that the vice chancellor is nominated and not elected, and the syndicate similarly constituted, leads to an effective collusion of the power brokers and results in a dysfunctional system.

The Sharif Report (1959) noted that the Vice Chancellor should be accountable to the chancellor for the just and proper performance of his functions. It said the VC to be the chief academic and administrative office of the institution. A fatal problem is that the chancellor, who is supposed to hold the vice chancellor accountable, has neither the time nor the expertise for this task. In addition, there is no mechanism for the evaluation of the performance of the faculty and administrative staff. Merit plays a minimal role in their advancement.

Regarding disconnection between role, responsibility and authority, several of the most important positions in the university management have responsibilities inappropriate to their role, with limited authority and for which the position holders are not directly accountable. The fundamental organizational principle, here should be that if a person is to be held accountable for his performance, he should have full authority to take decisions within his jurisdictions without outside interference, and his responsibilities must be suited to his expertise.

A glaring example of where the above principle breaks down the current university governance structures is faculty appointments. The Registrar is directly involved and is often the principal decision maker in the hiring of faculty. However, in spite of his authority, the registrar has no academic experience for his role, and is neither directly responsible nor ever questioned about the declining quality of the faculty.

Another mismatch occurs in the role, responsibility and accountability matrix during the appointment of Deans and Department Chairs, which are directly appointed by the Chancellor. If the Vice Chancellor is to be held accountable for the performance of the university, he must also have full authority to appoint Deans and Department chairs and

to hold them accountable for their performance. The principle of accountability should percolate downwards. Effective administrative structures cannot be implemented without alignment of role, responsibility or authority or without attendant accountability.

A fundamental structural problem with the current system is that even if fiscal resources are made available, they cannot be utilized properly because of poor financial management. Research funding in many universities, is in many cases, controlled by the Head of Departments, who have little to do with the research being conducted. There is no office dedicated to the task of handling research funds in the universities. Along with this, there are no incentives for faculty to engage in research in Pakistani universities; research has little impact on their careers. The university system does not reward, either materially or in terms of prestige, faculty with superior research credentials. Faculty pay structures are fixed and do not depend on performance. In addition, the universities lack suitable administrative structures to facilitate efforts by faculty members to attract research money. Moreover, there is no direct monetary benefit to a university when a faculty member obtains funds for research. The university is not reimbursed for use of its premises, facilities and utilities for carrying out a research project. Also, there is no clear mechanism for the protection of intellectual property developed in the universities.⁷⁹

Presently, universities of Pakistan are facing the pressure of growing enrollments, curriculum modernization, shortage of funds, source allocations, appointment of staff, maintaining educational standard, offering courses as per new demands of changing era, staff development, research and scientific developments. The ultimate goal of the application of management decision making techniques should be to enable the administrators to make more rational decision among conflicts, uncertainty and unfavorable circumstances.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ The Boston Group, "Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda".

⁸⁰ Nadeem, Anwar M.(2008), " Decision- making Practices in the Universities of Pakistan", *Journal of Diversity Management*, 3(4) p-21.

Decision making is also a factor in this respect. Decision making practices in the universities of Pakistan are influenced by certain variables like ignoring the rule of law, diplomacy, and favouritism, interpreting the situation without having much information and without consultation. Unfortunately in Pakistan, there is a long tradition of making decisions based on factors other than merit, that's why the decision making practices were found to be unsatisfactory. Of course, changing this culture and deteriorated conditions takes time, but effective steps need to be taken. Moreover, certain measures and administrative reforms be introduced to bring about a better change. Gore (1977) presented a useful framework for an analysis of decision making in higher educational institutions. He analyzed whether decisions are made at individual level or at group level. He found that decisions were made at apex level without participation of academic staff. He recommended and reported that participation in decision making becomes an important dimension, as it is believed that people at lower levels in the hierarchy are more familiar with the field problems. He pointed out that decentralization in decision making increases the need for coordination at higher levels.⁸¹

Inefficient use of available resources is also one of the most significant problems of the higher education system in Pakistan. Some of the principal short falls are a small number of good quality teachers and researchers, talented students and efficient managers; a lack of competitive curricula and textbooks and appropriate libraries and laboratories; inefficient and unrealistic system of students and teachers' evaluation and absence of academic audit, as well as inadequate levels of timely funding. In addition, the educational set up suffers too much of redtapism and universities do not have sufficient degree of academic and administrative autonomy.

The practice of higher education in Pakistan is fundamentally deficient in resources required for the realization of the internationally accepted aims of higher education which include transference of current knowledge and theories; inculcation of inventiveness and creation of knowledge, application of theoretical knowledge for social and economic development; development of indigenous technology; reinforcement of politico-cultural

⁸¹ Ibid, p-5.

ethos of the country. One cannot expect transference of current knowledge and theories in natural and social sciences to the university and college students of Pakistan in the absence of an international standard library. There is no single library equipped with all eminently required books and journals in all the central or major branches of natural or social sciences,⁸² though a digital library in Pakistan has been recently set up by the Higher Education Commission in 2004 and is a breakthrough in the higher education sector.

Along with all these, the Pakistani universities do not have appropriate literature for producing curricula and textbooks reflective of current knowledge and theories in the global context. In any case the Pakistani universities are not equipped with the means of transference of current knowledge and theories, and therefore they stop short of being universities in the international sense of the term. Neither are they equipped with appropriate faculty and other resources to create a respectable amount of indigenous knowledge or dependable quality of local technology. Similarly, the Pakistani universities possess little capacity in terms of qualified manpower and required resources to use theoretical knowledge for social and economic development.⁸³

Related with all these is the lack of sufficient funds and facilities to the universities. According to “Leaping Forward- A Report on Higher Education in Pakistan”(February 2006),lack of sufficient funds has resulted in low paid demoralized faculty, and unavailability of modern tools, access to computers, internet, latest publications, properly equipped libraries and laboratories.⁸⁴

According to Adrian Zideman, the root of the financial crisis in higher education in many developing countries lies in the combination of dramatic, and continuing, growth in student numbers- the outcome of often imposed liberal admissions policies to ensure

⁸² Jan, M. Qasim and M. Ashraf Adeel (2004), “ Internationalizing Standards of Higher Education in Pakistan”, in Musa Khan Jalalzai (eds.) *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan: State Policies and Textbooks*, Lahore: Al Abbas International, p-216.

⁸³ Ibid, p-217.

⁸⁴ Promotion of Education in Pakistan Foundation, Inc.(2006),*Leaping Forward*, NewYork.

wide access to higher education- unmatched by public expenditures on higher education. The state, traditionally the dominant source of higher education finance in so many countries, has been unable to maintain support at levels that both enable universities to accommodate the expanding enrollments and also maintain acceptable standards of quality. As a result, pressure to reform the financing of higher education has mounted in virtually every part of the world.⁸⁵

In Pakistan, the Higher Education Commission controls the funding for public higher education and some private education projects. Its successes have been remarkable as the recurrent and development budgets increased 340 percent in real terms from 2001 to 2005/6. Nonetheless these increases basically restored university capacity lost over the years. Much of the budget growth was needed to cover the costs of increased enrollment, with expenditures per student increasing only 41 percent during that period. After 2005/6, the budget continued to increase the next year by a little more than 30 percent but remains low by international standards. The proportion of the age group attending university remains well under world standards.⁸⁶

Education Sector Spending in Pakistan

Year	GDP(US\$bn)	Education Expenditure as a share of GDP	Tertiary education expenditure as a share of GDP	Education as a share of total public expenditure	Tertiary education as a share of total education expenditure
2001-02	71.5	1.51	0.09	8.1	5.9
2002-03	82.3	1.63	0.17	8.8	10.6
2003-04	98.5	1.73	0.18	10.3	10.6

⁸⁵ Ziderman, A.(1994), "Enhancing Financial Stability of Higher Education Institutions", in Jamil Salmi and Adrian M. Verspoor (eds.) *Revitalizing Higher Education*, Oxford: IAU Press, p-210.

⁸⁶ Hayward, M. Frederick (2009), "Higher Education Transformation in Pakistan: Political and Economic Stability", *South Asia*, winter(54)

2004-05	111.5	1.78	0.24	10.5	13.6
2005-06	128.8	1.84	0.29	10.1	15.6

(Source: HEC Pakistan)⁸⁷

Table: 2

According to the World Bank Report (1991), most colleges and universities are under funded in Pakistan. They operate with minimal faculty, spend little on learning materials, and cannot cut costs by enrolling more students (with current faculty levels) without jeopardizing the quality of education.

Available resources could be used more effectively by reducing the proportion of non teaching employees- most of them servants and by reallocating those resources to faculty and instructional materials. Student performance in the examinations is consistent with the level and use of resources. Most students fail in the examinations, particularly in crowded institutions that offer few courses. And those who pass do so largely through their own efforts, not because of the quality of teaching. There are no institutional incentives for achievements or penalties or failure. Colleges and universities are not held accountable for the quality of instruction cost recovery is low and the government demands no standards.⁸⁸

In short, the problems identified in the region are innumerable. These include poor quality of teachers, low student motivation, lack of relevance of the course content to social or economic needs, gender and class disparities, student discipline, outdated curriculum and course materials, fiscal insolvency, and absence of research. Teacher quality is affected adversely by the poor salary and benefits and perverse incentives provided by systems of retention and promotion. Students face an unsatisfactory learning environment, overcrowded classrooms, rote learning, inadequate and outdated teaching materials, and a highly charged political situation. The result is that the vast rather the overwhelming

⁸⁷ Hussain, T.(2008), "Dilemma of Higher Education and Role of World Bank", [Online:web] Accessed 18 Dec, 2008 URL: http://www.ruc.dk/paes/forskerskolen/program/info/summer_school/summer2008/paper/tanveer_maken/

⁸⁸ Population and Human Resource Department, The World Bank (1991), *Costs and Finance of Higher Education in Pakistan*, WPS704.

majority of students emerge from Pakistani universities and colleges with no significant social or technical skills. Notwithstanding the rhetorical commitment to scientific and technical education, the actual quality of technical education has deteriorated over the last three decades. In other areas, the situation is even more depressing. There is little emphasis on communication, languages, writing or the humanities. Built on the tradition of the British system from the 19th century, the education programs purport to train students for employment in the public services, and therefore do not provide any training in entrepreneurship, marketing or other skills that would be more relevant. An environment that encourages cheating and corruption mars even the training for public service. More generally, the course content as well as the extra curricular environment ill prepares the students for participation in the social and political development of the country. Institutions of higher education have sat on the sidelines as the major currents of globalization, corporate concentration, technological revolution, and fundamentalism swept the globe; students have learnt about these areas mainly from other sources, and often by specialized private education centers. The weakness is most glaring in the case of technological revolution; notwithstanding the high demand mainstream Pakistani educational institutions still do not have credible course offerings in the area of information technology and nano technology. Arguably, the physical and social infrastructures of universities and colleges lag far behind other national institutions in terms of exposure to the electronic age.⁸⁹

Research gives rise to curiosity and a desire to look for, and find better solutions to our everyday problems or better explanations for whatever happens. Over the years, numerous manuscripts have been written about the lack of research in Pakistan. The issue is discussed frequently in academic institutions too. In nearly all such discussions, lack of funding and adequate facilities is presented as the major reasons that research has not been conducted. Perhaps the single most significant impediment in Pakistan to research and quality higher education, is the near zero tolerance for dissent in educational institutions. Pakistanis have in place a hierarchical system, which operates at every level of the society- at the home, school, college, university and work place. Research thrives

⁸⁹ The Boston Group, "Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda".

best where there is a group with which one can interact- a critical mass of critical thinkers. Ideally the group should not comprise people from the same narrow field but from different areas. This promotes cross fertilization of ideas. This is where universities have an edge over single discipline institutes. Now that the government is providing substantial research funds to public sector universities, a major hurdle has been removed. It is now up to the universities to produce the desired results.⁹⁰ According to Naseem Jaffer Quddus(1990), the significance of research in all types of higher education, academic or professional, should be emphasized, as provision for fundamental and applied research is essential for any country which wishes to be strong and progressive. Therefore, the universities should be encouraged to build up departments in which both teaching and research will occupy a permanent place⁹¹.

S. Akbar Zaidi in his article, "Dismal Condition of Social Sciences in Pakistan"(2002) has laid down five phases of social science research in Pakistan namely 1947-58 which can be called a phase of continuity of many traditions from the times of pre-independent India, 1958-71 when the military bureaucratic nexus set the rules for much of the administrative structure of modern Pakistan, where the huge presence and influence of the U.S. was most visible in military, economic, administrative and even academic terms. These two phases constitute 25 years of United Pakistan, a factor having a significant impact on the social sciences in the country. The third phase was the most democratic era in the new Pakistan, from 1971-77, an era which was far freer and liberal leaving a critical mark on the academic environment in Pakistan.⁹² The 1977-88 marked another structural shift in the political economy and evolution of Pakistan; with its imprint of the 'Ideology of Pakistan' and the state/public assertion and use of Islam. The period from 1988-99 or even to the present, could be treated as another period in Pakistan's evolution

⁹⁰ Memon, Ghulam R. (2007) "Education in Pakistan: The Key Issues, Problems and the New Challenges" *Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, 3(1):47-55.

⁹¹ Quddus, Naseem J.(1990), *Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-199.

⁹² Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), "Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31, p- 3646.

due to more global and regional changes rather than to the national ones, having an impact on social sciences, and on research in all disciplines.⁹³

In the first two phases following Pakistan's creation, research output in the social sciences was constrained by the dearth of institutions, such as universities, and was largely restricted to the universities of Punjab, Dhaka, and to Karachi, Pakistan's first capital. It was also limited to the fields of demography, politics, history and economics. The composition of research scholars of that era was primarily Urdu speaking migrants (the latter day mohajirs) who migrated from India to independent Pakistan, and Bengalis. Pakistan's social and economic formation was largely weakly developed capitalism, with the urban population of a mere 18 percent of the population and literacy only 15 percent. In the discipline of history, the focus of research was on Muslim United India and Freedom Movement in a nationalistic Islamic guise, on the Muslim league, and on the period from the early 20th century up to the partition of India. This trend in history continued well into the 1960s and even later.⁹⁴ Zaidi describes how independent social science research has been never conducted in Pakistan throughout history except during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which was an active period of research in social sciences, when research was far freer and open, secular, political, interventionist and activist. He describes how during the Zia period Islamization of education left a significant impact on social science research when economics became Islamic economics, anthropology became Islamic anthropology, research in history started focusing more on the Islamic dimension, and the only sort of history which began to be promoted was that related to Pakistan Movement and the Muslim Freedom struggle in United India. International Islamic University was established as a part of this trend in 1980 in Islamabad. Pakistan in the post- Zia period is still much affected by the major changes brought about by the military government between 1977 and 1988 and change since then has been noticeable but slow. Probably the greatest single change that has come about since the end of the 1980s, which has an impact on society and social sciences in Pakistan is that of globalization in its different forms and manifestations. Moreover, the post- Soviet world

⁹³ Ibid, p-3646.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p-3646.

also had an impact on research in politics, History and the Social Sciences. Another important phenomenon in the context of Pakistan is the highly visible presence of donors and of non-governmental organizations, many of which were involved in research themselves or funded research institutions or projects.⁹⁵ Zaidi concludes that the state of the social sciences in Pakistan is in a depressingly decrepit state. Not much research of any quality takes place in Pakistan, and the little that is undertaken by Pakistani social scientist is by those who live and work in the west. There are few social scientists that have produced good quality research in Pakistan while being based there but this is largely individual endeavour, and the contribution by the institution where they are located is incidental.⁹⁶

According to Pervez Hoodbhoy(1998), scientific research is carried out in barely a handful of university departments in the country and serious discussions on philosophic, social or political issues are rare. Only an occasional oasis punctuates these stony intellectual deserts. Someone unfamiliar with the country might attribute this to a general lack of debate in Pakistani society, but in fact, the rest of society is relatively dynamic and vibrant. Seminars and conferences even on controversial issues do take place. However these are held in hotels or public places and almost never on campus. While national newspapers and journals are vigorous instruments of debate and discussion, the contribution of university faculty to these is negligible.⁹⁷

Since 2002, however, funding for research has increased dramatically to the universities by the HEC and research activities have increased. But notwithstanding a few honorable exceptions, this “research” has added little to the stock of existing knowledge as judged by the international community of scholars. Nevertheless, in 2005/2006 university funding totaled a whopping Rupees 0.342 billion. Past experience shows that much of the money are used to buy expensive research equipments that will find little of any real use.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p-3647.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p-3660.

⁹⁷ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), “ Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?” in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.)*Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*”, Oxford University Press, p-252.

The claims made by the Musharraf government were several. A 300 percent jump in research publications shows that academic activity in Pakistan has vastly increased; 9 new engineering universities with European teaching technique will soon be established; the 3000 Pakistani students sent overseas for higher degrees will revolutionize the university system upon return; PhD's produced annually from Pakistani universities will soon approach the spectacular figure of 1500; mathematics is now a strong discipline in Pakistan; and so forth. However, according to Pervez Hoodbhoy, the truth is very different. Even though the spending on higher education has increased 15 times over the last 5 years, the improvements have been cosmetic. Genuine science in Pakistan has actually shrunk, not grown over the last three decades. The trend has not been reversed. Euphoric claims notwithstanding, public education in Pakistan remains miserably backward by international standards. Its real problems are yet to be touched.

The three fold increase in Pakistani academic publications doesn't mean doing more research, in fact. Large per paper monetary awards to university teachers- a practice not adopted anywhere else in the world for excellent reasons have indeed boosted publication rates. The high rewards have caused an explosion of plagiarism, theft of intellectual property, publication of trivial results, falsified data and publication of slightly different versions of the same paper in different journals. Most published papers are worthless academically and scientifically⁹⁸.

According to Shahid Siddiqui, there has been in fact an inflation of degrees in the higher education system of Pakistan, of which he discusses three important initiatives which are likely to change the complexion of higher education in Pakistan both quantitatively and qualitatively. They are: firstly; more commercialized stance of public universities- In the recent past, the universities all over the world faced serious financial problems. In the drastically changed circumstances, universities started fighting the battle for their survival. Pakistani public universities were having a similar experience. They not only started M.phil and PhD programmes more frequently but some universities started special

⁹⁸ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (2005), "Pakistan's Universities: Problems and Solutions", (Online web), accessed 20 th Feb,2009, URL: <http://www.chowk.com/articles/pakistans-universities-problems-and-solutions-Pervez-Hoodbhoy.htm>

classes on self finance basis. This was the start of sacrificing merit in order to earn more bucks. The ultimate result was that if you have money then you could buy your seat. Secondly, perhaps the most popular initiative is mushrooming of street universities and affiliated institutes at higher education level offering masters, M.phil and PhD. This is rather a new phenomenon as we were familiar only with the mushrooming of schools at primary and secondary levels in the last three decades. It has become much easier now for institutes to get affiliation with certain newly chartered universities. Thirdly, the emergence of a number of online universities of dubious repute that have made the task of PhD acquisition much easier. What one has to do is to provide the required amount of fees and the rest of the job is a piece of cake.

Some of the potential outcomes of inflation of higher education degrees are the following, for example: the market will be flooded by the people with the highest degrees in education. The quality of most of these degrees would, however be questionable. The employers are more concerned about the actual knowledge and experience of the human resources. Besides they are aware of the image of the institutes in terms of quality (or otherwise). So there is a possibility that people with highest degrees acquired through easy means do not get a positive response from the market. The shortcut degree holders thus getting not very encouraging response from market may accept jobs below their qualifications which may lead to a lot of frustrations. There could be a general disillusionment and mistrust about the validity of higher education in Pakistan especially PhD.⁹⁹

Faculty selection is also an important malaise in the system of Pakistani universities. A strong, competent, well qualified professor can be a tower of strength for a department for a very long time. Conversely, the appointment of even a single, mediocre and incompetent person, who gains tenure, reduces the pressure for intellectual alertness and scrupulousness in the university as a whole. With time, that person rises to positions of

⁹⁹ Siddiqui, Shahid(2001), "Inflation of Degrees"[Online web], Accessed 19th Jan, 2009, URL: <http://web.mit.edu/bilal/www/education/siddiqui-articles.html>

administrative authority, depressing standards and reducing the importance of merit as a criterion for progress. Tragically, dictatorship of the incompetent was virtually guaranteed by the terms of service and rules for faculty appointment in the Pakistani university system. According to Hoodbhoy (1998), the defining characteristics of the present system are:

1) All state university teachers and government employees, drawing a salary according to uniform national pay scales. Pay is not performance based; there is a simple and rigid formula for annual increments.

2) Requirements for research are minimal. The required number of journal publications for the posts of lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor are respectively zero, zero, 5 and 8. Citations of research work are not a consideration. The minimum number of teaching years needed are zero, 3, 10 and 15 respectively. Most universities do not require publication in international journals.

3) In contradistinction to laws governing school teachers, there are no laws that prescribe punishment for the incompetence or laziness of a university teacher. Autistic and mildly retarded individuals do no worse than normal people in this “honorable” profession in terms of pay and promotion. There does not exist a single example of a Pakistani university teacher being reprimanded or removed for not knowing his subject or shirking his duties. This is because university teachers form an unusually powerful and vocal lobby for their interests.

Rapid initial expansion and sudden availability of faculty jobs, low levels of school and college education, a political and social system based on patronage, and unattractive working conditions, joined together to make a lethal combination which ensured that universities did not get faculty which could deliver. The odds were further increased in the time of General Zia when ideology became an important factor in faculty appointments. It was required that candidates be knowledgeable in matters related to Islam and Pakistan. Questions that have been asked to all of candidates, including those who have applied to science departments, include like-What are the names of the wives of the Holy Prophet(PBUH)?; Recite Dua-e-Qanut(a rather difficult prayer); Give the various names of Allah. The few candidates, who refused to answer such questions, on

the grounds that these were irrelevant, were turned down. While the policy of asking questions of the type listed above remains in force, relatively less emphasis has been placed upon it in present times, but still it continues till date.

The upshot of past selection processes and procedures is that today there is no viable academic community in the universities. Academic staff associations bargain fiercely for allowances and privileges, and go on strike at the drop of the hat, but concerns about standards of teaching or research are non-existent. A majority of teachers freely admit that force of circumstances, not choice, made them study subjects which they did not like and then take up a profession which they could not care less about. These individuals are at complete liberty to convey their confusion and ignorance to students; in the process, they receive full salaries, and will keep doing so until they retire. Although there may be exceptions, the general teaching load is less than 8 teaching hours per week. In spite of this most teachers never consult a textbook, choosing to dictate from notes they saved from the time when they were students in the same department. With one solitary exception, no Pakistani university began with a faculty of acceptable quality in either the sciences or the arts (The physics department at Quaid-e-Azam University started with an excellent initial momentum and produced world class research in the area of high energy physics, reaching its peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Established by Dr. Riazuddin, this continues to be the only physics department in the country where research is still done, although the quality has sharply declined).¹⁰⁰

In principle, the ability to conduct independent research and present the results in a professional journal is an important qualification for a university faculty member, and is just as important as his ability to communicate with students. Indeed, the grant of tenure at the world's top-notch universities is almost based upon research output, measured by the impact that research has had upon the field. The publication of original research

¹⁰⁰ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p- 272.

articles is a requirement for being promoted in Pakistani universities. Unfortunately, the widespread practice of academic fraud has greatly reduced the value of this criterion¹⁰¹.

Politicization is also a severe challenge in the higher education system of Pakistan. Higher education systems are effective only when insulated from the undue influence of political parties, governments, or short term political developments in educational affairs. Success in research and education requires consistency, with academic decisions-concerning institutional leadership, curriculum or the funding of research projects-made for academic reasons. Excluding partisan political parties from the operation of a higher education system helps to safeguard meritocracy decision-making, one hall mark of an effective higher education system. Higher education institutions inevitably reflect the societies in which they operate. When a country suffers from deep rifts, these will be present on the campus. Undemocratic countries or weak democracies like Pakistan are unlikely to encourage shared governance in higher education. A society in which corruption is prevalent cannot expect its higher education institutions to be untainted. In other words, external factors easily overwhelm institutional efforts to promote change and are of course especially difficult to change.

For many of the countries of the developing world, political leaders at the start of the independence exhibited little understanding and sometimes little sympathy for the needs of the university education. However, at independence and still today, most problems faced by developing countries were believed to require some degree of government guidance and supervision. Higher education was no exception, leading to policy makers, with little sympathy to its needs, managing it in the same way they managed the roads, the army or the customs. The failure to recognize the importance of taking the long term view undermined the higher education sector's performance and inhibited the development of governance traditions. The proliferation of new institutions in most developing countries has now diluted whatever the useful traditions existed and also created shortages of qualified personnel.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p-273.

The tendency of politicians to intervene in higher education left many institutions hostage to factional policies, with decisions on student selection, faculty appointments and promotions, curriculum design, and similar matters being made on political grounds rather than on merit. In addition, many country leaders undoubtedly saw universities as sources of political danger, with students playing a relatively active political role. Governments may fear students because they know that these young people could under any circumstances overthrow a regime. Therefore many governments expect universities to contain student political activism, further corrupting the governance systems within the institutions.¹⁰²

Students have traditionally been an important factor in the political affairs of Pakistan, indeed often a decisive one. Students were involved in the overthrow of Ayub Khan, in the secession of the East wing and in the fall of the Bhutto regime. They continue to be one of the most important political forces, and probably the most volatile, in the country today. Involving by no means a sizeable percentage of students, those who are politically active wield considerable political influence. Student political activity is one of the key reasons for the ability to raise educational standards at the upper levels of the system.

According to Louis D. Hayes (1987), the reasons for the extent of politicization of education are to be found not only in tradition but also in the inadequacies and limitations of the political and social processes. Institutional mechanisms for political participation and dialogue do not exist, or work indifferently. Political parties are routinely banned or restricted. Only about a quarter of the population can read and for those who can the communication media has traditionally been constrained by censorship. Recreational and sports activities are few and almost totally denied to females. In short, there are few outlets for pent up energies, both political and otherwise.¹⁰³

¹⁰² The Task Force on Higher Education and Society, The World Bank (2000), *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*.

¹⁰³ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-170.

In Pakistan, to compound the poor conditions of learning and academic productivity, the faculty and student body have been subjected to external policy influences that have sought to deploy the energies of the youth and their role models for their own purposes. Such subversion displaces the faculties and students' development and preparation for useful roles in the society as conscientious and productive citizens. As a result, the seats of higher learning in Pakistan have lost their focus on academic excellence, disabling the spirit of meritocracy and promoting a culture of dishonesty and nepotism¹⁰⁴.

Closely associated with this is the issue of student unrest which is a very rampant phenomenon in Pakistani universities. Since the end of the Second World War, students are becoming increasingly conscious of their inherent capabilities and responsibilities. The university is no more an ivory tower beyond the reach of ordinary people and consecrated to the pursuit of learning for its own sake. Academic truth is linked up with the socio-economic needs of the society, to produce in Wordsworth's words, "type of the wise who sore but never roam".

Student unrest has been a common phenomenon in the campuses of Pakistani universities since independence itself. According to Umme Salma Zaman(1981), the Pakistani students have inherited some of their restive characteristics from the movement for independence when, together with the political leaders of all shades of opinion, they had formed the vanguard of the struggle for independence by boycotting classes and coming out in the streets demonstrating and protesting against alien rule. After the achievement of independence in 1947, there was a relative calm in student activism. But the economic and social deprivations, to which the newly independent society was subjected, aroused student awareness and brought them in confrontation with the authorities.¹⁰⁵

According to S.M. Abdullah(1992), outwardly, the student problem centers around a few demands namely,1) repeal of the University Ordinance,2) reduction of tuition

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

¹⁰⁵ Zaman, Umme S. (1981), *Banners Unfurled: A Critical Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-1.

fees,3)shortening of duration of certain courses,4) a few grievances about pass percentages in certain examinations,5) autonomy of the students unions,6) more facilities such as accommodation, cafeteria, transport recreations etc.7)lifting of certain curbs on education, 8) a plea for introduction of external examinations, and also, 9) greater freedom of expression, association and action in educational institutions¹⁰⁶

According to Aftab A. Kazi in *Ethnicity and Education Building in Pakistan* (1994), while the concept of an independent university has never been recognized by any government in Pakistan, there is a strong impact of educational inequality and political oppression in the academic institutions. The student activism suggests the presence of socio-political inequality and oppression. The instructors, whatever their teaching capabilities, have been forced to abandon their attempts to teach. As a result, academic goals of students are replaced by political goals. Control of academic freedom affects the consensus for national integration. Without political development, no positive development in state-building can be achieved.¹⁰⁷

Also, the issues of militancy and crime are clearly visible in the universities of Pakistan. The lethal combination of intellectual sterility with a new, post- Afghanistan, gun-culture makes Pakistan state universities fertile breeding grounds for crime and social pestilence. Automatic weapons are present on every campus in large numbers, and in many places are openly displayed. Institutions such as UET, Lahore, and the Punjab University, are run by mafias and gangs of hoodlums, and murders occur frequently in their campuses. An astonishingly bold article written by the son of Syed Abul Ala Maudoodi, founder of the Jamaat-i- Islami, contains horrific details of the extortion tactics which are practiced by the student wing of that party in the Punjab University. On the Karachi University campus, the casual observer will note the presence of Rangers patrolling with machine guns and as has been recently documented, torture equipment for giving electric shocks was purchased on the vice-chancellor's orders for use by the campus security forces. The law and order situation in Balochistan University or Sindh University; one demand of the

¹⁰⁶ Abdullah, S.M.(1992), *Stray Thoughts on Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Bazm-e-Iqbal, p-177.

¹⁰⁷ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p- 93.

students at the latter was the withdrawal of commandos from the campus because they poach on the university's scarce resources such as the buses, and are a general nuisance. The International Islamic University was accused of harboring terrorists by the Interior Minister in the second Benazir government, Naseerullah Babar, after it was discovered that Ramzi Yusuf, who was involved in the World Trade Centre bombing and had a million dollar price tag on his head, had lived for several months in the university hostels.

The serious law and order situation on campuses is however, merely indicative of a deeper malaise- the crisis of purpose, quality, academic ethics, and administration.¹⁰⁸ Ominous trends are increasingly visible that the only valuable asset owned by the public universities- valuable urban land-may be lost to powerful interest groups as gangsterism penetrates both the student and the teaching communities. Pakistan is probably the only country in the world where an entire, newly constructed, university campus, with over forty buildings has had to be abandoned because poor construction caused the buildings to collapse even before a single class could be held (The collapse of Khairpur University on 27th May 1997). Not a single person had been punished, nor had a proper inquiry been held to investigate this disaster.¹⁰⁹

Pakistan's once finest institution of higher learning, Punjab University, as mentioned above, has long since become a training ground for the Jama'at-i-Islami, and its student group, the Islami Jamiat Talaba (IJT), regularly terrorizes the campus, battling other groups (and sometimes the police), intimidating women, and turning the campus into a killing field complete with pistols, bombs and AK-47s. (A number of JI leaders, including Amir, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, rose to power exactly this way). At Karachi University, jawans practice their military drill on campus in the early mornings; then the officers take advantage of the posting by attending classes. In 2003, after three years of military rule, several of Karachi's universities and colleges were disrupted once again by pitched battles between the student wing of Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) and the

¹⁰⁸ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p- 252-53.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p-254.

Jama'at-i-Islami. Student unrest-usually fomented by parties-continues even though several important universities have acquired retired generals as their vice chancellors.¹¹⁰

The emergency rule imposed by Musharraf on November 2007 had severe implications on the student unrest in the campuses of Pakistan. Political debates were banned in colleges. The federal government imposed a ban on open debate on media curbs, suspension of judges and emergency in all colleges and universities in the country. In response, students had been strongly protesting against the emergency rule, curbs on media and suspension of judges. Students, civil society activists and others had been continuously protesting against the emergency¹¹¹ and the dismissal of the Chief Justice, Iftikhar Choudhary. In fact, strong political activism was seen in the campuses culminating in mass mobilization of students and widespread unrest. In November 2007, non- IJT students of Punjab University demanded the ouster of IJT from the university. IJT and the Jamaat Islaami (JI) have been imposing its policies and ideologies on the students of the university. They said that curbs on media were the sign of Musharraf's weakness who wanted to gag every community speaking against him. It was also said that students had vowed to root out other student organization as active in colleges and universities fighting for the political purposes. They also said that the IJT was busy in propagating and enforcing their own views about Islam without considering the opinion of others and were responsible for continuous harassment of non-IJT students.¹¹² The emergency rule had wide implications on the students' movement in various universities. It in fact, revolutionized the student community against the ills of the government, which resulted in repressive policies on behalf of the government leading to arrest of students and professors who protested. For example, some students and professors of Lahore University of Management Sciences were arrested and this evoked protest from the civil society and students.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Cohen, Stephen P.(2004), *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions Press, p-244.

¹¹¹ "Political Debate Banned in Colleges", *Public Opinion Trends Analyses and News Service*, New-Delhi, 23rd November 2007, p-41.

¹¹² "Students demand ouster of IJT from PU", *Public Opinion Trends Analyses and News Service*, 23rd November 2007, p-41.

¹¹³ "LUMS Students' Arrest Sparks Protest", *Public Opinion Trends Analyses and News Service*, 10th December 2007, p-26-27.

Coming to the Islamization issue in the higher education system of Pakistan, according to Abbas Rashid and Ayesha Awan(2007), four phases are broadly discernable with regard to the policies in the education sector in Pakistan: expansion, nationalization, Islamization and privatization¹¹⁴. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has defined itself in the language of Islam. In all three of its constitutions, Pakistan is described as an Islamic state. With varying degrees of enthusiasm, attempts have been made to structure the social universe of the country in accordance with Islamic teachings. At no time has opposition to “secularism” been more vigorously pursued than under the regime of Zia-ul-Haq. General Zia, who came to power as a result a coup in 1977, was strongly committed to Islam¹¹⁵.

States quite often use formal education as a tool to disseminate and perpetuate their political messages. In the Pakistani context, the use of education as a tool intensified after 1971 mainly due to the demands of redefining Pakistan after the political crisis of East Pakistan and the emergence of Pakistan as a truncated country. The military government of General Zia-ul-Haq after the coup in 1977 had its own problem of legitimacy, which it tried to guise in an overarching quest for Islamization of the society. Education was among first of its victims. Religious political parties became enthusiastic partners in this quest. In the educational sphere, this amounted to a distorted narration of history, factual inaccuracies, inclusion of hate material; a disproportionate inclusion of Islamic studies in other disciplines, glorification of war and the military, gender bias etc. Subsequent governments failed to check these harmful deviations, or willingly perpetuated them.¹¹⁶

On October 12, 1978, the Minister of Education announced the new education policy of General Zia-ul-Haq’s regime. The next day the report carried by The Pakistan Times stated about arrangements for teaching of Arabic in all schools and colleges. Thirty Arabic teaching centres were to be established all over the country under the umbrella of Allama Iqbal Open University. Along with this, a full fledged faculty of Shariah was to

¹¹⁴ Rashid A. and Ayesha A. (2007), “Pakistan’s Educational Crisis”, *South Asia Journal*, July-Sep: p-30.

¹¹⁵ Hayes, Louis D.(1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-99.

¹¹⁶ International Crisis Group (2004), *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N.84, Islamabad/ Brussels.

be established at the Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad. The report also said about launching of a strong motivational programme for creating awareness of ideology of Pakistan among the students and teachers. Curricula and textbooks of all levels were to be reviewed to bring them in conformity with the principles and ideology of Pakistan. In his quest for legitimacy Zia's use of Islam was not limited to the education sector. But education, though not being subjected to 'ideologization' for the first time, was certainly an area in which his instrumentalists and self serving use of Islam was to have long term consequences.¹¹⁷

According to Louis D Hayes, Islamization of education in Pakistan covered the following aspects: 1) Islamization of curriculum which said that no attempt will be made here to examine the content of Islamic instruction. Nor is the appropriateness of such issue in whatever form, at issue; that is a social decision. Only the broader implications of this policy upon education will be considered. 2) Women's education, which gave a special status for women in education with women strictly conforming to the shariah laws. 3) Language, which involved the study of Arabic as the authentic version of Quran is in Arabic. 4) Islamization of knowledge which meant purging all fields of intellectual endeavour or "anti-Islamic concepts". These concepts are vestige of colonial rule and have been propagated through "western education". 5) Islamic behaviour which said that other activities which are not strictly academic have come under criticism as contrary to the teachings of Islam. Cultural activities especially music and dance, are viewed by some as un-Islamic.¹¹⁸

During the Musharraf regime, Islamization of education further strengthened instead of weakening despite his 'moderate' policies. Regarding the influence of Islam in higher education system, the conservative religious forces still impede academic freedom by not allowing faculty to express perspectives that contradict traditional Islamic thought. As a consequence of these religious forces, faculty engages in self-censorship and teaches dogmas of religion rather than encourage students to investigate other forms of

¹¹⁷ Rashid A. and Ayesha A. (2007), "Pakistan's Educational Crisis", *South Asia Journal*, July-Sep: p-31.

¹¹⁸ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-102-10.

knowledge. There are cases where faculties have attempted to engage in scholarly activities to assert academic freedom and not bow to these religious forces. However, many have faced retaliation from the students, colleagues, administrators and others in society.¹¹⁹

Despite Musharraf's pledges to take Pakistan back to its moderate political moorings, the military government's dependence on the religious right translates into a reluctance to modify General Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization of the public education system of Pakistan. As a result, public schools and colleges have assumed a key role in shaping and promoting the ideology of an increasingly Islamized state. According to Kaiser Bengali, managing director of Karachi based Social Policy and Development Centre, "the purpose of Pakistan's education system is not pedagogy but indoctrination."

The content of national syllabus, prepared by the Federal Ministry of Education's Curriculum Wing, is highly politicized, mainly reiterating the military's domestic and external agendas. Religion and history are examined through the prism of contemporary political uses. The study of Islam is linked to Kashmir insurgency, where resistance to Indian rule is portrayed as the most recent chapter in a historic Islamic struggle, and the army's importance is described as fundamental to the nation's survival. Students are expected to "identify the role of armed forces for national security", to "recognize the importance of Jihad in every sphere of life" and to "discuss the role of [the] present government in re-establishing the sound position of Pakistan and freedom fighters before the international community". They are also required "to make speeches on Jihad".

The role of Hindus in Pakistan's pre-independence history is ignored, and Hindus are demonized in the context of pre and post-independence developments. For example, the syllabus is designed to "create familiarization [about the] role of resistance put forward by the 'Muslims' against the British occupation. Hence, lessons on the struggle against British colonial rule focus on key Muslim leaders Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Syed Ahmad

¹¹⁹ Razzaq, Ayesha (2009), "Islam and Higher Education in Pakistan" in Fatma Nevra Seggie and Reitumetse O. Mabokela (eds.) *Islam and Higher Education in Transitional Societies*, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Khan and Allama Iqbal, while leaving out major Hindu nationalists such as Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Pakistan's creation is described as the result of political struggle against the English and Hindu Raj in the subcontinent. There are repeated references to the "ill attitude of Hindus towards the Muslims of the subcontinent". Says Bengali, "Our students are completely discredited in any international forums or debates in history. They just cannot compete because they are given a half baked education."

In 1999, the Federal Ministry of Education, in consultation with the National Committee on Education and the four provincial education departments produced a document titled "National Curriculum 2000- A Conceptual Framework which provided an outline to steer the education sector "away from ideological demagoguery and towards modern education". However, it was never implemented. The Musharraf government backtracked on commitments to update and secularize the public education curriculum, especially as it tried to win the support of the religious parties within the parliament for its Legal Framework Order [LFO], a set of constitutional provisions meant to consolidate the army's role in politics. In fact, since then there have been repeated attempts to secularize the education system but Musharraf's hard core allegiance to the religious parties like MMA backtracked the process.¹²⁰

Gender issue is another one of the most vital issue in the higher education system of Pakistan. Pakistan, with a population of 148.7 million (Economic Survey, 2003-4) is one of the largest Muslim countries in the world. The low literacy rate, especially of females, and poor educational standards are of concern. The literacy rate in 2003 was estimated at 54 percent with 66 percent for males and 42 percent for females . In 1996-1997, student enrollment in degree colleges was about 50 percent, professional degree colleges was about 30 percent, and in the universities 20 percent (Government of Pakistan, 1999). Higher education is regarded as a capital investment and is of great importance. Yet, females have less access to higher education. Table below gives a break down of female

¹²⁰ International Crisis Group (2004). *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N.84, Islamabad/ Brussels

and male student enrolment figures in both general and professional institutions of higher education in Pakistan.¹²¹

Colleges	Total Number of Colleges	Total Female Colleges	Total Student Enrollment	Total Female Students	Total Male Students
Colleges (General Arts and Sciences)	939	394	751,000	370,000	3,81,000
Professional Colleges	374	20	161,349	40,000	121,349

Table: 3

. *Total student enrolment in higher education in the public sector is 388,668: 220,620 males and 168,048 females.

*Many of the professional colleges are co-educational

Despite the overall improvement in Pakistan's literacy rate since its independence in 1947, the education sector has not made any giant leaps. The literacy rate still falls behind most of the countries in the region. It may have risen generally, however with the increase in population; the number of illiterate Pakistanis has more than doubled, while the number of illiterate women has tripled.

Strong gender disparities exist in literacy in educational attainment between rural and urban areas and between the provinces. The literacy rate in urban areas has been recorded as 58.3 percent while in rural areas it is 28.3 percent and only 12 percent among rural women. There are also considerable inequalities in literacy rates among the four provinces, especially disparities between males and females. An interesting factor in this context is that female enrolment is recorded as high at the primary level, but it progressively decreases at secondary, college and tertiary levels. It is estimated that less

¹²¹ Mansoor, S. , Syed i. Azam , Mohammed Zafar and S.K. Tatari (2007), "Gender and Language in Higher Education" in Rashida Qureshi and Jane F.A. Rarieya (eds.) *Gender and Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-148.

than 3 percent of the 17 to 23 age group have access to higher education. Women in particular have limited opportunities to acquire higher education and attain professional and technical degrees. Besides the cultural prescription of gender roles, this disparity is also due to an inadequate number of vocational training and professional institutions for women. Out of around 300 professional colleges in the country, around 20 exist exclusively for women with female enrollment rate half than that of boys. Similarly, gender role at the public sector is recorded at 30-35 percent. The number of polytechnic institutes for women is also very low. This deficiency impedes women pursuing higher education, particularly those belonging to highly conservative families, and where studying in a coeducation environment is practically considered a taboo. However it is interesting to note that, despite the meagre representation of females in the education sector, particularly at the tertiary level, the level of achievement of females is consistently far higher than that of boys. Girls generally outclass boys in examinations, and high achievers at the university level are also females. It is a sad state of affairs that despite their commitment to the cause of education, their innate skills, their competence and their will, women are either unable to scale the ladder-ship to the last step, or even if they do, they are faced with heavy odds. In a society where ideal age for a girl is considered to be somewhere between 17 to 20 years, few would complete their education. The luckier few who would might not be allowed, after marriage, to have a profession due to family pressures exerted, mostly by the boy's family.

The dilemma is that gender concerns are not fully mainstreamed in the country's education planning and management policies. Though the situation of urban women is compared to their counterparts in the rural sector, where parents are unable to afford the cost of education and access to schools is limited, it is far from becoming ideal, and higher education is no less than a dream. This lack of education is compounded by dogmatic attitudes and socio- economic factors that inhibit girl's education; consequently the tendency is to invest in boys, if at all.¹²²

¹²² Khan, Saeeda A.(2007), "Gender Issues on Higher Education in Pakistan", [Online: web] Accessed 24th Feb, 2009 URL: <http://www.acu.ac.uk/12-13GenderHEPakistanonline.pdf>

Undoubtedly there is a high degree of influence of Islamization on women till now, especially in the education sector. The main components of this programme consist in the teaching of the Arabic language and mandatory courses in the Muslim religion. Curricula and textbooks are also examined to ensure that material repugnant to Islam is expunged.

During the Zia era the government proposed the establishment of separate women's universities in all provinces except Baluchistan, where only a very small number of women are enrolled in higher education. According to a scheme proposed by the University Grants Commission, separate universities for women could be established by upgrading existing home economics and liberal arts colleges in major cities and by establishing additional colleges where necessary. Departments of home economics were to be upgraded into institutes of food and textile technology and arts and science colleges were upgraded by the establishment of Master's programmes. These upgraded colleges would be known as professional Colleges of the Women's University (Government of Pakistan, University Grants Commission, 1981)

There was a difference of opinion on this issue. Those of a conservative cast of mind believed that female-only universities would provide additional educational opportunities for women who are uncomfortable working and studying alongside men. However, many educated women believed that such facilities would curtail women's opportunities to be educated at the most prestigious institutions in the country and thereby further marginalize women by reducing their access to public life. In response to the questions raised about the 1981 proposals, the government of Pakistan established a Women's University Commission which recommended (in 1993) that in order to satisfy the Islamic requirements for the separation of sexes, a separate university for women should be established.¹²³

One of the most significant aspects of the issues in higher education in Pakistan is the impact of globalization on this sector. In the past two decades, globalization has come to

¹²³ Malik, L. and Neelam Hussain (1994), "Women in Higher Education in Pakistan: Separate but Equal", in Suzanne Stiver Lie, Lynda Malik and Duncan Harris (eds.) *The Gender Gap in Higher Education*, Philadelphia: Kogan Page London, p-137-8.

be seen as a central force for both society and higher education. Some have argued that globalization, broadly defined as largely inevitable global, economic and technological factors affecting every nation, will liberate higher education and foster needed change. Technological innovations such as the internet, the forces of the market and others will permit everyone to compete on the basis of equality. Knowledge interdependence, it is argued, will help everyone. Others claim that globalization strengthens worldwide inequality and fosters the McDonaldization of the university.¹²⁴

In the case of Pakistan, the globalization of higher education and the changes in the knowledge economy provide a backdrop against which national policies may be located. The current institutional, curricular and fiscal reforms are aimed at modifying the structure and functions of universities in the national economy to strengthen them for competition in the global knowledge economy.

The World Bank and UNESCO have sponsored a wide range of research and rethinking on higher education in developing countries. This marks a shift in the policies of the World Bank, as it has focused exclusively on primary education for nearly three decades. According to the conventional development doctrine, investments in basic education yield a higher and more reliable rate of return than those in higher education. As a result, public expenditure on higher education was considered a luxury for most of the developing countries. However the Bank contends that its intention is not to shift the focus from primary and secondary to higher education, but to achieve “the right mix among the three levels”.

An independent Task Force comprising 14 educationists and development experts from 13 countries was convened by the UNESCO and the World Bank in late 1997. This report drew on commissioned research surveying higher education in the developing countries. The report “Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise” was launched at the World Bank’s Human Development Week 2000 in Washington, with effective

¹²⁴ Altbach, Philip G.(2007). “Globalization and the University: Realities in an unequal World”, in James F. Forest and Philip G.Altbach (eds.) *International Handbook of Higher Education*, Springer, p- 121.

endorsements from the Bank and the UNESCO to the effect that the “findings of the independent Task Force closely matched World Bank Policy.”¹²⁵ The international report on higher education formed the basis of the report of the Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education, which was instituted by the new military government of President Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) to restructure the higher education system in Pakistan. According to its terms of reference, the Task Force was supposed to “recommend ways of improving higher education in Pakistan” and to “identify ways and means of funding higher education in Pakistan, including new approaches of financial sustainability”.¹²⁶

The reform process in the process emphasizes privatization and self financing through higher fees which is a subject of much criticism. The privatization reform has led to many consequences like mushrooming of private universities and colleges with very high tuition fees. The curricula of these colleges mostly focus on courses pertinent to lucrative fields of employment- information technology, business, commerce, engineering, medicine, and law; but some (out of 35 colleges in the private sector) have emerged recently that cater to the humanities.

The mushrooming of private universities that teaches subjects purportedly leading to a lucrative employment undermines the concept that, among other things, a university education enlightens a person and gives him or her knowledge to understand human significance of policies and advances in knowledge. Moreover, the educational apartheid that starts in schools- with the rich and powerful studying in elitist English-medium private schools and in cadet colleges- continues in the domain of higher education too. Elitist children, after British Ordinary and Advanced school examinations, go on to study in private colleges and universities charging exorbitant tuition fees. The figures in tables below show the difference in fees of the public and private universities.

¹²⁵ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), “Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9: p-5082.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p-5083.

Fees at Selected Public Universities (Table 4)

University	Per Annum Fees at the M.A. level (Pak Rs)
Punjab University	1320
Quaid-i-Azam University	1350

Source: Universities of Pakistan.(Islamabad: University Grants Commission, 2001)

Fees at Selected Private Universities (Table 5)

University	Fees (Pak Rs)	Duration	Subject and Level
Al- Khair	100,000	2 years	MCS/MIT
Bahai	47,500 227,000	Per Semester Per Year	M.B.A. M.B.B.S.
Greenwich	9,000	Per Course	M.B.A.
Hamdard	8,500 72,000	Per Course Per Year	M.B.A. M.B.B.S.
Iqra	12,000	Per Course	M.B.A.
LUMS (Lahore University of Management Sciences)	174,000	Per Year	M.B.A.
Aga Khan	392,000	Per Year	M.B.B.S.
GIK (Ghulam Ishaq Khan Institute)	150,000	Per Year	B.E.

(MCS= Master of Computer Science; MIT= Master of Information Technology; MBBS= Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery)

Source: As for table 1.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Rahman, Tariq (2005), "Education in Pakistan: A Survey", in Craig Baxter (eds.) *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*, Oxford University Press, p-186.

About 87 percent of the students are paying tuition fees from Rupees 25,000 to Rupees 60,000 per semester in their respective higher education institutions within the target area. The amount thus paid by the students is more than the per capita per annum average income (ie. \$ 470 per year or about 28000 Pak rupees).

Despite all these, however, according to one argument, it is argued in the economics of education literature (Blaug, Becker, Schultz) that in addition to the private benefits of education, there are significant wider benefits enjoyed by the society at large. Thus, there appears to be a strong case on theoretical and empirical grounds for the government to provide some financial support to private sector of higher education provision in Pakistan. This could be made directly, through for example, reducing the taxes they currently pay or indirectly, for example, by providing more financial aid to students attending private higher education institutions possibly through loans or levying education tax.¹²⁸

The fact that private colleges and universities are attended by rich, young people who are generally fluent in English and have tremendous self confidence bordering on arrogance, make them appear to be good institutions. The fact is however, that the faculty is generally part time rather than full time, and this part time faculty is from public universities. Except in some universities, such as Aga Khan, LUMS, and GIK, the faculty members are not published academics. In some they do not even have Ph.D.s or other research degrees. The classes are generally speaking, air conditioned, and the furniture is better than in the public universities. That being said, taken as a whole, the private universities charge far more than deserved, judging from quality of education they offer. Nevertheless, the elitist glitter of the private universities has ghettoized the public universities that, like the Urdu-medium schools, are increasingly regarded as substandard, poor, incompetent, “lower class” institutions. Moreover, the private universities are generally not governed by academics. Thus, the autonomy and power of academics, such as it was, is eroded further.

¹²⁸ Niazi, H.K. and John Mace (2007), “Efficiency and Equity and Private Higher Education in Pakistan”, XXI(1):43-61.

Moreover, the idea of the university as a liberal institution where one is exposed to new ideas is also under threat. Most private universities, especially those run by the armed forces are highly regimented, and academics do not run them. Thus, academics, called “teachers” and not academics are treated on par with hired tutors who are supposed to provide a service for payment but have no part in the governance of the institution.

The recently announced policy on higher education contained in the Report of the Task Force on Higher Education has announced more funds for the public universities. However it has met with considerable criticism from Pakistani academics, because it has neither increased the autonomy of the universities nor given an increased role to faculty members in running universities. The amount of the promised money has not yet been disclosed, and with so many universities opening up, it is feared that these funds will prove to be inadequate and that the public universities will further suffer from ghettoization. In short, the government’s proposed reforms will increase the subordination of the public universities, this time to the “civil society”(which probably means powerful people from NGOs, the corporate sector, and other powerful institutions) in addition to government bureaucracy, without making it more important¹²⁹.

The role of language is also an important challenge in the higher education system of Pakistan. Pakistan fits the classic concept of a culturally plural society with regard to its diversity and ethnicity, language and culture. The national language Urdu is the mother tongue of only 8 percent of Pakistan. The Punjabi and Seraiki speaking community make up 55 percent of the population (Punjabi 44 percent, Seraiki 11 percent), Sindhi speaking community 15 percent, Baluchi speaking community 4 percent and Pushto speaking 15 percent corresponding to the four provinces of Pakistan- Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan, and North West Frontier Province (Census Report of Pakistan, 1998).

¹²⁹ Rahman, Tariq (2005), “ Education in Pakistan: A Survery”,in Craig Baxter (eds.) *Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society*,Oxford University Press, p-187.

In Pakistan, apart from Urdu and English that are limited to a small proportion of the population, no language is commonly understood and therefore can be claimed as a mother tongue. The national language Urdu is not indigenous and suffers from a number of handicaps such as scarcity of educational materials and its limited use in the higher circles of government and army. The role of English remains controversial and the main regional languages, though rich in literature and tradition, rely heavily on the oral tradition. Numerical strength does not determine 'majority' or 'dominant' languages in Pakistan. The regional languages, despite having a large number of speakers are minority languages. This is because Urdu and English, which enjoy a high status and are reserved for public and official use, dominate them politically, economically and culturally. Press and television media are also mainly in these two dominant languages. Urdu and English are also the medium of instructions in schools. These languages are also compulsory subjects in the school and college curriculum. The regional languages are accorded a low status and are limited to community and home. They play little or no role in the official life of the provinces and their educational role is limited to the primary or secondary level in most provinces as materials for higher studies are limited in these languages.¹³⁰

It is believed that the use of Urdu and English as a national language and as a medium of instruction is exacerbating socio-cultural and ethnic differences within different communities, as Tariq Rahman says that it has two consequences. Firstly, it has made Urdu the obvious force to be resisted by the ethnic groups. This resistance makes them strengthen their languages by corpus planning (writing books, dictionaries, grammars, orthographies etc.) and acquisition planning (teaching the languages, using them in the media, pressurizing the state to use them). Secondly, it has jeopardized multilingualism as recommended by UNESCO and of course by many eminent linguists and educationalists. As Urdu spreads through schools, colleges, media and urbanization, pragmatic pressures make the other Pakistani languages retreat. In short, the consequence of privileging Urdu strengthens ethnicity while at the same time and paradoxically threatens linguistic and cultural diversity in the country. He says that the language policies of Pakistan, declared

¹³⁰ Mansoor, S. , Syed i. Azam , Mohammed Zafar and S.K. Tatari (2007), "Gender and Language in Higher Education" in Rashida Qureshi and Jane F.A. Rarieya (eds.) *Gender and Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-151.

and undeclared, have increased both ethnic and class conflicts in the country. The westernized elite, in their own interests are helping the force of globalization and threatens cultural and linguistic diversity. In this process, they are impoverishing the already poor and creating much resentment against the oppression and injustice of the system.

Both globalization and continuation of colonial language policies by the government of Pakistan have increased the pressure of English on all other languages. While this has also created an increased awareness of language rights and movements to preserve languages, it has generally resulted in more people learning English. In Pakistan, this means that the poor are under more pressure than before, because they cannot afford expensive schools that “sell” English at exorbitant rates. As such linguistic globalization is anti poor, pro-elitist and exploitative.¹³¹

The current government in Pakistan has made a significant commitment to this sector by increasing the budget several folds. However given the past neglects considerably more needs to be done both in additional funding, and in the development of a clear master plan and in substantial reforms and their implementation¹³². In 2000 President Pervez Musharraf asked the ministry of education to develop a plan for higher education. This was followed by a Task Force, a steering committee and several other efforts. The system was described to be in a virtual state of collapse, lacking the capacity for change. These deliberations resulted in a recommendation to create the Higher Education Commission which was established in September 2002 as an autonomous and largely financially independent body. From the outset, the commission began a major reform effort producing the Medium Term Development Framework: 2005-10 that focused on faculty development, increased access, quality improvement and relevance. Since 2002, a number of extraordinary changes have taken place. Over the last 6 years, almost 4,000 scholars have participated in PhD programmes in Pakistan. More than 600 students have studied in foreign PhD programmes. The Higher Education Commission instituted major

¹³¹ Rahman , Tariq (), “Language policy, multilingualism and language vitality in Pakistan”, [Online: web], Accessed 2nd Feb 2009 URL: <http://apnaorg.com/book-chapters/tariq/>.

¹³² Promotion of Education in Pakistan Foundation, Inc.(2006), *Leaping Forward*, New York.

upgrades for laboratories and information and communications technology, rehabilitation of facilities, expansion of research support and development of one of the best digital libraries in the region. A quality assurance and accreditation process was also established. The Commission's goal for access was a 10 percent increase in enrolments per year. In fact enrolments have grown 89 percent since 2001. In an effort to ensure faculty accountability and reward those who demonstrate excellence in teaching and research, a tenure track system was introduced with salaries two to three times higher than existing civil service levels for those who qualify.

There was a remarkable success both in public and private higher education as a result of increased funding. In fact by 2008, a broad transformation in higher education sector had taken place. However in early 2008, the political and economic situation worsened. The Pakistan's People's Party (PPP) and the Muslim League coalition was shaky and the government unable to exert effective leadership because of disagreements about reinstating fired supreme court judges and dealing with President Musharraf. This led to the withdrawal of several ministers from the government, including the ministers of education and their eventual withdrawal from the coalition. During this period, the major crisis worsened, complicated by growing insecurity. Inflation increased to 21.6%, the fuel import bill grew 66%, the cost of imported food doubled and the trade deficit increased more than 50%. The election of President Asif Ali Zardari did little to reverse a growing sense of unease, frustration and anger.

In July, the government reduced its quarterly payment to Higher Education Commission by one third and announced a decline in the recurring budget of 20%- a decrease of 13% from the previous year and cut the development budget by 14%. These cuts would be problematic under normal circumstances. In a period of growth when the commission has commitments to new faculty members, fellowships for more than 2000 people working on PhD and master's degrees abroad, and the automatic effects of increased admissions, the economic crisis is potentially crippling to the transformation process.

Uncertainty about the budgetary situation, the political stability and the deteriorating security situation has created a loss of confidence in government and new questions about the future of higher education. These factors threaten to reverse the phenomenal progress in higher education, limit quality improvement, reverse the attractiveness of university positions, curtail enrollment increases and undermine the prospects for national development. In addition, there is growing uncertainty about the future of Higher Education Commission, including its administrative and financial autonomy. Thus, one of the few hopeful signs of progress in Pakistan appears to be in jeopardy. While there are many claimants on the national budget in this period of economic difficulty, the failure of higher education transmission would be a devastating reversal for Pakistan and make economic growth, social recovery and political stability even more difficult than at the present time.¹³³

To sum up, the higher education system of Pakistan suffers from a series of hurdles and is really in a state of crisis and must be reformed. It is claimed that Pakistan's public universities and colleges, once quite promising, have fallen into such an abject state that some reputable scholars claim they are beyond redemption in their present form and should be transformed or abolished. The colonial system of education is still prevalent in the system which is taking the whole system to regression rather than progression. The system still protects the privileged few and social-mobility for the under-privileged is extremely difficult- a fact greatly frustrating and disturbing for the young people who are becoming painfully conscious of the social injustices. Educational qualifications combined with personal influence and resources are the basis of socio-economic advancement.¹³⁴ There is a need to completely overhaul this system. Though significant steps have been taken by the Musharraf government since the establishment of the Higher Education Commission, the present government has to do a lot more to restructure the whole system and bring it to the right track. According to Pervez Hoodbhoy, it is not too late for Pakistan to avert this impending tragedy. It requires emergency mobilization

¹³³ Hayward, M. Frederick (2009), "Higher Education Transformation in Pakistan: Political and Economic Stability"[Online: Web] Accessed on 2nd February 2009 URL:

http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/Number54/p19_Hayward.htm

¹³⁴ Zaman, Umme S. (1981), *Banners Unfurled: A Critical Analysis of Developments in Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company.

which only a visionary leadership, convinced that survival with dignity is contingent upon providing relevant and quality education to the masses, is capable of bringing into motion. A fundamentally new outlook is called for- the curriculum must be taken out from the straitjacket of ideological compulsions; the hold of corrupt bureaucracy must be broken; the universities must get rid of their dead wood; and so forth. There is an urgent need to critically evaluate the policy options available at each stage of the educational process and then to implement, without fear or hesitation, the necessary changes.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998), "Out of Pakistan's Educational Morass: Possible? How?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press.

CHAPTER III

STATE POLICIES ON HIGHER EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN AND THE IMPACT ON SOCIETY

The previous two chapters discussed the historical background, theoretical perspective on higher education and the issues and challenges related, persisting in Pakistan. This chapter will focus on the policies of the government on higher education in Pakistan and the impact on society. As has been already discussed, higher education has been a neglected sector for reform since the very beginning. It has always received least attention from the government as compared to other sectors of education namely; primary and secondary. According to Stephen Cohen in his book *The Idea of Pakistan* (2004), as far as educational reform in Pakistan is concerned, a skeptical attitude is warranted because of past performance, the limited technocratic vision of the senior leadership, a disdain of academic freedom and scholars, the absence of strong social pressures for better education from Pakistan's citizenry, and above all, a still state budget for education. Foreign assistance makes up 76 percent of the government's expenditure, and Pakistan still ranks among the fifteen worst countries as far as education is concerned.¹³⁶ The political condition of the country has always been volatile and marked by repeated constitutional failures. As a result, education was not always in the top priority of policy-making in Pakistan. Also these factors must also have contributed in the disruption of smooth educational reforms in the country. According to the report of the Boston Group, *Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda* (2002), "the recurrence of the very real problems in Pakistan's university education clearly shows that the various democratic and military governments have never considered higher education (and in general, education) worthy of their attention".¹³⁷ The lion's share of government

¹³⁶ Cohen, Stephen P.(2004), *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions Press, p-247.

¹³⁷ The Boston Group (2002), *Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda*, p-18.

of government expenditure still goes on to military, leaving a tiny portion of the GDP for civilian education.¹³⁸

Talking about the significance of education policy, education policy planning and decision-making are important elements in the process of nation and state-building. In multi-ethnic societies like Pakistan, success and satisfaction of policy and decision-making depends upon uniform participation of all the ethnic elites. Unequal representation in the political structure has resulted in educational inequality, leading to the sense of relative deprivation. While inequalities in other fields of development suggest educational inequality, the educational inequality itself indicates the presence of other socio-economic, political and cultural inequalities. According to Aftab A. Kazi (1994), this is a situation of internal colonialism. Unsuccessful policies and decisions lead to frustration. In such cases, where decisions are resisted by those who are affected by them, the task of remedying the mistakes and the policy structure may result in even further frustration¹³⁹.

Although education is a provincial subject under the 1973 Constitution, it has been placed in the Concurrent list which makes the federal government responsible for policy, planning and promotion of educational facilities in the federating units to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. The Constitution of Pakistan assigns to the federal government the responsibility for the development of educational infrastructure and policy planning and implementation in respect of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, the Northern Areas, Islamabad Capital territory and Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Under the Local Government Ordinance 2001, the provincial governments have established district governments, which are responsible for the management and control of offices of the departments, which are decentralized to it or may be set up under the Ordinance, provided that the district governments shall exercise such authority within the

¹³⁸ Swire, S. (1997), "Education", in Victoria Schofield (eds.) *Old Roads New Highways: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-232.

¹³⁹ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-79.

district in accordance with the general policy of the government. Under the ordinance, education up to the college level (except the professional colleges) and technical education has been devolved to the districts.¹⁴⁰

Currently, Pakistan has two broad priorities related to education. On the one hand, primary education is the essential priority to give Pakistan a literate work force so that it can participate in the global economy. Pakistan cannot really develop as a modern nation while a large proportion of its people, nearly half, according to the ministry of education, are illiterate. On the one hand, Pakistan is trying to strengthen its universities to educate the educators and to produce the knowledge that will drive a modern economy. In any country, universities need to be able to carry out two critical roles. The first is knowledge building, usually through research analysis and theory building. The second is imparting knowledge to the next generation through teaching. A country that cannot develop the new knowledge unique to its own needs or that cannot impart what is needed to the next generation will remain forever stuck in a pattern of intellectual colonialism, dependent on other countries for knowledge building and the development of new teaching staff. Moreover, a country that cannot conduct its own research on education and learning its own environment will be stuck trying to fit models from other countries into its own system.¹⁴¹

With respect to the condition of higher education in Pakistan, good higher education in Pakistan is limited to a privileged few, with enrollment of less than half a million students in university or professional programmes. In contrast, South Korea with a fraction of Pakistan's population had an enormous higher education enrollment base of 2.7 million students in 2005. With sufficient resources devoted to this segment, enrollment in higher

¹⁴⁰ Policy and Planning Wing, Ministry of Education, Pakistan (2005), "The State of Education in Pakistan: 2003-2004", [Online:Web] Accessed 16th May 2009 URL: http://www.moe.gov.pk/state_of_edu_pakistan.pdf

¹⁴¹ Clark, G. (2005), Reform in Higher Education in Pakistan" in Robert M. Hathaway (eds.) *Education Reforms in Pakistan: Building for the Future*, Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars,p-55.

education in Pakistan can be ten times the existing number¹⁴². Social science research and training in Pakistani universities presents a bleak and depressing picture of the erosion and fragmentation of national human capital. As Akbar Zaidi has argued in his recent article “*Dismal state of the social sciences in Pakistan*”, in World Bank parlance is manifest in the visible demise of the public sector educational and research institutions in Pakistan.” He establishes some encompassing parameters which help explain why things are the way they are. These include attempts to place the role of Pakistan’s state and its bureaucracy in a certain context, and also delineates on the collapse of institutions in Pakistan leading the way for individuals, rather than institutions to undertake and produce research. The dominance and presence of international donors and their roles with regard to social science research are also discussed at length.¹⁴³ One of the significant factors which led to the demise of public sector in higher education is the imbalance between the quantitative expansion of higher education and the mechanisms for maintaining qualitative control.¹⁴⁴

Issues identified and addressed in the education reports of Pakistan range from lack of dedication among faculty staff and student discipline (Karachi University Enquiry Committee 1956- 1957), to concerns related to language medium (Sharif Report 1959; Zia-ul-Haq, 1979) and the need to improve the quality of education through administrative reforms (Zia-ul-Haq, 1979; Nawaz Sharif 1998; General Musharraf, 2000-2002). A thorough revision of the duration of B.A. and B.Sc Degree from a three year Honors degree was advocated (Nawaz Sharif, 1998) to a recommended four year degree by the Task Force on Higher Education (General Musharraf 2002). The emphasis on Computer Education and Information Technology initiated by President Nawaz Sharif in 1998 has been strengthened by the General Musharraf Regime in recent policy

¹⁴²Shah, S.(2005), “Challenges in the Education Sector in Pakistan” in Robert M. Hathaway (eds.) *Education Reforms in Pakistan: Building for the Future*, Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars,p-51.

¹⁴³ Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), “Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31: p-3644.

¹⁴⁴ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), “Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9:5081.

announcements (National Education Policy, 1998-2010). The Education Sector Reforms introduced by the General Musharraf government in 2001, have focused on the areas of basic education and literacy, Higher Education, public- private partnership, and good governance. This reinforced the recommendations made previously by the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government in its education policy of 1972 to promote free and universal education, and followed by the Nawaz Sharif government in its education policy of 1988 to achieve universal literacy in 15 years. At the moment the emphasis is on human resource development and modernization in order to meet the demands of the global cultural economy. In line with this the long term aims of National Education policy 1998-2010 are 'to make Pakistan's Education system more meaningful and relevant, aiming to create a knowledge based society, designed to support economic growth and poverty alleviation'.(Government of Pakistan Economic Survey, 2004-2005: 137). Improving national levels of literacy and education are central to the fulfillment of these goals.¹⁴⁵

The first decade of independence in Pakistan was marked by a high degree of political instability. There were frequent changes in leadership of successive Pakistani governments before the military take over in 1958. Initially, the political elite did not have political power and had some influence on state policy. Soon the bureaucracy and the military consolidated their control, resulting in a drastically weakened role for politicians and political parties in Pakistan's politics and public policy. This led to the imposition of an authoritarian structure of governance in Pakistan. Under this structure, the state emerged relatively autonomous and the role of societal interest groups in shaping public policy became marginal.¹⁴⁶

Coming to the background of the education policies, the first meeting on education was held in Karachi from 27 November to 1 December 1947. This was a time when South Asia was literally running red with the blood of people slaughtered on both sides of the borders of the newly independent states of Pakistan and India. Thus, despite the

¹⁴⁵ Rassool, Naz and S. Mansoor, "Contemporary issues in Language and Development in Pakistan", in Naz Rassool (eds.) *Global Issues in Language, Education and Development: Perspectives from Post Colonial Countries*, Multilingual Matters, p-231.

¹⁴⁶ Jalil, Nasir (1998), "Pakistan's Education: The First Decade" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, p-28.

collection of luminaries from the world of policy makers and bureaucracy assembled in Karachi, the then capital of Pakistan, education was obviously not a subject of high priority at that time. This was a period when the existence of the nation itself was under threat. The armed forces were inadequate and disorganized; Kashmir was already a flash point; there was hardly any money to run the new state; and to top it all there was a constant influx of refugees crossing paths with the Hindus and Sikhs on their outward journey. There was panic and chaos every where. Thus, the condition was not ripe to think of education.

Nevertheless, the participants of the meeting, besides setting up the infrastructure (Advisory Board of Education, Inter- University Board, Council of Technical Education), set out to consider what should be the ideological basis of education. This was the first point on the supplementary agenda which asked about the ideological basis of education and asked whether the Islamic conception of universal brotherhood of man, social democracy and social justice should constitute this ideological basis- cultivation of democratic virtues, i.e. tolerance, self help, self sacrifice, human kindness etc and the consciousness of common citizenship, as opposed to provincial exclusiveness. The question was merely rhetorical because everyone was expected to reject the concept of 'provincial exclusiveness'. The 'ideological basis' was a thinly concealed attempt to contain, oppose and eliminate ethnic threat- albeit one which had not been made itself visible yet, though some young Bengalis had started to put forth the Bengali language as a contender for the national language of the country.¹⁴⁷

Though Islam was to be used to oppose identity formation on the basis of ethnicity, Jinnah's message in 1947 at Islamabad made it very clear that democracy, and not theocracy was what he had in mind, 'The impression that Pakistan, being an Islamic State, is a theocratic State, is being sedulously fostered in certain quarters with the sole object of discrediting it in the eyes of the world.' This was not acceptable to him. He went on to equate Islam with democracy, freedom, civil rights and rights of property.

¹⁴⁷ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-7.

However, since its inception Pakistan's ruling elite has used Islam to combat ethnicity, to foster an ideologically based identity as opposed to Indian conception of area based secular identity; and to legitimize their rule. Ironically, the rulers have interpreted Islam broadly to mean democracy, the welfare state, socialism and authoritarian rule, as and when it suited them. The ethnic leaders have opposed Pakistan's rulers because in the name of national identity, their own identity is denied. The religious leaders feel that only they can interpret Islam.¹⁴⁸

Mohammad Ali Jinnah outlined an educational philosophy which incorporated both the fundamentals of Islamic tradition and modern science and technology. The recommendations included making Urdu the official language, curriculum revision, diversification of courses, compulsory religious instruction and development of administrative machinery. But little of this ambitious blue-print was actually accomplished due to the socio-political situation prevailing at that time. There were other problems such as lack of appreciation of the developmental role of education, a strong tendency towards orthodox thinking among educators, obstinacy on the part of bureaucracy and meagre financial allocations.¹⁴⁹

Urdu was a symbol of unity for the ruling elite. After all, they had used it during the Hindi- Urdu controversy to mobilize the Indian Muslims into a unified community to oppose the Hindus. Now Urdu, like Islam, was perceived as useful in order to create a unified Pakistani nations consisting of Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, Mohajirs, Balochis and above all, Bengalis. Moreover this was the time when European nation state was the model, and all these model states except Switzerland, had one national language. As Benedict Anderson has pointed out, the great European print languages, along with national flag, the museum, the census etc, had created the 'imagined communities' called nations. What the leaders did not realize was that Pakistan and India were multi ethnic, multi- lingual and multi- cultural states, which had been carved out by their colonial masters. However economically speaking, it would cost less if everybody operated in one

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p-8.

¹⁴⁹ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-43.

language. Indeed the costs of operations would increase astronomically if many languages were used. Thus for political, ideological, pragmatic and economic reasons, they emphasized the use of Urdu as a lingua franca. Language policy of using Urdu as a national language created and widened ethnic divisions, leading to the eventual separation of East Pakistan in 1971.

According to Tariq Rahman (2004), the rulers only created policies which according to their lights aimed at countering ethnic and religious divisions. They did not create educational policies to counter divisions along socio- economic class divides. In fact, they preferred to ignore these lines of divide altogether.¹⁵⁰ In this context, Aftab A. Kazi (1994) is of the opinion that various educational policies in Pakistan reflect centripetal tendencies aimed at social integration through coercive means. Those policies represent the hegemonic values and perceptions of the dominant Punjabi-Muhajir group over other ethnic nationalities. Had the consensus or interdependence approaches been applied, the process of national integration and political stability would have been less difficult. Considering the political culture of Pakistan, as well as that of Pakistani nationalities, the assimilation process through coercive means has caused political disunity, in other words, a “conflict” in expectations and achievements. The popular image of Pakistan, despite its claims of equal representation of ethnic nationalities in the political structure, has not yet been able to explain the reasons for the struggle for political autonomy by ethnic nationalities.¹⁵¹

In accordance with Jinnah’s message that English must for some considerable time to come retain its pride of place both in the sphere of the university education and as a means of international communication, the committees decided to retain English as a compulsory language at school. What the report did not make explicit, however, was that besides government schools for which the policies were being made, there were other schools (convent, European type schools, public schools on the lines of Eton and Harrow,

¹⁵⁰ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-9.

¹⁵¹ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-81.

elitist armed forces schools) which used English as the medium of instruction. These would carry on their business just as they did in the days of British. And it would be in these schools in which the elite of the new state would be educated. Thus, the implication was that the new state would actually patronize and subsidize these schools, and for all the talk about Urdu, the state's real policy would be to create an unequal education system with the masses being educated in Urdu, Bengali and Sindhi(in rural and interior Sindh). All other languages were ignored though the provinces were free to teach them if they liked. Of course the elite were educated in English. This consequence of the policy, despite its divisive potential, was not mentioned at all.

In these early days religious threat had to be countered as well. The Pakistani elite did not do this by direct coercion, as was done in Turkey and Iran earlier. Indeed the redeeming feature of Pakistan's elite has always been that it has not been as openly coercive, except on occasions in Bengal, Sindh and parts of Baluchistan, as the elite has been in most non-democratic countries. So against the religious lobby too the proposed modus operandi was co-optation. The committee suggested that 'steps should be taken to bring these madrassas into line with the existing system of general education'. More than half a century later, this proposal is still being bandied about with little success because the madrassas run on charity and endowments and not on government funds.¹⁵²

According to Abbas Rashid and Ayesha Awan, three contextual factors about the crisis in Pakistan's education system should be kept in mind : it is a continuing one and goes back decades; it is pervasive across the sector from the primary to higher level and successive attempts at reform have failed to address the essential vulnerabilities of the system. In terms of relative emphasis, four phases are broadly discernable with regard to the policies in the education sector adopted by successive governments in Pakistan: **Expansion, Nationalization, Islamization and Privatization.**

¹⁵² Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-9.

With regard to **Expansion**, the Sixth Year Plan of Educational development adopted for the period 1951-57, is one of the first attempts to address the constraints to expanding and improving the quality of education by highlighting the lack of trained teachers. It was estimated that the envisaged expansion would require over 86,000 additional teachers and the need for more training institutions was emphasized. Since then, there is a continuation of deficiency in terms of competent teachers and deterioration in the public sector has continued apace. They say that among other things, this failure makes possible the expansion of a private education system. The driving force for such expansion is mainly the bad quality of public schools and colleges. As for the students who drop out of public schools and whose parents cannot afford private schools, religious madrassas emerge as the most practical and reasonable choice. For if madrassas are not delivering quality education, they at least provide food and shelter with some assurance of securing employment, albeit low paid, as prayer- leaders for instance. The story of growth in the private sector and a decline in the public sector is one of a progress in both trends over time. By 1968 nearly 22 percent of total enrollment at the primary level, 42 percent at the secondary level and more than 50 percent at the tertiary level was in the private sector.

Regarding **Nationalization** of education, the drive for nationalizing education began first with the demands for nationalizing college education, emanating from Gordon College, Rawalpindi in part as a consequence of the student riots that began there in November 1968. Nur Khan's modified policy guidelines (under General Yahya) in the year of 1969 included a provision for nationalizing missionary institutions. In the 1970 election campaign the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) took up the nationalization issue in the context of equity and won the support of West Pakistan College Teachers Association (WPCTA). Most private institution teachers were euphoric at the announcement of nationalization in March 1972, as government service provided them job security. The politics of service remained a key concern for teachers over these years, taking the focus away it seems from critical concerns such as professional development. In line with the stated equity framework, nationalization policy lowered tuition fees charged by colleges and announced the goal of doing away with school fees, to make access easier for low income families and to enhance enrollment. As always, there were exceptions for sections

of society that were not prepared to negotiate on quality. Over 200 English medium schools catering to upper-class families were exempted from the process in 1974. 'English medium' was eventually to become a synonym for quality in private schools, not always with justification.

Regarding **Islamization** of education, on October 12, 1978 the Minister of Education announced the new education policy of General Zia-ul-Haq's regime. The next day the report carried by the Pakistan Times stated that arrangements for teaching of Arabic will be made in all schools and colleges. It also talked about the establishment of thirty Arabic teaching centres all over the country under the umbrella of the Allama Iqbal Open University and a full-fledged faculty of Shariah at the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Along with this it talked about the launching of a strong motivational programme for creating awareness of ideology of Pakistan among the students and teachers and review of curricula and textbooks of all levels to bring them in conformity with the principles and ideology of Pakistan. In his quest for legitimacy Zia's use of Islam and ideology was not limited to the education sector. But education, though not being subjected to 'ideologization' for the first time, was certainly an area in which his instrumentalist and self serving Islam was to have long term consequences.

Regarding **Privatization**, in a policy shift in 1979, under the Zia government, the ban on private schools was lifted as the New Education Policy and Implementation Program was announced. Under the Sixth five year plan the opening up of new private schools was to be encouraged and nationalized schools were to be returned to their original owners as long as the quality of 'coverage' did not suffer. The government pointed to the cost of nationalization, and implicitly, to the need to pass on a share of the additional cost of education back to the private sector.

Critically evaluating the policies, Rashid and Awan say that the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) had sought to address the equity issue through nationalization and as a consequence undermined many institutions of quality both in the realm of basic education as well as higher education. At the same time, it did little to render the now expanded

public sector more dynamic or responsive to the quality imperative. It remained marred by a dysfunctional bureaucracy. The Zia government that followed sought to address the quality issue by encouraging the private sector to grow even as it remained unregulated for quality. And the quest for quality by way of 'Islamizing' education, led to the aggravation of sectarian divisions and further erosion of academic standards. The net effect of all these historic shifts is a large bureaucracy. The functioning of the system is marred by outdated rules and regulations, obsolete and irrelevant ways of appraising the performance of teachers and head teachers, and lack of capacity to develop and implement policies and programmes.¹⁵³

Talking about the pre-1958 phase, it is said that a comprehensive approach to educational reform did not exist in this period. Uncoordinated changes were introduced limited essentially to curricular matters in the primary and lower secondary levels and to teacher training. Very little attention was given to higher education and there was an overall lack of innovation. The universities themselves were little interested in reforms. Some technical courses were introduced in classes VI to X and a few polytechnics and home economics colleges were established.¹⁵⁴

Among the major education policy documents that appeared subsequently are: *Report of the Commission on National Education* (GoP 1959); *Report of the Commission on Student's Problems and Welfare* (GoP 1970); *The Education Policy* (GoP 1970); *The Education Policy* (GoP 1972); *National Education Policy and Implementation Programme* (GoP 1979); *National Education Policy* (GoP 1992); *National Education Policy 1998-2010* (GoP 1998) and *Education Sector Reforms* (GoP 2002 c).¹⁵⁵

The government of Ayub Khan introduced a process intended to transform the educational structure in a systematic and planned fashion. This effort was facilitated by considerable international technical and financial assistance. Dissatisfaction with the

¹⁵³ Rashid, Abbas and Ayesha Awan (2007), "Pakistan's Educational Crisis", *South Asia Journal*, July-Sep: 31-32.

¹⁵⁴ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-44.

¹⁵⁵ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-13.

general state of education resulted in the convening of the Commission on National Education in 1959.¹⁵⁶ It had a mandate of evolving a national system of education which would reflect the spiritual, moral and cultural values of independent Pakistan, and enable the system to meet the growing needs of the nation in the fields of agricultural, scientific and technological development. The Commission recognized that civilized societies have for many centuries looked to their institutions of higher learning for the training of leaders in the government and professions. It emphasized that higher education must be concerned with the formation and development of character along with the acquisition of knowledge.¹⁵⁷

According to Dr. Tariq Rahman (2004), the 1959 report launches an attack on the welfare concept of education which said that good Education is expensive, and educational expansion means more expense. It also said that people must accept the fact that since it is they and their children who benefit most from education, the sacrifices required must be borne primarily by them. This indicated a shift in governmental thinking, only too obvious now that quality education is almost entirely sold at exorbitant rates by the private sector or institutions of the state acting as private entrepreneurs. Ironically, however, the state continued to subsidize the education of the elite by establishing cadet colleges and elitist public schools throughout the country.¹⁵⁸ This increased the gulf between the poor and the rich.

This document also created Textbook Boards, which dominated education ever since. Their primary task was to ensure that the government's policies were reflected in the Textbooks. These policies were:

- 1) 'The moral and spiritual values of Islam combined with freedom, integrity and strength of Pakistan should be the ideology which inspires our educational system'.

¹⁵⁶ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-45.

¹⁵⁷ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

¹⁵⁸ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-13.

- 2) 'We must strive to create a sense of unity and nationhood among the people of Pakistan'.
- 3) Imparting the 'skills and training necessary in a complex modern society'.

Religious education, however, was more symbolic than real in the Ayub Khan era. While theology was introduced for Muslim children in the first eight years, it was not compulsory at the higher levels, nor were sectarian differences conveyed to the students. As for the madrassas, Ayub Khan's government wanted them to teach secular subjects as well in order to incorporate them into the mainstream. The 1959 report glossed over the issue of elite schooling, and it was precisely this issue which exploded in the face of the government in about six years or so. The government promulgated the University Ordinances in 1961, and in 1962 the students rose to agitate against it. Among other things they did not want a three year B.A. degree. But also, and significantly, they resented the elitist English- medium schools, which were mostly convent schools at that time, and wanted these to be abolished.¹⁵⁹

The Commission, which came to be called the Hamoodur Rahman Commission, defended the elite schools on the grounds that (a) they were very few as compared to the ordinary government schools; (b) they were run by private persons or Christian missionaries who have rights under the law to open the schools and (c) that the state needs assistance by the private sector in opening schools.

The Commission, however, agreed that the government does spend more money on cadet colleges than on ordinary government schools, and that this contradicts the constitutional assurance against discrimination against citizens. It clearly said that the 'idea of superior and inferior schools does not fit in with our socio-economic patterns and the principles of equality and social justice as enunciated by Islam'. However, in the end, the privileged schools were saved through the suggestion that they should recruit students on 'merit' alone, and that 'mere poverty should not be a ground for exclusion'. The fact that these schools are English medium institutions and their entry tests would be biased against

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p-14.

poor children who study in Urdu schools was not considered. Moreover, the fact that government itself subsidized and patronized elite schools- on whatever grounds- could not be explained anyway. And indeed, because they were allowed to exist, they kept going about their business as usual, and even now cater to the elite of power and wealth in Pakistan. On the whole, and ironically enough, although this report was written in response to students' agitation, it made no substantial concessions to them, except that the B.A. degree remained a course for two years. The faculties of the universities were subjected to increased bureaucratization.¹⁶⁰

As for the governance of the universities, the University Ordinances had already whittled away the power of the academics. As the report said:

“The system of nomination has been accepted in preference to election’ in the governing bodies of the university. Moreover ‘very wide and extraordinary powers have been vested in the vice chancellors including the power in some cases, as at Dacca and Rajshahi, to withhold implementation of the resolution of anybody or authority of the university with which the vice-chancellor does not agree pending the decision of the chancellor.”

Because of such laws, academics too had joined the students in their protest. Even at that time the major objections concerning governance were:

- (1) The governors should not be chancellors of the universities
- (2) The vice- chancellors should not be appointed by governors, but should be chosen out of a panel of eminent educationists prepared by the senate or syndicate.
- (3) That the senate should be restored.
- (4) That university authorities and bodies should consist of a majority of elected members.
- (5) That the universities should be fully autonomous bodies free from the control of the government.
- (6) That academic freedom should be assured to university teachers.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p-14.

The report defended the ordinances on grounds that were reiterated again when objections to the Model University Ordinance (2002) were made: that high functionaries of the state can help universities in various ways; that the elective principle brings in people who politicize the campus and have a coterie of favourites during their tenure; that the senate as a large body, is an arena of political conflict; that the state which pays for the universities, should have some control on them. However, the senate was restored with the provision that it would be smaller and most of its members would be nominated.¹⁶¹

Celebrated for its exhaustive analysis and recommendations, the report was not supported sufficiently by funds and political will. An allocation of only 1323 million was made in the corresponding Second Five Year Plan. Its following recommendations were however implemented:

- Curricula for primary and secondary education were revised, and new syllabi were introduced in 1961.
- Islamic studies and religious education were made compulsory subjects for classes one to eight and optional subjects in classes nine and ten.
- Greater emphasis was laid on technical education, and short term evening classes were started in Polytechnics and other technical institutions.
- A number of engineering colleges were established in the country, and two engineering colleges were raised to the status of universities.
- Intermediate education was separated from universities, and Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education were established.¹⁶²

Ayub Khan government's heavy dependence on the U.S., in terms of advice and economic and military aid, with additional assistance on education and institutional development from the Ford Foundation, and USAID, and with the presence of Harvard Advisory Group, meant that not only were American policies and theories taught, but not

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p-15.

¹⁶² Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

surprisingly, many Pakistani Scholars also developed their empirical work strongly located in the Anglo-US academic tradition in the political and economic sciences. Mainly American, and some other western political scientists, anthropologists and management advisors were sitting at the heart of the academic and administrative Pakistan; documenting and supporting Pakistan's modernizing economic and political agenda.¹⁶³

While academics were subdued, students continued to resent Ayub Khan's autocratic regime. The policy of Ayub Khan established its educational development targets of access to education, allocation of resources, academic freedom, vocational and technical education, and a national curriculum that would strengthen the process of national unity and cohesion. According to Aftab A. Kazi (1994), since major beneficiaries of this policy were from the dominant system group, the inequitable socio-political and economic system prevented successful achievement of the defined goals, since it did not distribute educational resources equally among the ethnic groups. The policy was found unsuitable and resulted in strong ethnic unrest during the entire One-Unit Era under the Ayub government. Popular pressures brought a downfall of the Ayub regime in 1968. In 1969, when Yahya Khan again imposed martial law, he too set about formulating an education policy. This was done by a military officer Nur Khan.¹⁶⁴ Nur Khan recommended a new policy that was not implemented because of time constraints. This policy, despite its superficiality concerning the components of the society (the political culture) recognized for the first time the "divisions" within the Pakistani society and the failure of educational policies to achieve a national consensus on integration. It cursorily regarded Pakistan as a homogenous state by ignoring the actual character of the society, the ethnic nationalities. On the one hand, it emphasized Islamic ideological aspects, and on the other, it attempted to describe societal differences of religions versus secularism in class terms.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), "Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan". *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31: 3644-3661

¹⁶⁴ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-82.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p- 83.

After the National Commission on Education 1959, came Education Policies of 1970, 1972, 1979, 1992 and 1998. Each one of these reports had its own bag of unrealistic (and ultimately unrealized) targets. However they all shared the belief that this would be achieved without any implementation. Some exacerbated the situation by recommending that new universities should be opened when it was obvious that the existing ones were not functioning. Alongside these Education Policies, Pakistan Government also produced eight Five-Year Plans. Some of the common problems with regard to higher education discussed in the Five-Year plans were inadequate laboratory and library facilities, outdated syllabi and textbooks, poor quality of research and faculty, not enough students studying technical subjects. After pointing out these flaws, the plans, like the Education Policies, went on to state that all these problems would be solved by the beginning of the next Five-Year Plan. The Five-Year Plans and the Education Policies were documents that set unrealistic targets, without providing for the funds and the political will to carry out the momentous tasks they assigned to the current Five-Year Plan or Education Policy.¹⁶⁶

The New Education Policy (GoP 1970) hardly said anything new. There was the usual lip service to Islam about the need for ‘the preservation and inculcation of Islamic values as an instrument of national unity and progress’. There was also the usual rhetoric about the ‘quality in education’, ‘academic freedom’, and the role of education in the ‘creation of a democratic social order by ensuring equal access to opportunities of education’. Nothing significantly new was proposed but the tone of the report was conciliatory rather than combative. Moreover, much to the relief of everybody concerned, the report was brief compared to the previous one.¹⁶⁷ The policy was announced on the 28th of November 1969, the same day that the then President of Pakistan announced the dissolution of the One Unit in Pakistan. According to the Task Force Report (2002), it was a forward looking and well intentioned policy which was allocated a sum of Rs. 892 crores in the Fourth Five Year Plan period. Unfortunately it suffered a premature demise as a

¹⁶⁶ The Boston Group (2002), *Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda*, p-17.

¹⁶⁷ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press

consequence of political disturbances and change of government.¹⁶⁸ The educational policy of 1970 was based on the recommendations of Nur Khan Report, thus it destabilized the socio-cultural situation of the country by multiplying problems both in Bengal and among ethnic nationalities of West Pakistan. This new policy was dissolved in conjunction with the downfall of General Yahya Khan.¹⁶⁹

In a little less than two years the map of Pakistan had changed. After a war in December 1971 the province called East Pakistan became the independent country of Bangladesh. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who emerged as the elected leader of Pakistan, announced a new education policy that did not shift the broad parameters of the previous policies. However there was an added emphasis on adult literacy. Also, and significantly, 3,334 private educational institutions were nationalized so that famous private colleges such as the Kinnaird College for Women, the Foreman Christian College in Lahore, and Gordon College in Rawalpindi were taken away from their former owners. It is reported that 1,828 schools, 346 madrassas, 155 colleges and 5 technical institutions were nationalized.

In most of these institutions the teachers were lowly paid and they welcomed nationalization, especially as the Pakistan Peoples Party government raised the salaries of college lecturers from class 2 to NPS 17, which was also the salary grade of civil service officers. However, the latter had extra benefits such as transport, phone, orderlies, office assistants and power, that the teachers did not possess. This egalitarian measure was much welcomed by the teachers though the critics said that a burden of Rs 15 crore per annum had to be borne by the state. Apart from this, the education policy did not change much. Even now members of the university faculty who protest against the MUO (2002) want to go back to the University Act of 1973 despite the fact that it, too, ensures that real power in the university should not be with academics but with the government or its nominees.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Task Force (2002), "Task Force on Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan.

¹⁶⁹ Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-84.

¹⁷⁰ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-16-17.

Akbar S. Zaidi (2002) pointing to the Bhutto era says that the political revolution which took place from the late 1960s onwards in what was left of United Pakistan had a democratic and leftist colour, which was reflected in the type of research being undertaken. Studies were published which showed the extent of income and regional inequality, some of the rising expression of different forms of nationalism, on the state, and many other subjects. This was a highly political and politicized era which also had enlarged its composition to include a newly emergent middle class, which was vocal and had played a key role in the movement and had played a key role in the movement to bring democracy to Pakistan. New colleges and universities were opened in the public sector to cater to this group which allowed these social groups to acquire education for the first time, and the policy of nationalization of education also contributed in allowing the middle and the lower income students to go to school. This was an active period for research in social sciences, when research was far freer and open, secular, political, interventionist and activist.¹⁷¹

According to Aftab A. Kazi (1994), the secular policy of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto provided educational reform, both in terms of generally set goals and recognition of existing ethnic nationalities as the natural division within the Pakistani society. In addition to the basic goals of the 1959 education policy, measures were taken to democratize education, to implement adult educational programmes and to make massive shift from general education to “agro-technical” education, with an emphasis on scientific and technological education. For the first time, ethnic nationalities had a voice in the planning and development of their values in the national educational system.¹⁷²

To promote high quality research in science, engineering, agriculture, biotechnology and psychology, nine centres of excellence and seven area study centres were created through an act of parliament in 1974 in the provincial and federal universities. In the same year, under the federal education minister, a controlling authority formally known as the

¹⁷¹ Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), “Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31: 3644-3661

¹⁷² Kazi, Aftab A. (1994), *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard Publishers, p-82.

University Grants Commission (UGC) was put in place to regulate and coordinate inter-university affairs, along the lines of similar institutions in India and Britain. As an apex institution to monitor the quality of university education, the UGC was given the task of disbursing funds to the universities in coordination with the ministries of education and finance.

Bhutto's government was dismissed by General Zia-ul-Haq in July 1977. With the advent of the economic liberalization policies of the 1980s in Pakistan, there is a visible shift in the policies of the state indicating a clear preference for professional education. Six new public universities in science, technology, engineering and agriculture were opened. The Seventh Five-Year Plan aimed to increase the number of students in technical and vocational schools to over 33 percent by increasing the number of polytechnics, commercial colleges, and vocational training centres. Although the reform did add to the number of technical schools in the country, there is still a need for further expansion of vocational training at various levels of post-secondary education today.

Private educational institutions appeared on the Pakistan scene in the shadow of the policy of denationalization of public sector institutions implemented by the military regime of Zia-ul-Haq. Aga Khan University made a head start in health education with the financial support of the Aga Khan Foundation. And the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) was established with the financial support of industrial groups of Lahore to offer post graduate education in business and computer education.¹⁷³

Zia made a significant departure by putting in real effort at Islamizing education. One major policy document called *National Education Policy and Implementation Programme* (GoP 1979b) declared that the foremost aims of education will be:

- To foster in the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan in general and the students in particular a deep and abiding loyalty to Islam and Pakistan

¹⁷³ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), "Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9:5080-5085

and a living consciousness of their spiritual and ideological identity thereby strengthening unity of the outlook of the people of Pakistan on the basis of justice and fairplay.

- To create awareness in every student that he, as a member of the Pakistani nation, is also a part of the universal Muslim Ummah and that it is expected of him to make a contribution towards the welfare of fellow Muslims inhabiting the globe on the one hand and to help spread the message of Islam throughout the world on the other.
- To produce citizens who are fully conversant with the Pakistan movement, its ideological foundations, history and culture so that they feel proud of their heritage and display firm faith in the future of the country as an Islamic state.
- To develop and inculcate in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah the character, conduct and motivation expected of a true Muslim.

There are five other aims but only one is about strengthening scientific, vocational and technological education. This is how Zia-ul-Haq set out to Islamize the youth. Textbooks, which were supposed to be Islamized from 1947, were now given a religious orientation in most fields, even those of the natural sciences. Moreover Islam was used to support the state's own militaristic policies in such a way that it appeared to the readers of these textbooks in Pakistan, the Pakistan movement, Pakistan's wars with India, the Kashmir issue was all connected not only with Pakistani nationalism but with Islam itself. Islamic studies were made compulsory up to class 10. There was much emphasis on Urdu, and for some time it appeared as if the English medium schools would be banned. However, this did not happen and the private sector, which was encouraged to invest in education, built chains of schools catering to the fast expanding and more affluent middle class than existed earlier.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-17-18.

The process of Islamization caused the promotion of extremism in educational institutions. He encouraged the establishment of madrassas, or religious schools, as part of his programme of Islamization. He allowed zakat (a tax on wealth introduced by his government) funds to be used for this purpose. The religious community responded to this invitation with great fervour and hundreds of madrassas were set up.¹⁷⁵ As Islam and Islamic ideology became the hallmark of the Zia regime, we began to see deep structural influences of this ideology on different aspects of society. Research under the banner of Islam began to thrive and there were considerable attempts to recast Pakistan's identity. There was a conscious move on part of the military government of General Zia to dislodge Pakistan from its south Asian roots and to reorient Pakistan into a Muslim, middle and central Asian nexus. A new sense of identity and identification was invented with Islam playing the pivotal, cementing medium.

Aspirants to power and higher office in universities and in research institutions began to toe the line and became part of the Islamic 'resurgence'. Economics became 'Islamic economics', anthropology became Islamic anthropology, research in history started focusing more on the Islamic dimension, and the only sort of history which began to be promoted was that related to the Pakistan movement and the Muslim Freedom struggle in United India. Also with attempts to reinvent Pakistan's 'ideology' in Islamic terms, much of the research in political science disciplines could not have been influenced by these important macro trends. The establishment of the International Islamic University in Islamabad in 1980 is part of this trend.¹⁷⁶

By the time Zia-ul-Haq died in 1988, children had to study Pakistan studies and Islamic theology even up to the undergraduate level. The number of madrassas had multiplied and, as a consequence of the war in Afghanistan, they became increasingly militant. The number of elite English schools, and even institutions of higher learning, increased. Society was more clearly polarized along religious and class lines. Moreover, the increased awareness of religion, the lack of forums for expressing ideas freely, the

¹⁷⁵ Jalalzai, Musa K. (2004), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Al Abbas International, p-156.

¹⁷⁶ Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), "Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31, p-3647.

increasing gap between the rich and the poor, had all contributed towards making this polarization potentially militant.

Zia-ul-Haq's government was followed by a so-called democratic interlude; so called because the elected prime ministers were not very democratic and, in any case, the strongest power in the land remained in the hands of the army. Benazir Bhutto's and Nawaz Sharif's governments were dismissed by the then President with the support of the army. In the latest such incursion General Pervez Musharraf allowed elections to be held in October 2002 with Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali appointed as the prime minister.

The *National Education Policy 1992* was formulated during this period. This policy was initiated in December 1992 with the objective of restructuring the existing educational system on modern lines, and to bring a social change as dictated by the teachings of Islam. It envisaged a qualitative shift for higher education from supply to demand oriented study programmes, and placed a heavy premium upon Research, Community Participation, and Student Discipline. Unfortunately, as said earlier, this policy too fell victim to the vagaries of political expediency and instability. It was prepared for a period of ten years (1992-2002).¹⁷⁷

The education policy of these civilian governments did not change some of the fundamental features of the educational policy- such as Islamization, emphasis on two nation theory with its concomitant hatred for India, glorification of war and the military, subservience of teachers to the administrators, increased control of the military and the private sector over elite education. But they did pay lip service to democracy throughout.¹⁷⁸

According to Akbar S. Zaidi(2002), Pakistan in the post-Zia period is still much affected by the major changes brought about by the military government between 1977 and 1988

¹⁷⁷ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

¹⁷⁸ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-18-19.

and change since then has been noticeable but slow. Probably the greatest single change that has come about since the end of the 1980s, which has had an impact on society and the social-sciences in Pakistan, is that of globalization in its different forms and manifestations. Moreover, not surprisingly, the post-Soviet world has also had an impact on research in Politics, History and the Social Sciences. Yet another important phenomenon in the context of Pakistan is the highly visible presence of donors and of non-governmental organizations, many of which were involved in research themselves or funded research institutions and projects (for example the World Bank and the IMF).¹⁷⁹

Table below shows the **history of the Five Year Plans** and the comparative data on education as well as higher education till the eighth Five Year Plan (1993-1998).

(Rupees in billions)

Five Year Plans	Total Development outlay	Development outlay for education	Education as percentage of total development outlay	Development outlay for higher education	Higher Education as percentage of total development outlay	Higher Education as percentage of education outlay
1 st (1955-1960)	9.3052	0.581	6.2%	0.175	1.88%	30%
2 nd (1960-1965)	19.0	1.423	7.5%	0.190	1.0%	13%
3 rd	52.0	2.674	5.14%	0.395	0.76%	15%

¹⁷⁹ Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), "Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31, p-3647.

(1965-70)						
4 th (1972-77)	75.0	3.665	4.9%	0.705	0.94%	19%
5 th (1977-83)	215.0	10.255	4.8%	1.457	0.68%	14%
6 th (1983-88)	490.0	19.830	4.0%	3.400	0.70%	17%
7 th (1988-93)	642.4	22.680	3.5%	2.415	0.37%	11%
8 th (1993-98)	1700.5	69.032	4.0%	6.607	0.39%	10%

Table: 6

Source: *Task Force Report on Higher Education in Pakistan, 2002.*

The *National Education Policy 1998-2010*, which was formulated during Nawaz Sharif, talked about aims and objectives of Education and Islamic Education; Literacy and non-formal education; Elementary education; Secondary education; Teacher education; Technical and vocational education; Higher education; Information technology; Library and Documentation services; Private sector in education; Innovative programmes; and Implementation Monitoring and Evaluation.¹⁸⁰ The policy acknowledged that there was an unprecedented demand for higher education, as well as the fact that higher education in Pakistan was beset with problems of a most pressing nature. These problems were identified as limited access to higher education, and a tilt towards arts education, low

¹⁸⁰ Ministry of Education, Pakistan (1998), "Educational Policy 1998-2010", [Online: Web] Accessed 19th May, 2009 URL: <http://www.moe.gov.pk/edupolicy2.htm>

investment, politicization and polarization of the faculty and student body, outdated curricula and system of assessment, lack of merit, low quality of students and education, inadequate student support services and deficient physical infrastructure, unresponsiveness, inefficiency, and maladministration; altogether a very strong indictment of the system.¹⁸¹

According to the Report, “access to higher education shall be expanded to at least 5 percent of the age group 17 to 23 by the year 2010. Merit shall be the only criterion for entry into higher education. Access to higher education, therefore shall be based on entrance tests. Reputed degree colleges shall be given autonomy and degree awarding status. Degree colleges shall have the option to affiliate with any recognized Pakistani university or degree awarding institution for examination and award of degrees. To attract highly talented qualified teachers, the university staff will be paid at higher rates than usual grades. Local M.Phil and Ph.D. programmes shall be launched and laboratory and library facilities will be strengthened. Split Ph.D. programmes shall be launched in collaboration with reputed foreign universities and at the minimum 100 scholars shall be annually trained under this arrangement. All quota/ reserve seats shall be eliminated. Students from backward areas, who clear entry tests, would compete amongst themselves. In order to eliminate violence, all political activities on the campus shall be banned.”

Another significant feature of this report was the impetus to the private sector. It said, “There shall be regulatory bodies at the national and provincial level to regulate activities and smooth functioning of privately managed schools and institutions of higher education through proper rules and regulations. A reasonable tax rebate shall be granted on the expenditure incurred on the setting up of educational facilities by the private sector. Matching grants shall be provided for establishing educational institutions by the private sector in the rural areas or poor urban areas through educational foundations. Existing

¹⁸¹ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

institutions of higher learning shall be allowed to negotiate for financial assistance with donor agencies in collaboration with the ministry of Education. Educational institutions to be set up in private sector shall be provided (a) plots in residential schemes on reserve prices, and (b) rebate on income tax, like industry. Schools running on non profit basis shall be exempted from all taxes. Curricula of private institutions must conform to the principles laid down in the Federal Supervision of Curricula, Textbooks and Maintenance of Standards of Education Act, 1976. The fee structure of the privately managed educational institutions shall be developed in consultation with the government.”¹⁸²

As discussed above, the ambitious policy document of Nawaz Sharif’s days, National Education Policy 1998-2010 repeats the clichés every policy has been expounding, with differing emphases however, since 1947. Primary education was to be universalized by 2010 and more educational institutions would be created. A new feature was the emphasis on replacing the lecture method with computers, TV, video, tapes etc. Apart from this, there was a whole chapter on ‘Islamic Education’ and it was declared that all aspects of education, including the sciences, are to be governed by religion. There is also a whole chapter (chapter 10) on information technology. The trend towards privatization started by Zia-ul-Haq and promoted by all subsequent governments, was to be encouraged even further. It was estimated that about three million students were studying in about 10,000 English medium schools. Moreover, there were also five newly chartered universities.

The producers of this report realized that the private sector could not be seen to share the burden of government: participation in education was already high in urban settlements. It was in the rural areas that more schools were needed. Thus, the role of policy makers in universalization remained only marginal. Further, because of the use of English as a medium of instruction, and high fees structure, these institutions were better suited to serve the requirement of the elite. Such a development is contradicted if effort is to be directed towards the development of an egalitarian society.

¹⁸² Ministry of Education, Pakistan (1998), “Educational Policy 1998-2010”, [Online: Web] Accessed 19th May, 2009 URL: <http://www.moe.gov.pk/edupolicy2.htm>

Nothing was actually done about the expensive private institutions, which kept multiplying and increasing their fees. The people of Pakistan appeared to have reconciled to paying exorbitant sums making huge sacrifices and ransoming their old age pensions to pay for the education of their children. That this state of affairs will continue is clarified by another report, *Education Sector Reforms: Action Plan 2001- 2004* , issued during the rule of General Pervez Musharraf. It states that 'Private sector investment in secondary and higher education is being promoted through liberal grant of charters, development of multiple textbooks and private exam boards.' Otherwise, the reforms suggested are not different from those suggested in previous policies. There is the quantitative wish list: literacy will go up from 49 to 60 percent; primary enrollment from 66 to 76 percent; middle school from 47.5 to 55 percent; secondary school 29.5 to 40 percent; and higher education from 2.6 to 5 percent. As for the quality, the report mentions 'quality assurance' at a cost of 6.3 billion rupees, comprising curriculum reforms, teacher education, examination reforms and assessment.¹⁸³

The new millennium brought a new turn to the development of higher education in Pakistan. The Musharraf government took various steps for the development and enhancement of higher education in Pakistan. A Task force was constituted in April 2001. The force was a public- private partnership comprising 17 leaders of higher education and co-chaired by Syed Babar Ali (Pro-chancellor of Lahore University of Management and Sciences) and Dr. Shams Kassim Lakha (President of Aga Khan University, Karachi).

In pursuance of the recommendations of the report, "Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan", the government constituted the Higher Education Commission with wide financial power and autonomy. It has replaced the University Grants Commission and works in proactive and supportive fashion with the objective to help promote higher education and research¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸³ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press. p-19-20.

¹⁸⁴ Rizvi, Shamim Ahmad (2002), "Higher Education in Pakistan", [Online: Web] Accessed 19th May 2009 URL: <http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/issue2002/issue34/etc3.htm>

According to its terms of reference, the Task Force was supposed to “recommend ways of improving higher education in Pakistan, including new approaches of financial sustainability.” Critics of this reform process see “striking similarities and near universal nature of the reform proposals in countries with diverse cultures and educational traditions” as pointing to a common agenda of change: Neo liberal economic ideology and globalization have been cited as the bases of the current push towards restructuring of public institutions. Corporatization of public universities is being seen as a global agenda that will make higher education amenable to international trade in higher education.

The membership of the Task Force, and of subsequent Steering Committee on Higher Education (SCHE) set up to implement the recommendations of the Task Force, indicated the basic orientation of the current reforms. While the heads of two elite private universities acted as the co-chairs of the Task Force and the SCHE, There was a token recommendation of vice-chancellors from the public universities, who are usually politically appointed administrators rather than practicing academics.

The report of the Task Force, which provided a blue print for higher educational reforms, summarily dismissed the existing higher educational infrastructure without adequate analysis. The “Effectiveness of Higher Education in Pakistan” is assessed in two paragraphs, with a quotation from a study by a consultant of the Task Force who painted a deplorable picture of Pakistan public universities. These fleeting observations are buttressed with statistics provided by the UGC on the demographics of higher education in Pakistan. In 1996, “of a population of 140 million, only 2.6 percent of the age cohort of 17-23 years (less than 5,00,000 persons) were enrolled in the colleges and universities of Pakistan.”

In the next two paragraphs a laundry list of “Past Educational policies and Plans” is cited, with quotes from the report of the Commission on National Education of 1959, without even a passing comment. An analysis of the “outcome of policies and five year plans” is readily furnished by drawing on a paper prepared by the chairman of UGC for the Task Force, which provides a readymade “Conclusion”. The universities suffered from

inadequate funding due to low priority given to education in national development. Most of the recommendations made by past educational commissions and reiterated in five year plans to improve the academic functions have not been put in place. Sadly, whatever funds were available to the education sector were used for quantitative expansion and not for qualitative improvement.

Despite its lament that “since the planners have never been able to estimate the country’s needs, the institutions of higher education have had no guidance for defining goals”, the Task Force makes no attempt to assess the supply and demand for higher education sector in Pakistan. No reference is made to base line studies of the problems in public sector universities, except brief extracts from the reports of the past educational commissions in the appendices. The section ends with the “Establishment of the Task Force” and its activities. A “Vision Statement” resembling a high minded corporate document is offered, along with a schedule of meetings held by the Task Force.

Section Two, which includes a “Situational Analysis”, starts with a statistical appraisal of “Systems of Higher Education”. A review of “Higher Education in Private Sector” provides a rationale as well as a model of good governance in higher education. With 18 universities and 9 degree awarding institutes in the country, the government’s Education Sector Reforms Action Plan for 2001-2004, as discussed earlier also, envisages an enhancement of the share of enrollment in the private sector universities from 15 percent to 40 percent by the year 2004. This was to be achieved “through the pursuit of liberal policy to encourage the establishment of new institutions of higher education in the private sector”. The new dispensation privileges a “corporate model of higher education” which will not only deepen educational inequalities as discussed before also, the poor will be increasingly unable to improve their lives through education, but will also lead to a disproportionate investment in science and technology at the expense of social science and humanities.

Identifying “politicization” and “inadequate funding” as the key factors responsible for the poor quality of higher education in public universities, the report of the Task Force on

Higher Education suggested measures to diversify the resource base of public universities in order to attract high quality faculty and generate research. However, by its own admission, the problem of inadequate funding has already been solved by raising the tuition fee. According to the report, the “structural problem” lies with “archaic financial management” rather than with inadequate funding as such. The section concludes with an argument for freeing the universities from “political, governmental and bureaucratic or other extraneous influences”, which says that freedom is to be earned through financial autonomy. That the current reforms in higher education intend to privatize public universities remains implicit and unclear. The effects of the withdrawal of public expenditure on higher education on the lower and middle income groups are conveniently ignored. It is also assumed without sufficient evidence that improvement in higher education will have a trickle-down effect on the lower tiers of education.

The current process of institutional reforms initiated in 2000 to improve the quality of research and training in universities and colleges, led to the replacement of UGC with a much larger body of academics, technocrats and management professionals, called the Higher Education Commission (HEC) in 2002, as mentioned earlier. A Federal Model University Ordinance was also promulgated in the same year to restructure higher education.¹⁸⁵

The core function of the Higher Education Commission is to facilitate the transformation of Pakistan into a knowledge economy. Since its inception, the Higher Education Commission has undertaken a systematic process of implementation of an agenda for reform outlined in the HEC Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) in which Access, Quality and Relevance have been identified as the key challenges faced by the sector. To address these challenges, a comprehensive strategy was defined that identified

¹⁸⁵ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), “Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9:5080-5085

the core strategic aims for reform as (1) Faculty Development, (2) Improving Access (3) Excellence in Learning and Research, and (4) Relevance to National Priorities.¹⁸⁶

The number one goal of the Higher Education Commission is faculty development. HEC wants to improve both the number of qualified faculty and the quality of teaching through improving the teaching skills and academic qualifications of faculty members. In particular, the HEC plans to increase the number of faculty with PhDs at Pakistan's 60 public universities from 1700 to 15,000 within five years. To implement this goal, the HEC has several programs.

First as a short-term fix, the HEC is importing faculty from other countries for up to three years. The Higher Education Commission is focusing especially on PhDs of Pakistani origin who have earned degrees from prestigious universities abroad and who have solid records of academic publication. The idea is to use these foreign trained faculties as "seeds" to both model good teaching and begin research initiatives in universities in Pakistan. These imported teachers, who will receive more pay than current faculty, are expected to set a new and higher standard for teaching performance and for conducting research. These scholars are also expected to begin indigenous PhD programs within Pakistan that are capable of turning out the large numbers of high caliber PhDs in a variety of fields that will enable Pakistan to begin to meet its quantitative goals of PhDs.

A second, longer term plan to upgrade faculty is to increase number and quality of PhDs teaching in Pakistani universities. The HEC would like to increase the number of teaching and research PhDs from the current level of 1700 to 15,000-20,000 in five years. The HEC would like as many as possible of the new PhDs to be foreign trained at top universities around the world. To accomplish this, the HEC has agreements with several countries, including Austria, China, Sweden, Germany and France to send about 200 students a year for PhD training over a period of a few years. These countries traditionally have free university education for their own students, and the Pakistani

¹⁸⁶ Rahman, Atta-ur (2007), "Higher Education in Pakistan: A Silent Revolution", [Online: Web] Accessed 16th May 2009 URL: <http://www.iienetwork.org/page/108514/>

students will be included at no tuition cost. The HEC is paying for living stipends. The agreements with France, Germany and China also include a period of language training prior to initiating PhD studies. Whether that is sufficient time to learn a new language well enough to conduct doctoral level work remains to be seen.

Most of these agreements are for Pakistani students to study science and engineering subjects, although a few are for economics. On April 6, 2005, Atta-ur-Rehman, the chairman of the HEC and U.S. Ambassador Ryan Crocker, along with Minister of Education, Qazi, announced a new program to train masters or PhD programs in the U.S. Many of the persons in this program are junior faculty in public universities who need to obtain masters level training to enable them to pursue a PhD. A key priority of this Fulbright/USAID program is master's degree for those who train primary and secondary school teachers and those studying educational administration. This programme will be funded by United States Educational Foundation in Pakistan (USEFP). This programme will involve \$12 million a year for a period of five years.

HEC, USAID and USEFP also announced a PhD programme jointly funded by Pakistan and U.S. that will send an additional 30 to 50 PhD students to the U.S. each year for five years in a wide variety of disciplines. This is seen as an important step in upgrading faculty at Pakistan's top grade schools.

HEC has also announced an indigenous programme to train 1,000 PhDs a year in Pakistan. These students will work with PhD scholars in Pakistani universities whom the HEC has recognized and registered based on the teaching and record of publication in international journals. USAID has also funded much of this local production of PhDs with special emphasis on providing funding for students from disadvantaged families who would not otherwise have the opportunity to obtain a Ph.D. Recognizing the problem of an explosive proliferation of degrees, some of questionable quality, on July 6, 2005, the HEC issued a warning degree granting institution that they must follow the established criteria or risk having their charters withdrawn and having the HEC not recognize the degrees they have awarded.

While the vast majority of the PhD students are in the sciences and technology, with very few in educationally related fields, one would hope that the emphasis on the need for a PhD to do university teaching and research will carry over into all academic disciplines, including education. Participants in these programs also serve as role models for bright hard working students who can see some reward for succeeding at academics.

In addition to these programs, the HEC's plan calls for the National Academy for Higher Education to enhance basic competencies in the teaching of core sciences and math, computer sciences and functional English. These nine month academic courses will be offered in conjunction with method courses designed to help junior faculty improve their competence as teachers.

Talking about 'Improving Access to Higher Education', the HEC plans to increase enrollment in higher education from 2.9 percent to 5 percent in 5 years and to 10 percent in 10 years. It plans to do this both through improving universities, and by encouraging an appreciation for tertiary sector. Clearly, this is a point at which the reform of higher education intersects with the reform of all education in Pakistan. In order to increase the number attending college and university, Pakistan will need to increase the number of students in primary and secondary education. In addition, there will be a need to increase the quality of education at all levels to prepare students for university level work.

Part of the HEC plan to increase access is to make higher education more accessible to students from modest backgrounds. HEC is funding a new scholarship a year for undergraduate and graduate students from disadvantaged backgrounds. This greatly increases the incentive to stay in school, since it makes it possible for poor young students to aspire to higher education.

Increased access to university education will drive development in two ways. To begin with, increased university graduates in sciences and technology will provide a pool of talented that enable Pakistan to compete with other nations in the global economy. This should raise the standard of living, which will also drive development. On an individual

basis, increased access to universities provides a path of possible upward mobility for many individuals and their families to better their lot in life. This is an entirely democratizing step for the entire society.

Coming to 'Excellency in Learning and Research', traditionally Pakistani universities did not conduct a lot of research, and research that was conducted did not receive much support to carry it out. Under the HEC reforms, professors are actively encouraged to conduct research in their field, whatever it is. The HEC has provided grants large and small for many hundreds of research projects. The indigenous PhD program provides a source of smart labour for university research, since PhD students are often recognized to do small parts of a larger research study. Once faculties have conducted research, the HEC also makes funds available to enable faculty to present their results at international conferences.

Moreover, where once research did not count in the promotion process for university faculty, research is now a critical factor for promotion. The HEC is moving towards a tenure system for faculty. Faculty will not be granted tenure unless they have demonstrated teaching ability, the ability to conduct research and have it published in international journals, and the ability to train future PhDs¹⁸⁷.

Coming to 'Relevance to National Priorities', the programmes of the HEC have targeted the development of necessary manpower to allow the economy of Pakistan to transition towards a knowledge based economy. Significant assistance has been provided to the engineering sector, by allocating funds to strengthen current departments, initiate new programs, establish additional campuses, and develop central resource laboratories. A second major support initiative has been launched in the critical area of biotechnology, with institutes set up in bio-informatics, proteomics, stem-cell research, plant genomics,

¹⁸⁷. Clark, G. (2005), Reform in Higher Education in Pakistan" in Robert M. Hathaway (eds.) *Education Reforms in Pakistan: Building for the Future*, Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, p- 57-59.

and genetic engineering¹⁸⁸. Besides these four goals, as discussed above, three other goals are there which support these four core aims- The development of leadership, governance and management; enhanced quality assessment and accreditation and physical and technological infrastructure development.¹⁸⁹

However, as critics of HEC have pointed out, improvements in the quality of higher education can only come about if all levels of university education are uplifted. The pre-university education system, which provides the basis for university education is outside the purview of HEC. The ministry of education, which controls primary, secondary and post-secondary education in the provinces, works independently of the changes in the structure of the university education. Unless there is an active collaboration between the HEC and the ministry, no long term changes can occur in the higher education system in Pakistan. The hasty plans to expand the number of doctoral students and increase the honorarium paid to supervisors have led to a situation where supervisors are reportedly taking on dozens of PhD students, irrespective of their capacity to supervise such a large number.¹⁹⁰

The Musharraf government's scheme to rescue higher education concentrated on the production of 12, 00 to 15, 00 Ph.Ds a year beginning in 2009. Announced in April 2003 by Atta-ur-Rahman; chairman of the Higher Education Commission, it included schemes to upgrade existing faculty. It envisaged to send students out to a number of countries, including China, Germany, and Austria, and has provisions for recruiting qualified overseas Pakistanis to staff Pakistan's public and private universities and colleges.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Rahman, Atta-ur), "Higher Education in Pakistan: A Silent Revolution", [Online: Web] Accessed 16th May 2009 URL: <http://www.iienetwork.org/page/108514>

¹⁸⁹ Clark, G. (2005), Reform in Higher Education in Pakistan" in Robert M. Hathaway (eds.) *Education Reforms in Pakistan: Building for the Future*, Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, p- 57.

¹⁹⁰ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), "Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9:5080-5085

¹⁹¹ Cohen, Stephen P.(2004), *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions Press, p-246.

However it was viewed as being overambitious and naïve by Pakistan's leading educators and scientists and it is proving to be true. The present government could not provide funds already committed to development projects, which include these scholarships for going abroad, as well as recurrent expenditures for the current fiscal year. The outlook is now bleak for the PhD programme even though the commission has diverted all of its developmental grants towards Human Resource Development (HRD), under which it awards these scholarships. The HEC is facing severe financial crunch today due to which it has become difficult to meet its financial commitments towards international universities on time. According to the planning commission the HEC had planned 293 development projects to be completed over the next few years at a cost of around 300 billion rupees but the financial health of the country during the next financial year will now determine the fate of this project.¹⁹²

Higher education in Pakistan is in state of flux, as large financial investments have been made in the higher education system in tandem with the neo liberal policies of the World Bank. Several other changes are taking place in the structure of universities and colleges that are aimed at strengthening their financial status and management systems. These are intended to help improve teaching and research thereby meeting the challenges posed by the internationalization of higher education. However, given the long gestation period of these policies, the impact of reforms in higher education will only be felt after a number of years. It is important that the public sector universities sit at the top of the educational pyramid of a province. A large number of affiliated or constituent colleges are attached to the university, which are monitored and supported by the university in terms of curricula and examinations. Therefore, the decline in the quality of university education triggers a crisis of governance at several levels of post-secondary education, seriously depleting the capacity of the government to produce human capital that can perform in the national market and compete in the global market.

Although, there is no doubt about the need to reform higher education in Pakistan, deciding on the precise nature and content of the reform requires further explorations into

¹⁹² Ghumman K. (2009), "Learning Lost", *The Herald*, June:p-34.

reasons of the failure of state policies. The current reform process has attracted strong criticism and stiff opposition from the faculty and students of public universities throughout the country and expressed their dissenting views, without eliciting a clear response from the government to review the recommendations of the Task Force or SCHE. Any exercise in educational planning requires a critical assessment or rejection of the existing system on the basis of poor outcomes. In the absence of a clearly formulated criterion for evaluating the performance of past policies, it is easy to stake claims for a new policy. Despite an obvious need to raise more funds for the cash strapped universities, it must not be forgotten that education, like defence or a clean environment, is a public good with a justifiable claim on public exchequer. In the rush to improve quality, it can end up erecting income barriers on the path to educational development, thereby further depleting the human capital of Pakistan.¹⁹³

In **conclusion**, the past policies and performances of the government in the higher education were inherently defective. Though the plans had been quite ambitious but targets were unable to be fulfilled. Insufficient resource allocation and lack of political-will can be attributed as major factors. The policies were biased, creating and widening, socio-cultural and socio-economic differences, based on colonial tradition of education in pre-partitioned India, benefiting the elitist and major ethnic classes while depriving the poor and minor ethnic groups. All we can say is that though with the formation of HEC, many positive steps have been taken, yet due to disappointing and unsatisfactory political, social and economic conditions, the potential benefits of higher education are impossible to get. The political situation of the country is always unstable and volatile which is a significant factor in the unsatisfactory accomplishments in the higher education sector in Pakistan. Though the goals and steps are highly ambitious, implementations are not up to the mark. According to the Task Force itself, if some of the reasonable policy recommendations had been implemented with the requisite earnestness, the situation of higher education would have improved and evolved over time. Instead the quality of higher education has declined. The reasons for the chronic poor funding for the

¹⁹³ Tarar, Nadeem Omar (2006), "Globalization and Higher Education in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Dec.9:5080-5085.

Social Sector are known. The reasons for the inability to improve the management and performance of universities are surely multiple, interdependent and complex. The end result is relentless gravitation of institutions to the minimal functional state of operation that can be sustained with current financial and human resources; policies and procedures that serve bureaucratic rather than functional ends; the collective effect of variously motivated attitudes of variously motivated attitudes and behaviours of the faculty, staff, students, society, politicians, and the Federal and Provincial Governments of the day.¹⁹⁴

The policy of privatization of the universities through the charging of high tuition fees is generating wide criticism all over by the experts as it is creating and widening socio-economic inequalities in the country by depriving the unprivileged classes. Number of higher education institutions have been increased but due to lack of relevance of what is taught at university is not demanded in the labour market. Although HEC has taken positive steps to send teachers abroad for enhancing their skills to teach at university level, the result was that there was shortage of teachers at the university level. Although enrollment at university level is less than 3 percent, number of unemployed graduates of universities is increasing at an alarming rate. Current financial crunch faced by the commission is of course a grave problem. It is a serious blow to its highly ambitious plans. Islamization of education is another hurdle which is not letting the sector progress; it is drifting the country into backwardness by narrowing the horizons and distorting the understanding of students and also is culminating towards an anti-India policy amongst students. It is in fact perpetrating violence in young minds and culminating militancy amongst students, also leading to atrocities on women. Political situation in the country is volatile; security concerns are not allowing foreign investments. Religious extremists in North West (Afghanistan and Pakistan border areas) are the focus of government. Social condition is also deteriorating. In all these disappointing state of affairs, the role of higher education in Pakistan should be recognized properly to drive the country on the way of progress.

¹⁹⁴ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

CHAPTER 1V

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM OF PAKISTAN

The previous three chapters analysed the historical background, various issues and challenges and the policy directives in the higher education system of Pakistan. In other words, they focussed on the internal dynamics of the system. This chapter will discuss the external dynamics, examining the role of various international institutions in the higher education sector of Pakistan. The growing influence of globalization and internationalization of higher education have necessitated the participation of the international community in the field of education especially higher education sector as it is the key to development of a country's human resources and generation of capital. International organizations like the World Bank, UNESCO are few prominent organizations which are assisting the developing countries in this context highlighting the due importance of higher education unlike the past. Higher education, in fact, has been considered as the most powerful tool for the developing countries by the influential international organizations like the World Bank and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and powerful governments. It is their thought that social and economic progress can be achieved through knowledge and its applications, with the importance of knowledge and higher education becoming very crucial. Due to this reason, there are great risks that the developing countries will be marginalized in this highly competitive economy. Fact behind this is that higher education systems are not well developed or prepared to capitalize on the creation of application and knowledge. Higher education has got more importance in today's scenario. In the emerging "knowledge economy" those nations which are not able to create a learning environment, will remain behind, and in a way will be virtual colonies of those who succeed in this race.

The situation of Pakistan in this context is very disappointing and some consider it virtually in a state of collapse. Although in recent years some positive steps have been taken to change this situation, for example, increase in the number of private good quality institutions, it is

the public sector universities and colleges that have to take the burden of higher education.¹⁹⁵ In short, much has to be achieved in this sector and this can be done when both state and the international community play an active role in the process. States are crucial, in fact, in this respect. International organizations can contribute by establishing regulatory mechanisms, GATS, and providing international aid.

GATS (General Agreement on Trade in Services) refer in this context free trade in education. The contemporary emphasis on free trade stimulates international academic mobility. Current thinking sees international higher education as a commodity to be traded freely and sees higher education as a private good, not a public responsibility. Commercial forces, therefore, have a legitimate or even a dominant place in higher education, which comes under the domain of the market. The World Trade Organization (WTO) will provide a regulatory framework to encourage international trade in education and service related industries as part of negotiating the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). GATS remains under negotiation and individual countries may agree to some or all of its provisions. However, GATS will, when WTO member countries implement the agreement, focus on facilitating academic mobility via:

- Cross border supply: this mode may include distance education (e-learning), and franchising courses or degrees. It does not necessarily require the physical movement of the consumer or provider.
- Consumption abroad: The consumer moves to the country of the provider. This mode includes traditional student mobility.
- Commercial Presence: The service provider establishes facilities in another country including branch campuses and joint ventures with local institutions.
- Presence of natural persons: This mode includes persons, including professors, and researchers, who travel temporarily to another country to provide educational services.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Hussain, T.(2008), "Dilemma in Higher Education in Pakistan and Role of World Bank", [Online:Web] Accessed 2nd June, 2009: URL:

http://www.ruc.dk/paes/forskernskolen/program/info/summer_school/summer2008/paper/tanveer_maken/

¹⁹⁶ Altbach G. Philip and J.Knight (2007), "The Internationalization of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3/4): p-292-3.

Despite efforts, services negotiations have been stuck at low key under the GATS. Within the services, higher education has a low priority. There is a lack of consensus and many misgivings about commitments in higher education. Many of these concerns are misplaced. The role and scope of liberalization under the GATS framework recognizes the right of the national governments to regulate and if necessary introduce new legislations to meet national policy objectives. Liberalization is a means of promoting growth and development by enhancing competition and not doing away with regulation. In higher education like in most other services sectors, most countries in their own national interests have gone for autonomous liberalization. The GATS negotiations merely bind this liberalization with a view to bring predictability in policy regime.

A scrutiny of the volume of trade in higher education services in financial terms suggests that these revenues are primarily from student mobility. Therefore, most countries with export interest in higher education aggressively pursue policies to recruit fee paying students. Student mobility is mainly driven by students taking their own decisions about where to study and what to study and they usually pay for it. Most of the international students, particularly from South Asia are self funded. Usually academic mobility is politically sensitive and commercially less significant. Most countries maintain restrictions on a horizontal basis (for example: immigration rules that apply to all services sectors). Mobility of academic people is largely demand driven given the uniqueness of their skills. Program mobility mainly e-learning is technologically driven and measures taken through government authority have limited impact. As a result, negotiations under GATS are of little implications overall except in case of institutional mobility.

Notwithstanding the above, there has been an intense public debate on negotiating positions in higher education sector under the GATS. While many developing countries have autonomously liberalized market access to foreign providers in their national interest, there is widespread scepticism about the GATS regime in higher education. For instance, there is a perception that commitments under GATS would put an end to the public subsidies with adverse consequences for the quality and affordability of higher

education. It is therefore not surprising that education sector is one of the least committed sectors though it was part of the GATS framework right from the beginning.

South Asia is no exception to this worldwide trend. Only Srilanka had taken limited commitments in the education sector during the Uruguay Round. In the current round, India and Pakistan have offered to undertake commitments. Pakistan's commitments include foreign equity cap of 60 percent for commercial presence, no national treatment with regard to subsidies and land and endowment requirement for private institutions to set up campus. Further Nepal undertook commitments in education services during its accession negotiations and Bhutan is likely to undertake commitments. Bangladesh and the Maldives have not offered to make any commitments in higher education, though there are visible trends of international involvement of higher education in these countries. There are not too many barriers to trade in higher education services in the countries of South Asia, yet none of the countries has been able to attract foreign providers in large numbers. The countries in the region are struggling to cope with the rapid growth of private provision in higher education. An objective and transparent regulatory system for private education is yet to evolve. Foreign provision raises added concerns. For instance, the entry of foreign institutions is being opposed in India on the grounds of hurting the cultural and educational ethos in the country.

Despite these misgivings, there is a growth of cross-border activities in higher education. Apart from student mobility, there will be a wide range of exchange agreements, distance education programs, research collaborations and offshore partnerships. This is happening despite several impediments. These include- lack of recognition of academic qualifications or concerns over the quality of educational providers and the risk of seeing "degree mills" sprouting in a liberalized environment. It is however not clear if the GATS could offer the most appropriate selling to tackle these issues or the bilateral, regional or multilateral arrangements would be more successful.

Apart from capacity constraints, the issue of quality has now become central to the higher education system worldwide. The growing movement of students and qualified people

across borders requires that quality assurance system in various countries should be compatible with each other. It should be possible for the academic and professional qualifications to be portable across national boundaries. Recognition systems are often complex and have many loopholes even within a country. Unscrupulous providers exploit these loopholes. Unplanned and chaotic growth of higher education in South Asia over the past two decades has complicated this. Growing cross-border activities are now adding further complications.

There are many initiatives both at national and international levels to improve quality assurance systems and put in place mechanisms for mutual recognition of qualifications across national borders. In December 2005, UNESCO and OECD have jointly issued non-binding guidelines on “Quality provision in cross-border higher education”. The main goal of this initiative is to protect students against misleading information and low quality provision; to make qualifications readable, transparent and stronger in their international validity and portability; to increase transparency and coherence of recognition procedures and to intensify international cooperation among national quality and accreditation agencies.

There has been a remarkable pace of change in the higher education in recent years. Much of this change has occurred completely outside a trade policy framework. It would be a mistake to expect that GATS negotiations would either stop or accelerate this trend. Thus, GATS negotiations are unlikely to be the driving force behind the continued internationalization of higher education. Yet as the GATS negotiations gain momentum, the greater transparency and policy predictability in higher education would help in achieving a higher level of bound liberalization commitments under the GATS that would be beneficial to all the stakeholders in higher education. By including higher education services in their offers, the governments of countries in South Asia have laid a foundation for a more liberal and predictable environment for entry and operation of foreign providers of higher education. Yet there is a long way to go before credible foreign

providers in large numbers could be attracted to come to South Asia in large numbers to meet the growing need for quality higher education in the region.¹⁹⁷

Pakistan has been heavily relying on foreign aid since its independence from the British rule in 1947. In the case of foreign aid, Pakistan is an interesting case. Firstly, Pakistan is not an extremely poor country, but nevertheless one of the major recipient countries of the world. For example, since last 45 to 50 years, Pakistan has been the fourth largest recipient of US aid after Israel, Egypt and India. Moreover, after 9/11, there has been an increase in aid. Among the developing countries, Pakistan is the top client of IMF and second largest recipient of lending from Asian Development Bank after Indonesia. Also, Pakistan has become the second largest borrower from IDA.¹⁹⁸ World Bank is active in the higher education development of the developing world and currently, it is lending an active support to the higher education development of Pakistan.

Talking about the World Bank, Pakistan became a member of the World Bank in 1950, and began borrowing from the IBRD in 1952 and from IDA in 1962 when it was formed. As of June 30, 2003, the Bank had made total commitments to Pakistan of US \$ 18.2 billion for 203 projects, which makes it one of the Bank's ten largest borrowers. From FY 94 to FY 03, commitments amounted to US \$ 4.7 billion for 35 projects. The Bank is a major source of funding for Pakistan, with IBRD and IDA loans representing 28 percent of outstanding debt in 2004, and between 1993 to 2003, the Bank represented about 22 percent of total donor aid and multilateral loan flows.

Historically, the Bank has supported traditional sectors such as energy, infrastructure and agriculture.¹⁹⁹ The FY 2006 portfolio consists of 17 projects under implementation with a net

¹⁹⁷ Agarwal P. (2008), "Privatization and Internationalization of Higher Education in the countries of South Asia: An Empirical Analysis", [Online: Web] Accessed 2nd June 2009 URL: http://www.saneinetwork.net/pdf/SANEI_VIII/7.pdf

¹⁹⁸ Hussain, T. (2008), "Dilemma in Higher Education in Pakistan and Role of World Bank", [Online: Web] Accessed 2nd June, 2009 URL: http://www.ruc.dk/paes/forskerskolen/program/info/summer_school/summer2008/paper/tanveer_maken/

¹⁹⁹ The World Bank (2006), *Pakistan Country Assistance Evaluation*, Report no. 34942.

commitment of US \$ 1.1 billion indicating that Pakistan is an important client of World Bank. If we see all the projects and programmes of World Bank for Pakistan since 1952, there are not so much resources allocated directly to education, it was 1964 when first time World Bank gave the lending for the agricultural university but after that no project on higher education have been sponsored by the World Bank. Also, the World Bank has an extensive influence on the government of Pakistan.²⁰⁰ Currently, the Bank is supporting 29 ongoing government projects in Pakistan.²⁰¹

In February 1990, the World Bank published an exhaustive study titled *Higher Education and Scientific Research for Development in Pakistan*, calling for a complete overhaul of systems and attitudes, and suggesting that transformation of higher education and research in Pakistan to become a significant contributor to development will require a long term, multi-faceted, and carefully sequenced effort. The reform package had been linked to two indispensable preconditions: (a) commitment from Pakistan's political and administrative leadership to correcting the institutional efficiency and service delivery weaknesses (educational process) of the sector, and (b) the creation of a policy environment conducive to change in higher education and research.

The report recommended the following strategy for improvement and reform:-

- (i) Strengthening and adaptation of existing institutions rather than creating new ones, unless their retention will inhibit reforms or perpetuate bad practice.
- (ii) Decentralization of responsibility and accountability.
- (iii) Careful preparation and phased implementation, planning and prioritization of higher education and research by an apex body taking into consideration the issues of institutional framework, quality control and assurance, resourcing, efficiency,

²⁰⁰ Hussain, T.(2008), "Dilemma in Higher Education in Pakistan and Role of World Bank", [Online:Web] Accessed 2nd June, 2009 URL:
http://www.ruc.dk/paes/forskorskolen/program/info/summer_school/summer2008/paper/tanveer_maken/

²⁰¹ The World Bank, "Pakistan: Projects, Programs and Results"[Online: Web] Accessed 3rd June 2009 URL:
<http://www.worldbank.org.pk/external/default/main?menuPK=293083&pagePK=141155&piPK=141124&theSitePK=293052>

financial and academic autonomy, private sector provision, incentives for improved performance.

- (iv) Revitalizing the policy making function for higher education and research.
- (v) Creation of an overall operational framework which stimulates improvement.
- (vi) Increase in the overall resources available to the sector.
- (vii) Ensure the efficient use of all available resources.
- (viii) Improve the development and delivery of services at the institutional level.

This report was, however, regarded by many as an oversimplified renunciation of the positive category of events prevailing in the higher education system of Pakistan.

The implementation of the report required a strong commitment of the politicians and bureaucracy, and massive funding outlay for the higher education reform strategy, both of which were not available. Neither was the government support to execute the major institutional transformation that the report required.²⁰²

The year 2000 brought a new turn for the development of higher education in the developing countries. A Task Force for Higher Education and Society was convened by the World Bank and the UNESCO to bring together experts from 13 countries for the purpose of exploring the future of higher education in developing countries. The members constituted of representatives from South-Africa, United-States, Pakistan, Palestine, Chile, Denmark, Brazil, France, Japan, Indonesia, Mozambique, India and Sweden.

Based on research and intensive discussion and hearings conducted over a two year period, the Task Force has concluded that without more and better higher education, developing countries will find it increasingly difficult to benefit from the global knowledge economy. The Task Force has attempted to clarify the arguments for higher education development especially from the standpoint of public policy makers and the

²⁰² Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*.

international community. It has also diagnosed specific problems that are common across the developing world- home to more than 80 percent of the world's population- and suggested potential solutions. *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Perils and Promise* is split into six chapters which address:-

- Higher education's long standing problems and the new reality it faces.
- The nature of the public interest in higher education.
- The issue of how focussing on higher education as a system will yield the benefits of planned diversifications.
- The need to improve standards of governance.
- The particularly acute requirement for better science and technology education, and
- A call to develop imaginative general education curricula for certain students.

The Task Force is united in the belief that urgent action to expand the quantity and improve the quality of higher education in developing countries should be a top priority.

It says that the developing countries need higher education to:

- Provide increasing number of students, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds with specialized skills, because specialists are increasingly in demand in all sectors of the world economy.
- Produce a body of students with a general education that encourages flexibility and innovation, thus allowing the continual renewal of economic and social structures relevant to a fast changing world.
- Teach students not just what is currently known, but also how to keep their knowledge up to date, so that they will be able to refresh their skills as the economic environment changes, and
- Increase the amount and quality of in-country research, thus allowing the developing world to select, absorb, and create new knowledge more efficiently and rapidly than it currently does.

The Task Force recognizes that there are many difficulties in achieving these aims, including the plethora of competing demands for public money. Action, therefore, will

need creativity and persistence. A new vision of what higher education can achieve is required, combined with better planning and higher standards of management. The strength of all players- public and private- must be used, with the international community at last emerging to provide strong and coordinated support and leadership in this critical area.

The Task Force recommends that each developing country make it a national priority to debate and determine what it can realistically expect its higher education system to deliver. The debate must be informed by historical and comparative knowledge about the contribution of higher education to social, economic and political development- but also should take account of the challenges the future will bring. It should establish for each higher education system as a whole, determining what each part can contribute to the public good.

The report says that this kind of holistic analysis of higher education has rarely been attempted. It does not mean reverting to centrally planned systems, far from it. Instead, it offers the ability to balance strategic direction with the diversity now found in higher education systems across the developing world. This diversification, a reaction to increased demand, has brought new providers (especially from the private sector) into the system and encouraged new types of institutions to emerge. It promises increased competition and ultimately, improved quality.

Unfortunately, according to the report, this promise will not be delivered if diversification continues to be chaotic and unplanned. Players, new and old, will only thrive in higher education system that develops core qualities. These qualities include:-

- (i) Sufficient autonomy, with governments providing clear supervision, while avoiding day to day management.
- (ii) Explicit stratification, allowing institutions to play their strengths and serve different needs, while competing for funding, faculty and students.

- (iii) Cooperation as well as competition, whereby human and physical capital, as well as knowledge and ideas, can be profitably shared within the system, creating for example, “ a learning commons” where facilities- computers, libraries, and laboratories are open to all students; and
- (iv) Increased openness, encouraging higher education to develop knowledge(and revenue) sharing links with business and deepen the dialogue with society that will lead to stronger democracy and more resilient nation states.

On its own, the market will certainly not devise this kind of system. Markets required profit and this can crowd out important educational duties and opportunities. Basic sciences and the humanities, for example, are essential for national development. They are likely to be underfunded, unless they are actively encouraged by leaders in education who have the resources to realize this vision.

Governments need to develop a new role as supervisors, rather than directors, of higher education. They should concentrate on establishing the parameters within which success can be achieved, while allowing specific solutions to emerge from the creativity of higher educational professionals.

The Task Force has identified a number of areas where immediate, practical action is needed. These include:-

- Funding: The Task Force suggests a mixed funding model to maximize the financial input of the private sector, philanthropic individuals and institutions, and students. It also calls for more consistent and productive public funding mechanisms.
- Resources: The Task Force makes practical suggestions for the more effective use of physical and human capital, including an urgent plea for access to the new technologies needed to connect developing countries to the global intellectual mainstream.

- **Governance:** The Task Force proposes a set of principles of good governance acknowledged by many as the central problem facing higher education in developing countries to the global intellectual mainstream.
- **Curriculum development, especially in two contrasting areas, science and technology, and general education:** The Task Force believes that in the knowledge economy, highly trained specialists and broadly educated generalists will be at a premium, and both will need to be educated more flexibly so that they continue to learn as their environment develops.

In the concluding chapter, the Task Force concludes that although developing countries contain more than 80 percent of the world's population, they account for just half of its higher education students and for a far smaller proportion of those with access to high quality higher education. Overcoming these gaps is a daunting challenge that will require a concerted effort between developed and developing countries.

The report finally comes to two simple conclusions. Firstly, higher education must overcome formidable impediments if it is to realize the potential contribution to society. Some of its impediments such as demographic change, fiscal stringency, and the knowledge revolution are determined by the external forces of considerable power and must be taken as given. Others can be removed or mitigated. One example is the ineffective management that plagues so much of higher education, yet this is largely within the overlapping domains of higher education institutions and national governments to overcome. Change will not be easy. The problems are deep seated, and efforts to rationalize and strengthen systems and institutions will require sustained effort. This work will certainly span several political cycles in most countries.

Secondly, there is a hope for progress. The problems facing higher education are not insurmountable. Existing resources can be used more effectively, and there are already a

number of areas in which the mobilization of additional resources, both economic and political, will result in big gains. Conversely, countries that continue to neglect higher education will tend to become increasingly marginalized in the world economy, suffer from relatively slow social and political progress, and find it even more difficult to catch up. Progress is most likely in countries that develop a clear vision of what higher education can contribute to the public interest. Piecemeal fixes must be avoided in favour of a holistic approach, focussing on the complementary and mutually reinforcing nature of a range of possible solutions.²⁰³

The report analyses the influence of studies on the rate of return of investment in education that led to the World Bank's lending strategy to emphasize primary education. Evidently, higher education required higher investment but social returns and public interest were higher in primary education. This decision influenced many other donors. An important outcome of this report is the broader impact of higher education on the economic and social well being of countries, enabling good governance, strong institutions, developed infrastructure and research among other conditions for economic development.

In its analysis of the lower than expected contribution of higher education to social and economic development in developing countries, the report notes particularly the absence of vision of the social and economic importance of higher education systems, lack of financial commitment in the face of pressing problems and severe resource constraints, and highly competitive political settings that consider higher education to be benefit for the elite. The report draws attention to the severe disadvantage to higher education due to the lack of a critical mass of scholars and teachers; higher education cannot thrive without correction of this condition. The report points out that "Escaping this low level trap necessarily requires substantial and wide ranging improvements, rather than the all too frequent patchy and incremental steps". In general, its recommendations for improving higher education concern increasing the resource base and utilising the

²⁰³ The Task Force on Higher Education and Society (2000), *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*, Washington.

resources efficiently, particularly emphasizing the importance of good management and the importance of implementation. The report argues that strengthening higher education is a rational and feasible way for many countries to stem further deterioration in the relative incomes of developing and developed countries.

The publication stimulated a review of higher education in Pakistan by the academic community at a seminar held at the Lahore University of Management Science (LUMS) in February 2001, arranged by Syed Babar Ali, Pro-Chancellor of LUMS, who was a member of the World Bank- UNESCO International Task Force. Senior policy-makers in education, science and technology, and commerce, the heads of leading universities in the public and private sectors, leading educationists of the country, and representatives of international development agencies participated in the seminar. The interest and anticipation of the academic community generated at LUMS was evident also at the follow up seminar in Karachi, arranged by Dr. Shams- Kassim Lakha, president of Aga Khan University. The principal authors of the report, Dr. Henry Rosovsky and Dr. David Bloom participated in both seminars and elaborated on various aspects of the views expressed in the report.

The meetings generated considerable discussion on factors contributing to the ills of the system of higher education. The outcome was an appreciation of the complexity of implementing significant changes that had been recommended in the past and were clearly important for widely pervasive, constraining and wasteful issue of poor quality. Overall, it triggered the process of formation of a national Task Force in Pakistan. The minister for Education accepted the recommendations of the meetings, and notified the formulation of the Task Force on the improvement of higher education in Pakistan on April 29, 2001 with the following terms of reference:

- Recommend ways of improvement of higher education in Pakistan in the light of national and international reports, studies and recommendations, and consultation with the leadership, faculty, staffs and students of institutions of higher education and ministry of Education.

- Identifying ways and means of funding higher education in Pakistan, including new approaches of financial sustainability.
- Recommend methods of effective governance of higher education, including their implementation.
- Recommend the role of Federal and Provincial governments, and their departments and agencies in improving the quality of higher education institutions.
- Recommend improved system of higher education management, including development of faculty and support for student performance.
- Recommend methods of improving the quality of higher education, including systems of quality assurance, academic audit, and accreditation.
- Specify a prioritised plan for implementation of the recommendations for improvement of higher education.

During its deliberations (May 2001 to December 2002), the Task Force organized consultative seminars at Karachi, Quetta, Islamabad, Peshawar, and Lahore, and received input from over four hundred higher education stake holders, involving the leadership and faculty of the school and higher education system, government functionaries, parents, students, employers, and alumni. The Task Force also published a report, *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan*, examining the past government policies and the five year plans and making various recommendations. The details and analysis of this report has been discussed in the previous chapter. *The Boston Group* made a significant contribution to the Task Force with its report *Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda*.²⁰⁴

The Boston Group is an informal think tank, comprising mainly of Pakistanis abroad-scholars, educationists, researchers, professionals, and activists with an interest in contributing to policy discussions related to Pakistan's development. The purpose of the report was supposed to advance the discussions already initiated by the Task Force as

²⁰⁴ Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (2002), *Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities*

well as the ideas previously in the 2000 World Bank Task Force report on Higher Education. The group presented this report with an international conference on Higher Education in Pakistan(organized in collaboration with the Pak-Millennium Group) in March 2002 at Boston University, Boston. The 57 paged report basically discusses the challenges and reform processes within the higher education system of Pakistan, with options and possible solutions. The report also talks about the implementation challenges. As the report says, the comments and suggestions made in the report were meant as a contribution to the ongoing work of Pakistan Task Force and in particular to respond to their draft interim report.²⁰⁵

In pursuance of the recommendations of the “Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan”, the government has constituted the Higher Education Commission (HEC) with wide financial power and autonomy. It has replaced the UGC and works in proactive and supportive fashion with the objective to help, promote higher education. Since its establishment, the Higher Education Commission has launched several reforms and programs for the improvement of this sector, which are still in process.

The core function of the Higher Education Commission is to facilitate the transformation of Pakistan into a knowledge economy. Since its inception, the Higher Education Commission has undertaken a systematic process of implementation of an agenda for reform outlined in the HEC Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) in which Access, Quality and Relevance have been identified as the key challenges faced by the sector. To address these challenges, a comprehensive strategy was defined that identified the core strategic aims for reform as (1) Faculty Development, (2) Improving Access (3) Excellence in Learning and Research, and (4) Relevance to National Priorities.²⁰⁶ The details of this have been discussed in the previous chapter.

²⁰⁵ The Boston Group (2002), *Higher Education in Pakistan: Towards a Reform Agenda*.

²⁰⁶ Rahman, Atta-ur (2007), “Higher Education in Pakistan: A Silent Revolution”, [Online: Web] Accessed 16th May 2009 URL: <http://www.iietwork.org/page/108514/>.

In 2006, the World Bank launched a policy note in response to the MTDF of Pakistan titled *Pakistan: An Assessment of the Medium- Term Development Framework*. The policy note deliberately limits its focus on those issues and institutions upon which the Higher Education Commission is targeting with the MTDF. The note is not a comprehensive review of the entire higher education sector of Pakistan and does not cover specific issues (for example: internal efficiency) and some institutions (for example: affiliated colleges) in depth. In attempting to assess the MTDF programmes, the note focuses on some of the critical issues to be addressed by the MTDF, and makes some limited forays into areas not under the direct purview of the Commission.

The Policy Note reframes the MTDF strategy in a comprehensive context through a three- fold linkage (i) with the lower levels of education- allowing a holistic view of the whole education sector. (ii) With the affiliated degree and professional colleges (not considered in the MTDF but which enroll 1/3 of all post-secondary students) allowing a complete vision of the higher education sector. (iii) with macro-level, in particular economic growth and sectoral priorities as established in the PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme) – offering a perspective on the fiscal space in which the higher education subsector operates. The Policy Note complements the MTDF in the following areas:

- Quality, Relevance and Accreditation: The Policy Note puts special emphasis on quality assessment with regards to both pedagogical and institutional performance, particularly academic qualification of new students, faculty staff achievements, pedagogical practices, and curriculum contents and relevance, and quality assurance and promotion mechanisms, including evaluations and examinations, accreditation systems (self and externally generated) for both private and public university departments and degree programs, and external efficiency.
- Public/ Private Partnerships: The Policy Note makes more in depth forays into the promising area of private provision of higher education services and public-private partnerships, both for financial reasons and for the potential benefits that such partnerships can yield in terms of synergy for research and development in

terms of enhanced external efficiency. The Policy Note explores further how to promote the role of the private sector (both for and not for profit) in (i) provision/management of core academic and non academic services (ii) curriculum design (iii) teaching (iv) Research and Development and, (v) financing. It analyzes how industry/ university linkages, academic partnerships, and incubators can be encouraged both in, and outside Pakistan.

- Governance and Management: The Policy Note focuses more attention on the institutional and governance arrangement of the sector, particularly through (i) reintroducing more forcefully the provincial dimension a key one in Pakistan but somehow downplayed in the MTF, and (ii) devoting more attention to the institutional sustainability of the higher education system where the HEC is currently concentrating the bulk of the decision making power as well as the implementation of the responsibilities.
- Costs and Financing of the MTF: The Policy Note lays out the budgetary impact of the strategy based on alternative scenarios combining assumptions on: (i) enrolment patterns and internal efficiency (ii) the role of private providers, and (iii) the respective contributions of public funds and users. This exercise places the budgetary costs of higher education in the context of the fiscal space. It also allows one to gauge the relevance and realism of the progress proposed under the MTF.
- Communication: Taking cognizance of the recent and high visibility of both higher education and the Higher Education Commission, the Note points out the importance of the process by which the Commission introduces the reforms. It suggests that without a genuine consultation with the subsector stake-holders, the reforms may be met with stiff resistance, and provides some insights in how to organize this consultation.²⁰⁷

The Bank's technical assessment of the MTF-HE is largely positive. The Policy Note found out that the Framework was a sound and articulate response to the sclerosis that

²⁰⁷ The World Bank (2006), *Pakistan: An Assessment of the Medium Term Development Framework*, Report No: 37247.

characterized the sector until the creation of Higher Education Commission in 2002. By attacking up-front the factors underlying the poor quality of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) - including lack of qualifications, accountability, and motivation of faculty staff- the HEC has addressed the root of the problems facing the sector.

In the year 2008, a Program Information Document published by the World Bank was introduced proposing about *Higher Education Support Programme Loan* for Pakistan, talking about the key development issues in the country and the rationale for involvement of the World Bank. The set of reforms undertaken in higher education is part of a comprehensive plan to overhaul the entire education system, starting from primary education all the way to tertiary education, encompassing both general and vocational streams, and involving both federal authorities at the centre and provincial and district authorities at the decentralized level. In particular, reforms are underway in Punjab, Sindh, and NWFP to increase access and improve quality at basic and secondary education levels, and are supported by IDA. The MTFD-HE is consistent with the National Education Policy 1998-2010 and the proposed Higher Education Support Programme Loan (HESP 2008) is the natural complement to and continuation of these reforms and operations at the federal level.

The proposed HESP loan would be the first of a programmatic series of three development policy loans designed to support the Government's Higher Education MTFD. The overarching objective of the Framework is to increase and improve the stock of skilled Pakistanis who will contribute to an economy increasingly based on knowledge, innovation and technology. The HESP is a central piece in a set of interventions that aim to strengthen and modernize the Pakistani economy. The HESP will support the Government's initiatives to increase participation, enhance quality and relevance and strengthen the efficiency and financial sustainability of the HEIs.

The proposed operation is expected to yield several distinct but complementary and closely intertwined benefits manifesting in knowledge society, sustainability of higher

education sector, science and technology, lower levels of education, poverty reduction and contribution to fiscal stability.

The operation got authorized on April 14, 2009. The amount to be financed in the project is US\$ 100 million. According to the World Bank, HESP will contribute to the rehabilitation of the higher education sector of Pakistan by helping sustain momentum of the core program and key accompanying reforms being undertaken by HEC through the current period of fiscal stress. The HESP also supports the completion of upfront reforms in the areas where it is critical to signal a strong political will and to establish credibility of the reforms vis-à-vis the academic community, Ministry of Finance and the private sector.

However risks associated with the operation are the unstable political situation of Pakistan, uncertain macro-economic situation, inter and intra-sectoral trade-offs internal resistance, uneven institutional capacity, and fiduciary issues.

The Bank says that by supporting the Commission's actions to expand access, the proposed operation will contribute to reduce social biases that have been prevalent in the tertiary sector. However HEC is going further than simply increasing enrolments, and is also planning to implement a program of scholarships which will proactively address equity concerns and open up university doors to children of families for whom higher education was until now unaffordable. The scholarship program will now be paralleled by a loan scheme targeting students who do not fall in the poorest category but still need support to continue studying. In addition to its direct equity impact, the HESP will also contributing to growth and social mobility, as had been documented in other countries.

The reforms and policies supported by the proposed credit do not entail significant negative effects on Pakistan's environment, forests, or other natural resources, according to the Document. The government's reform program includes the rehabilitation of

university buildings and minor extension of existing infrastructures. These civil works could be associated with minor negative environmental effects.²⁰⁸

However, Bank's limitations are exposed by how it allowed itself to be systematically deceived in its mission to support and reform higher education in Pakistan. Under the leadership of the Higher Education Commission in Pakistan though there are improvements, substantially it has achieved very little. Said to be world's biggest research institution working on development issues, the Bank employs thousands of technical people at its Washington headquarters and abroad. Typically, a highly paid World Bank team of experts, trained in the use of sophisticated mathematical and statistical tools and report writing, is parachuted into Third World economy. They could be charged with fixing down broken system of education, healthcare, agriculture or electricity. But although its researchers and team leaders are often accomplished individuals, experience suggests that they are not adequately equipped to understand the complexity of local issues.

With a record smashing 12-fold increase in the HEC's funding ordered by General Musharraf's government, new universities popped into existence almost every month. Production of PhDs and research papers shot up. It seemed obvious that things were improving. However, reality still persists in the system. The construction of university buildings has been frozen leaving them half completed. Fantastically expensive research equipment litters the country, much of which is unused. It has been abandoned by even those who insisted on their import. Vice-Chancellors are panicking over unpaid salaries for faculty and staff. Thousands of desperate Pakistani students sent overseas have received no scholarship money for months.

Academic quality may be an even bigger casualty. Driven by huge cash incentives to mass produce PhD degrees, university teachers have banded together across campuses to fight tooth and nail against every attempt to enforce genuine academic standards on PhD graduates. Fearful of losing their bonuses, they oppose setting a reasonable pass mark for

²⁰⁸ The World Bank (2009), *Pakistan Higher Education Support Program*, Report No. AB4661.

the PhD exam, the internationally recognized GRE subject test. They know many of their students would fail, even these students are now allowed to take the test even at the end of their studies. In China, India and Iran, students take this exam as part of getting admission to a PhD program overseas and do immensely better.

Regarding research, the HEC claimed that, prior to the launch of its programs, annual research publication rates in universities were very low. It says, for example, that Quaid-e-Azam University published only 631 research papers between 1998 to 2003. But after the HEC's chairman started his cash reward per-paper program, the number of research papers shot up to 1482 during 2003-2008, a 235 percent improvement. However, the quality of these papers mattered. According to the International Science Citation Index, the total number of times, the research papers published in the 1998-2003 period were cited by other researchers (excluding worthless self citations) was 2817 . But in during 2003-2008 period, the citation count was a mere 1258. Therefore, it is clear that producing more papers does not mean that more useful knowledge is being produced.

The fact is that for years numbers were twisted around and no one noticed, including the World Bank. It is said that the bank not even bothered to check. Its trained and intelligent observers could have easily investigated several of HEC's claims only with the help of a good internet connection and access to science citation indexes but it failed.

It is argued that the World Bank could have conducted its own study. It could, for instance, have looked for evidence of improvement in university teaching quality (rather than a mere increase in enrolment). To do this scientifically, it would have needed to work out the parameters that define teaching quality and then gathered the relevant data. This might have involved establishing some reasonable metrics of gauging the quality of the faculty and student body, assessing the state of library and laboratory facilities, the content of university courses, the standard of examination papers, the presence (or lack there of) of academic colloquia and seminars on campuses, the suitability of those appointed as Vice- Chancellors, the number of days in a year that the university actually functions, satisfaction of employers with university graduates.

What Pakistan needs from the Bank is the help for improving the dilapidated infrastructure (building, libraries, and laboratories) of ordinary colleges where the bulk of Pakistani students in higher education study, not more half baked universities. Mega-sized projects for producing qualified junior faculty for universities and colleges are badly needed. The importance of quality teaching in colleges and universities must be emphasised, not meaningless publications and more junk PhD degrees. Better institutional governance and ethics is needed²⁰⁹

Overall, the World-Bank-UNESCO report on higher education, *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* in a way triggered on the process of reform in higher education in Pakistan. A sense of awareness was created about the significance of higher education both at the national and international level. The report was followed by the establishment of Task Force for improving higher education in Pakistan and the subsequent Steering Committee which spearheaded the effort. The process of reforming higher education in Pakistan started with great optimism and energy in early 2001 and gathered momentum during the following two years but seems to have hit a rocky road since.

The process of reform has been stagnated and the reform effort derailed. Two crucial reasons have been attributed to this process. Firstly, the overall mode of state functioning, policy making and governance is top- down, non-transparent and rigidly hierarchical. That mindset devils reform in higher education in general, and the manner in which universities function in particular. For example, the Task Force had recommended that to drive and facilitate the reform effort an apex Higher Education Commission should be established which was done in late 2002. However the Commission is functioning like any other Pakistani bureaucracy. Secondly, at the micro-level, the leadership of institutions of higher learning is extremely weak. The leaders remained largely opposed to reform, and concern for improvements in institutional

²⁰⁹ Hoodbhoy P. (2009), "World Bank Help for Pakistan's Education: A Poisoned Chalice?" [Online: Web] Accessed 3rd June 2009 URL: <http://www.chowk.com/articles/15323>.

functioning remains a low priority. Initially, the majority of Vice- Chancellors felt obliged to go along with the flow, they kept making the right noises at the right times and places but bided their time and tried to do as little as absolutely necessary. As the fervour for change started waning, the beginning of which was around 2002, the old attitudes were reasserted. Those for the status quo but adept at the game of position, re-ascended; and in An ironic twist, those who championed reform were marginalized or ended up on the defensive, proving once again that in Pakistan the winning approach is doing the least, mouthing the right things and staying the course of the status quo. The unfortunate upshot is that the reform process that was initiated with fanfare has largely come to naught and some argue, has made the institution worse. The broader lesson this case illustrates is that the determinants of the outcome of such efforts are the commitment, honesty of purpose and know how of key actors and the wider psycho-social and political context that shape and inform the decisions and actions.²¹⁰

Internationalization of Higher Education:

Internationalization implies increasing international cooperation within countries. The term is often confused with globalization. We define globalization as the economic, political and societal forces pushing twenty first century higher education towards greater involvement. The results of globalization include the integration of research, the use of English as the lingua franca for scientific communication, the growing international labour market for scholars and scientists, the growth of communication firms and multi-national technology publishing and the use of IT (Information Technology).²¹¹

²¹⁰ Gilani, S.Zulfiqar (2006), "Problems of Leadership and Reform in Pakistan", [Online: Web] Accessed 3rd June 2009 URL: http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/Number42/p22_Gilani.htm

²¹¹ Altbach G. Philip and J.Knight (2007), "The Internationalization of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3/4): 290-305.

Talking about Internationalization, with limited domestic capacity, Pakistan has embraced foreign provision quite liberally. In 2005, more than 21,000 students went abroad for studies- mostly to the US and UK, also to Australia, Germany, and Malaysia. In the year 2007, 1100 visas were granted to Pakistani students who wished to study in UK. Though there are concerns that parents in Pakistan are spending billions of rupees on higher education of their children in studies abroad every year, yet the number of Pakistani students studying abroad is increasing by 13 to 15 percent each year. Such concerns may not be valid. Pakistani government is committing its own resources to proactively use foreign education provision to build capacity of its higher education system.

Advanced countries have been fairly liberal in granting scholarships to students from Pakistan. The world's largest Fulbright scholarship Program estimated at \$150 million would enable 640 students to study in the US. Another 500 students will study in Australia under the Australia Pakistan Scholarship Program. In addition, Pakistani government is spending huge sums of money in foreign scholarship Program (with more than 821 scholarships granted so far) gear to improve research particularly in engineering and sciences. A \$250 million project that would fund another 2000 students for study abroad has been approved by the Government of Pakistan. A program to fund Post-Doctoral Fellowships that placed more than 255 scholars for 9 to 12 month fellowships in premier academic and research institutions abroad has been completed. Altogether over 4,500 scholars will receive doctoral degrees and return to Pakistan on completion of their training to add to the faculty pool in Pakistan.

Under the Foreign Faculty Hiring Program, 270 foreign teachers with 140 of them for a long term from one to five years were hired for universities in Pakistan. With these highly qualified people, who worked for most of their lives in technologically advanced countries returning to join universities in Pakistan, "brain drain" has been transformed into a "brain gain" for Pakistan. With a view to foster academic linkages with foreign universities, a three-year, five million US dollar project has been taken up.

Foreign institutions, both public and private can operate in Pakistan. The HEC encourages collaboration between foreign institutions and local providers. Different types of collaboration come with different regulatory requirements related to infrastructure accreditation and inspection depend on the nature of the collaboration and the quality of foreign institution.

Several of the collaborative programs are in the area of business studies. The International School of Management Sciences which is affiliated with Newport University in the USA has three campuses in Pakistan one each in Karachi, Lahore and Rawalpindi and offer bachelors and masters level programs in business studies. The City College of Higher Education in Karachi also offers undergraduate programs with one year of study in Karachi and the subsequent two years in Britain. The college claims an affiliation with 12 British universities. Institute of Business Administration and Technology (IBADAT) which claims an affiliation with Adamson University, offers MBA program in marketing management and its degree is awarded by Adamson University in Manila.

Thus, there is a large variety of collaborative programs for higher education in Pakistan. Not all of them have explicit approvals currently only eight foreign universities/institutions have been approved to run collaborative degree programs in Pakistan. This does not include programs run by 'top ranked' universities. Top ranked foreign higher education institutions such as the London School of Economics are allowed to run degree programs with local partners with only minimal regulation.

Occasionally UGC publishes a list of foreign institutions that run programs in Pakistan without approvals. Following such advertisements, some of these foreign institutions publish two and three page supplements in the dailies about their institutions. To gain public confidence, some of these supplements even carry messages from the chief minister and the governor as well as the federal ministers and other political personalities.

In addition, Pakistan has taken a major initiative to establish high quality institutions particularly in science and technology in partnership with reputed foreign institutions. There is an ambitious \$4.3 billion project to create nine Pak European world class engineering university staffed with European faculty and administrators. These are being established in collaboration with Germany, France, Sweden, South Korea, China and Austria. Pakistan would pay full development costs, recurrent expenses and euro level salaries (plus 40 percent mark up) for all the foreign professors and administrators. It is expected that a large presence of European professors teaching in these universities would ensure high standards of teaching. The university would have technology parks and technology incubators for enhanced linkages with the industry and to help consolidate technological base in Pakistan.²¹²

Privatization of Higher Education and the role of International Organizations:

The new millennium has brought increasing trends in the privatization of education, especially higher education, in both developed and developing countries which includes Pakistan. Public delivery of education represents the norm at both schools and higher education levels in all but a handful of developed and developing countries. For example, over 80 percent of school level students in OECD(Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and partner countries were enrolled in public schools in 2004. in only three countries- Belgium, Chile, Netherlands does the private sector share of school enrolments exceed the public sector share of enrolments. The private sector also plays an important role in the delivery of school level education in a number of developed countries, including Australia, France, Korea, and Spain. In only a handful of non-OECD countries- including Lebanon, Bangladesh, Fiji, and Guatemala, do more than 50 percent of students attend private schools at either the primary or secondary levels.

²¹² Agarwal P. (2008), "Privatization and Internationalization of Higher Education in the countries of South Asia: An Empirical Analysis", [Online: Web] Accessed 2nd June 2009 URL: http://www.saneinetwork.net/pdf/SANEI_VIII/7.pdf

However, significant private sectors (for example: 30-40 percent) can be found in a number of countries, including Bangladesh, Cameroon, Guatemala, Indonesia, Mali, Pakistan, The Gambia and Togo. Private participation is generally higher at the higher education level than at the school level. This is true for both OECD and non-OECD countries, including Belgium, Brazil, Korea and Philippines. It also plays a significant role in several other countries including Burundi, Columbia, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Malaysia, Nigeria and Rwanda.

The private education sector has grown virtually across the board in developed and developing countries. A big reason for this expansion is the inability of public finances to keep pace with the growing demand for higher education. Other factors include dissatisfaction with the quality of public education (for example: large class sizes, teacher absences and lack of books and teaching supplies), the existence of more modern and job-relevant curricula and programs in the private sector, the politicization of public education and favourable policy changes.

International organizations such as the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and others can play a vital role in promoting quality private education. They can play several different roles such as:-

- Assisting governments to keep clarify their policies towards private education. This would cover the potential of private sector involvement and illustrate how entrepreneurs can best be regulated or controlled, possibly following the guidelines.
- Providing 'early stage' equity and loan capital to catalyze investments in the private education sector. Generally speaking, it is difficult for entrepreneurs to access investment capital with a 5 to 7 year time horizon to establish private schools and tertiary education institutions. In many countries, private equity is not available or financiers are not interested in education as an area for investment.
- Helping to raise the profile of the private education sector as an investment target.

- Working with private sector banks to mitigate some of the investment risks in the sector.
- Assisting countries to create enabling and balanced regulatory frameworks.

Improvement of public sector schools and tertiary education institutions has been the primary focus of most education projects of international organizations. As Sosale(2000) has shown, World Bank lending for education projects totalled \$ 4.9 billion for the 1995-2000 period, get only about eleven out of seventy projects (around 15 percent) during that period included a private sector component and only half of these projects were at the primary or secondary education level. There are some exceptions to this picture. The most notable is the IFC, a member of the World Bank Group. Over the past five years, IFC's education portfolio has involved direct investment of \$ 228 million and has helped to leverage \$ 970 million from other investors and sponsors. The German aid agency GTZ also provides considerable capacity-building assistance to private vocational institutions in Uganda. Other isolated examples exist such as the Asian Development Bank's support (with IFC) in helping to establish RMIT International University Vietnam. Another example is found in Mexico, where the World Bank supported an innovative \$ 100 million project that financed the creation, implementation, and evaluation of a private student loan program that offered financial assistance to students attending private universities.

Raising the quality of private provision is as important as strengthening the capacity of education authorities. This will often involve providing access to capital, enhancing financial management, and improving instructional delivery and institutional leadership. Governments may have to provide financial support to communities to help them expand and improve their institutions, possibly through matching grant schemes. IFC, for example, has funded operations that provide access to capital for educational entrepreneurs in Ghana and has recently launched a micro-level program in Kenya that targets private school operators and includes a technical assistance facility.²¹³

²¹³ The World Bank (2008), *The Evolving Regulatory Context for Private Education in Emerging Economies*, Education Working Paper Series No: 14, Washington D.C.

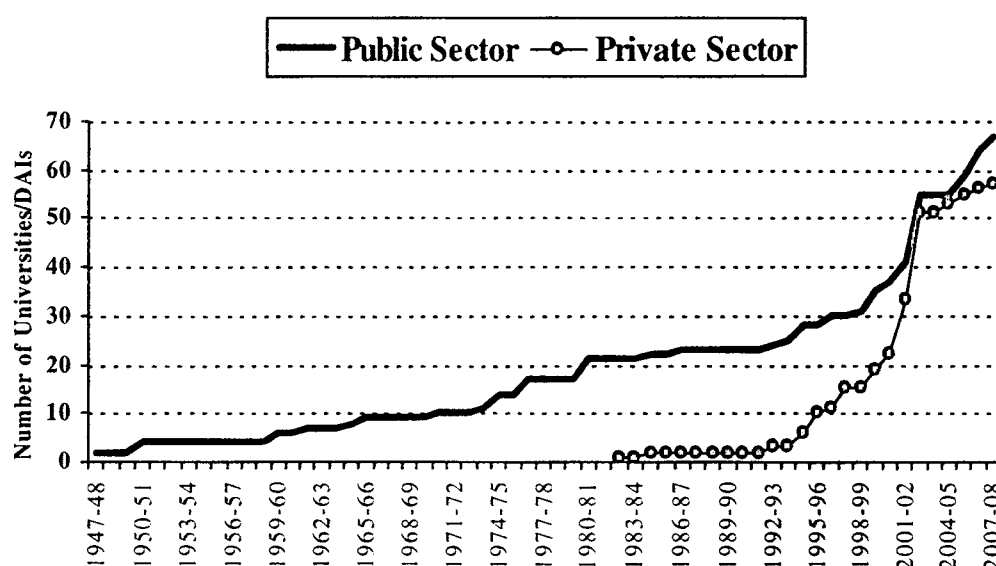
In the case of Pakistan, there has been a considerable increase in the number of private higher education since 2002. No doubt, this result has been influenced by the neo-liberal policies of the World Bank. This can be illustrated by the following diagram on the next page.

However, the privatization policy though have increased the number of private institutions in the country, it has brought much differences in the socio-economic equality of the country. This policy has exposed its severe limitations which are proving contrary to the socio-economic equality within the society. For instance, about 80 percent of the students are paying tuition fee from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 60,000 per semester in their respective HE institutions within the target area. The amount thus paid by the students is more than the per capita per annum average income (ie. \$470 per year or about 28000 Pak rupees). This means that access to private higher education is likely to be beyond the financial means of a majority of the people in the country who cannot afford expenses of higher education. The cost of private higher education makes the higher education provision inequitable and resultantly inefficient too if able students are denied access.

A large majority (67.5 percent of population is living in rural areas but the private sector institutions are located in the commercial urban localities where the cost of living is very high and beyond the access of average and poor people. It implies that only the students from the well off families of urban areas can have access to private higher education institutions. The living cost in big cities makes the private higher education inequitable. These institutions cannot attract talented poor students from local areas in sufficient numbers, who cannot afford expenditure as such it becomes difficult to reduce.

Thus, on the basis of this we can say that through the implementation of this policy, though there is an increase of private sector higher education institutions, the policy is imposing severe implications on the socio-economic set up of the country. Thus, there would appear to be a strong case for the state to shoulder some of the costs of the private sector education on both efficiency and equity grounds. It is argued in the economic of

education literature (Blaug, Becker, and Schultz) that in addition to the private benefits of education, there are significant wider benefits enjoyed by the society at large. Thus, there appears to be a strong case on theoretical and empirical grounds for the government to provide some financial support to private sector of higher education provision in Pakistan. This, could be made directly, through, for example, reducing the taxes they currently pay or indirectly, for example, by providing more financial aid to students attending private higher education institutions possibly through loans or levying education tax.²¹⁴ International institutions like the World Bank which is a major donor to Pakistan, in this sector can help achieving this by increasing the financial aid to the country and providing proper guidelines.



Number of Public and Private Sector Universities & Degree Awarding Institutions (DAIs) in Pakistan.

Source: Higher Education Commission, Ministry of Education, Pakistan.

²¹⁴ Niazi H.K. and John Mace (2007), "Efficiency and Equity and Private Higher Education in Pakistan", *Journal of Educational Planning and Administration*, XXI (1): p-60-61.

Conclusion:

Having discussed various aspects of the role of international organizations, especially the World Bank in the higher education sector of Pakistan, we can say that international organizations play a vital role in the higher education system of countries especially the developing world. In fact, we can say that higher education operates in an increasingly global context and yet the examination of what drives and moves the field has remained largely focussed on domestic campus leaders, national governments and institutional actors. With the coming of globalization, and internationalizing standards, the importance of higher education has increased in this century. International organizations such as the World Bank, OECD, WTO, and also bilateral aid agencies and major public foundations are the global drivers behind higher education policy in the developing countries. As, we can see very clearly in the case of Pakistan, how the World Bank-UNESCO report on higher education in the year 2000 triggered a sense of awareness in the country leading subsequently to the establishment of the Task Force in 2001 and the Higher Education Commission in 2002 introducing new set of reforms within the country. The higher education policy of Pakistan has been much influenced by the neo-liberal policies of the international organizations. Privatization and internationalization of higher education are few major instances. Thus, we see how international organizations play a vital role in this sector in countries. The significance of these organizations is especially pronounced in the developing world, where the expansion of higher education is happening in conjunction with the broadening influence of globalization.

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSION

Having discussed various aspects of the system of higher education in Pakistan, it can indisputably be said that higher education in Pakistan is in a state of crisis. Stephen P. Cohen, an American Scholar, who has spent many years in Pakistan for his research also, rightly states in his book, *The Idea of Pakistan* (2004), that “Pakistan’s educational system is broken, perhaps beyond repair, and there appears to be little inclination to fix it”.²¹⁵ Reform and transformation of higher education in Pakistan is only possible unless a holistic view is taken of education as a whole. Colleges, especially in the public sector have been completely neglected by the policy makers, although education after 12 years of schooling is generally defined as higher education.²¹⁶ It is very essential to reform the higher education system of Pakistan since no country has prospered without a well developed system of higher education. The greatest asset lies in the potential skills of the young people, and the economic and social progress depends how they develop them. They must seek their talent, encourage it and provide it with the opportunity to develop and flourish.²¹⁷

Talking about the colonial tradition of education in Pakistan which has been attributed as a major factor for the crisis of higher education in Pakistan, it has been indisputably established by various scholars like Tariq Rahman, Pervez Hoodbhoy, and Aftab A. Kazi that that while we are in the twenty-first century, most of the public universities of the country are stuck in the middle of the nineteenth century almost when they were first established in 1857 (the University of Calcutta) by the British rulers of India. The three defects of the colonial university- subordination to the government, paucity of funds and lack of high academic standards- remained and have become worse which are clearly

²¹⁵ Cohen, Stephen P.(2004), *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions Press,P.248.

²¹⁶ Promotion of Education in Pakistan Foundation, Inc.(2006).*Leaping Forward*, NewYork.

²¹⁷ Quddus, Naseem J.(1990).*Problems of Education in Pakistan*. Karachi: Royal Book Company, P.194.

visible in the system.²¹⁸ A.H. Hommadi in his book *University in the third World* (1989) has shown that under centuries of colonial rule, partly due to ignorance but largely due to arrogance, the colonial models of education were superimposed over the indigenous models. It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the value of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial stage.²¹⁹ Louis D. Hayes in his book *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan* (1978) also talks about the subordination to the government feature saying that fundamentally the British were guided in helping the institutions of their imperial holdings by their own interests. However, he says that on balance they did better by their subjects than did other imperial powers. Nor it is altogether realistic to criticize imperialism for its failure to be guided by some alternative body of philosophical principles. Given its colonial purpose, the educational system erected by the British was not particularly effective in producing self reliant citizens. Education was meant only for the privileged few who were supposed to govern the masses rather than to serve them.²²⁰ This colonial legacy is still continuing till now in Pakistan, and on the basis of these arguments we can inarguably say that colonial tradition can be attributed as a major factor for the decadence of higher education in Pakistan. It is the primary and historical factor which has given rise to other evils of education.

Bureaucratic misplanning and administration and inadequate funds which are offshoots of colonial tradition of education are also responsible for crisis of higher education in Pakistan. Regarding bureaucratic misplanning and administration, as in colonial times, the chancellor is still a high state functionary. For the provincial universities, he is the governor of the province, for the federal ones, the President of Pakistan. The vice-chancellor is always his nominee which in, practice, means that the bureaucrats of the ministry of education have a major say in deciding who he or she is to be. While the provincial, or federal, governments exercise administrative control over university affairs,

²¹⁸ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-109-10.

²¹⁹ Hommadi, A.H.(1989), *University in the Third World*, Delhi: Indian Bibliographies Bureau. p-2.

²²⁰ Hayes, Louis D. (1987), *The Crisis of Education in Pakistan*, Lahore: Vanguard, p-3.

financial control is exercised through the centre that provides funds through the University Grants Commission (now Higher Education Commission or HEC) first established in 1974. In short, government influence has increased since British times because at that time, the only controlling body was the provincial government. Now three separate sets of bureaucrats are involved: the provincial bureaucracy, the federal bureaucracy, and the HEC's bureaucracy. While control has become more diversified and red-tape multiplied, responsibility has become diffused.²²¹ Inadequate funds in this sector are a clear cut factor for the crisis as has been discussed in the previous chapters. Pakistan has been facing severe financial crunch since independence which is continuing till today. Resource allocation was biased in favour of productive sectors, such as industry and economic overheads, including transport and communication, and water and power. These sectors were given higher priority and were provided with investment resources. Social sectors such as education and health were given low priority.²²² Though funds allocation has risen remarkably in this decade, it is still difficult to meet the policy demands and implement them. The sector is facing severe financial constraints and until and unless policies are not implemented, it is futile to expect that the standard of higher education in Pakistan is going to rise.

It is debated that privatization of higher education is leading to the polarization in the society by favouring the elite class. The present thinking of the government is that the university system is fatally ill and the only solution proposed is to let the private sector build universities. However, privatization is not a panacea. True, the efficiency of private organizations is higher than government ones. There is less wastage, more accountability, greater attention to the quality of services provided, and more responsiveness to the demand of the consumer (that is, the student). On the other hand, there are serious problems of equity and opportunity- unlike education at lower levels, higher education requires huge capital input and to make up the costs, high student fees must necessarily be charged. Thus, only elite and rich classes could afford it while the poor remain

²²¹ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-110.

²²² Jalil, Nasir (1998), "Pakistan's Education: The First Decade" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-29.

deprived.²²³ Therefore, as discussed before, this creates socio-economic divisions within the society and leads to increasing polarity within classes, as according to Tariq Rahman, the system of higher education is further splitting up the Pakistani education institutions according to socio-economic class; the public colleges and universities are increasingly ghettoized; the private institutions are increasingly the coveted, elitist institutions like the English medium schools are already. With the exception of the upper socio-economic classes, this trend frustrates everybody, because they feel that they can no longer afford the best higher education for their children.²²⁴

Islamization of education in Pakistan is leading to backwardness in the higher education and society. This can be proved by several instances. As discussed in the previous chapter, distortion of historical data, nurturing of intolerance for other religions, and confinement of scope of physical and social sciences are some examples. Along with this, idiosyncratic interpretations of Islam have also affected other areas of Pakistan's public education system, frequently aggravating gender disparities, especially in regions where the religious right has political clout, and hampering reform initiatives, aimed at adopting education to changing social needs. The introduction of important but sensitive content into classroom often conflicts with socio-cultural norms based on religious interpretations. According to Suroor Lotia, a former administrator at Concern for Children, schools and parents are wary of new content that addresses ultimate areas of family and personal behaviour, such as contraception and other forms of sex education.²²⁵

A report examining these issues sought to draw attention towards quality and content of school textbooks with a view to push for change. The report listed the following problems in the curriculum and textbooks in use: inaccuracies of fact and omissions that served to distort history; insensitivity to existing religious diversity; incitement to militancy and violence; perspectives that encouraged prejudice and discrimination against

²²³ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?", in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, p-281-82.

²²⁴ Rahman, Tariq (2004), "Education in Pakistan: A Survey", in Craig Baxter (eds.) *Pakistan On The Brink: Politics, Economy and Society*, Oxford University Press, p-187.

²²⁵ International Crisis Group (2004), *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N.84, Islamabad/ Brussels.

women, minorities and other nations; omission of concepts, events and material that could encourage critical awareness among students; outdated and incoherent pedagogical practices that hinder the development of interest and insight among students. While the government initially appeared to accept the substance of the critique made in the report, protest by certain politico-religious groups, also influential in the students and teachers community, soon led to a distancing from the analysis of the report.²²⁶

Religious groups have exploited social and traditional mores to resist co-education with greater success in the economically backward, more socially conservative tribal and semi-tribal areas of Balochistan and the NWFP. They are impeding efforts to establish a gender-equitable school system in the Pashtun majority areas of the two provinces. This pressure is not exerted from within families, but rather from local political forces, which are, more often than not, the central government's chosen power brokers.²²⁷

Islamization of higher education has a great impact on research, especially social science research leading to distortion of facts and biased perspectives. For example, Akbar Zaidi, in his article, "Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan" says that during the Zia era which reinforced Islamization in every aspect including higher education, Economics became 'Islamic economics', anthropology, Islamic anthropology and the only sort of history which began to be promoted was that related to the Pakistan movement and the Muslim Freedom struggle in United India. Zaidi says that the present day Pakistan is the legacy of the Zia era despite having attempted to break free from the past.²²⁸

The use of Urdu as a national language is exacerbating socio-cultural and ethnic differences in Pakistan. Tariq Rahman says that it has two consequences. Firstly, it has made Urdu the obvious force to be resisted by the ethnic groups. This resistance makes

²²⁶ Rashid, Abbas and Ayesha Awan (2007), "Pakistan's Educational Crisis", *South Asia Journal*, July-Sep, p-32.

²²⁷ International Crisis Group (2004), *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N.84, Islamabad/ Brussels.

²²⁸ Zaidi, Akbar S.(2002), "Dismal State of Social Sciences in Pakistan", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Aug 31, p-3646.

them strengthen their languages by corpus planning (writing books, dictionaries, grammars, orthographies etc.) and acquisition planning (teaching the languages, using them in the media, pressurizing the state to use them). Secondly, it has jeopardized multilingualism as recommended by UNESCO and of course by many eminent linguists and educationalists. As Urdu spreads through schools, colleges, media and urbanization, pragmatic pressures make the other Pakistani languages retreat. In short, the consequence of privileging Urdu strengthens ethnicity while at the same time and paradoxically threatens linguistic and cultural diversity in the country.

He says that the language policies of Pakistan, declared and undeclared, have increased both ethnic and class conflicts in the country. The westernized elite, in their own interests are helping the force of globalization and threatens cultural and linguistic diversity. In this process, they are impoverishing the already poor and creating much resentment against the oppression and injustice of the system.

Both globalization and continuation of colonial language policies by the government of Pakistan have increased the pressure of English on all other languages. While this has also created an increased awareness of language rights and movements to preserve languages, it has generally resulted in more people learning English. In Pakistan, this means that the poor are under more pressure than before, because they cannot afford expensive schools that “sell” English at exorbitant rates. As such linguistic globalization is anti poor, pro-elitist and exploitative.²²⁹

However, Naseem Jaffer Quddus (1990) in this context says that it is essential to develop Urdu as the national language of Pakistan and remove its deficiencies, if any so that it may become effective medium of instruction at higher stages as well.²³⁰ The emphasis on national language does not undermine the importance of English or for that matter, any other foreign languages. Efforts must be made to develop the national language to the level at which it can become effective medium of instruction at the higher stages of

²²⁹ Rahman , Tariq (). “Language policy, multilingualism and language vitality in Pakistan”, [Online: web], Accessed 2nd Feb 2009 URL: <http://apnaorg.com/book-chapters/tariq/>.

²³⁰ Quddus, Naseem J. (1990), *Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-218.

education. This would not only bridge the existing gulf between the social classes, but will also greatly improve the quality of education in Pakistan. Regarding the use of English, she says that Pakistan cannot shut itself up in isolation, and must provide for the study of a well-developed foreign language in its educational system. While English must yield to the national language the paramount importance in that system, knowledge of English will always remain a necessity for the scholars, educationists, businessmen, administrators, diplomats and members of the learned profession. The products of the universities must, therefore, know English well enough to be able to keep in close touch with the advances of thought throughout the world.²³¹

Education in Pakistan is bound with socio-economic class. The educational institutions- elitists English medium schools, Urdu medium schools, madrassas, public and private universities are associated with different classes of the society. The rich and the powerful are found in the English medium schools (private elitist and cadet colleges) as well as the private universities; the lower middle classes and the working (or lower) classes go to the Urdu-medium schools and the public universities; the very poor and rural youth frequent the madrassas. Education does empower and offer chances of transcending one's social class, but not as much as it would in a society where everybody would be educated in exactly the same kind of educational institutions teaching uniform curricula. For the most part, the educational system reinforces the existing class barriers and acts like a devise to close the ranks of the elite. At least, it restricts or makes it difficult for the masses, educated in Urdu (or Sindhi), to master English so competently as to be able to compete with the students of elitist institution who find access to the most lucrative jobs easier.²³² In addition to all these, state's resources are spent much more freely on the education of the elite than of the masses. State has been discriminating between its citizens and creating inequality. The agencies of the state, such as armed forces and their welfare organizations, have extended their hold from schools to colleges and universities where,

²³¹ Ibid, p-219-20.

²³² Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-148.

among other things, discriminatory fees levels operate for civilians and armed forces dependents.²³³

In short, the condition of higher education is particularly grave and needs sufficient attention. Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998) states that because the future lies largely upon educating the generations to come, no failure should be more alarming or dangerous than the failure to educate adequately. It is a terrifying thought that, if the present education system remains unchanged, the generations to come will be largely uneducated or worse, miseducated. A rapidly growing populace, whose majority lacks essential survival skills needed in the modern world, fed upon prejudice and bigotry, and without a sense of civic responsibilities, is a nightmare to contemplate. As the international competition for resources grow more acute, and the natural environment deteriorates, poverty and deprivation will inevitably deepen. Wars, fratricide, poverty, and environmental calamity are likely to visit periodically in the decades ahead leaving horrendous human suffering in the wake.²³⁴

In this context U.A.Isani says that the youthful composition of the population in Pakistan presents unique opportunities for the twenty first century. If the country invests appropriately in education it can train a large segment of the population for meeting the challenges of the twenty first century. In a knowledge based economy this will give the country necessary means to overcome the deficiencies of physical resources. Since the level of knowledge required would be of a very high order, therefore, investment in the university sector becomes imperative. At the same time globalization would demand that the product must have world standards. For this, not only the infrastructure has to be upgraded but the faculty has to be of high standard. The beginning will have to be made with better remuneration for teachers and social recognition for the profession so as to attract the best talent to this profession.²³⁵

²³³ Ibid, p-151.

²³⁴ Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998), "Out of Pakistan's Educational Morass: Possible? How?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, p-21-22.

²³⁵ Isani, U.A. (2005), "The Evolution of Higher Education in Pakistan: Efforts to Meet the Challenges of the 20th century" in *Pakistan after 9/11: The Turnaround*, April 21-25, p-127.

Tariq Rahman (2004) in the context of faculty selection says that reforms of any kind in the public universities are resisted because they are imposed from above without due consultations with academics, or (and this cause for concern) because they are not in the interests of the majority of academics. Thus, all attempts to improve the faculty should begin by assuring present faculty members that their present position, terms of service, salary and emoluments etc will not be adversely affected. This was also suggested by the Steering Committee of the Task Force on Higher Education. He suggests some steps in order to take the brightest people into academia which include selection for junior positions and senior positions. He also talks about promotion and entry qualifications.²³⁶ Naseem Jaffer Quddus (1990) says in this context that an improvement must be made in the teacher's condition of service. The prevailing situation must be replaced by one in which superior performance is rewarded, and in which able young teachers are not held to lower positions merely because of a rigidly fixed number of senior positions.²³⁷ According to Abbas Rashid, an autonomous and creditable accreditation body would serve the objective of better teaching and better pay in both the higher and basic education sector.²³⁸

Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998) says that the present system of lifelong tenure for every university teacher and administrative employee must be terminated. Instead there must be only 3-5 year contract appointments, which should be renewed only after thorough scrutiny of performance. Tenure should be given in exceptional cases only. A sizeable fraction of the university staff, which does not meet quality requirements, should be asked to move on, as is the practice when a state owned enterprise is closed down or divested. A clear code of university teachers needs to be defined and enforced. He says that though this step is bound to cause an explosion of anger and indolence, there is simply no moral basis for indefinitely supporting indolence and incompetence.²³⁹ The primary task of a teacher should be to stimulate the interest of the student in his field of

²³⁶ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-135-36.

²³⁷ Quddus, Naseem J.(1990),*Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-196-7.

²³⁸ Rashid, Abbas and Ayesha Awan (2007), "Pakistan's Educational Crisis", *South Asia Journal*, July-Sep: 30-40.

²³⁹ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.)*Education and the State:Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-278-79.

study, to awaken inside him a spirit of inquiry and search for knowledge, and to develop the habits of industry, patience and perseverance. He can only do this by the force of his own example, and the way he spends his time, will determine how the student spends his.²⁴⁰

Regarding governance, in the view of Tariq Rahman, universities must wean itself away from government and develop into an autonomous institution preponderantly governed by academics. There may be two or three members from the judiciary, the corporate sector or the alumni but more than two-thirds of the members of the governing body should be academics from different universities. The Chief Executive Officer (CEO) should also be an academic of the rank of a professor and distinguished as a scholar or a scientist. He or she may either be elected by the professors of the university or selected by the members of the Senate. The Chancellor, who should be a symbolic figurehead, should be a famous intellectual, writer, artist or scholars. This would be a considerable change from current practices and also the Model University Ordinance (2002), but it will make the universities autonomous and establish, for the first time in Pakistan, the tradition of governance by the academia.

One thing that should be emphasized is that the universities should retain their non-hierarchical, democratic character. This means that appointments to the Senate and other decision-making bodies should be on the basis of elections as far as possible. The administrative headship (chair of the departments and institutes should rotate between the four senior-most academics and the deanship must necessarily be by elections. All major decisions should be by majority of vote in the various committees of the university and the CEO should not have the power of a manager in the corporate sector. Such an atmosphere may appear to be subversive of discipline. It does, however, preserve the independence, self-pride and confidence of academics that are necessary if they are to have the moral courage to express opinions contrary to that of the state or the senior most

²⁴⁰ Quddus, Naseem J.(1990),*Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company,p-199.

member of the university itself. To maintain discipline, there should be a university court to which all cases of prolonged absenteeism, moral turpitude and academic fraud should be brought by departmental discipline committees.²⁴¹

Regarding the number of universities, Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998) recommends to reduce the number of general universities which offer the usual variety of academic subjects, while converting and extending the remaining universities into 'special universities', meaning modern technical training institutes, offering programmes of study and courses with direct economic utility. He also recommends disbanding dysfunctional departments where appropriate and to upgrade and improve the surviving general universities through massive infusion of resources, both financial and intellectual.

The reasons for the above are two-fold. First, there is simply not enough competent manpower available in Pakistan to teach the natural or social sciences at each one of the present universities. The mathematical sciences, in particular, cannot be taught in any meaningful fashion at most universities either now or in the coming period. This cannot be corrected by fixing salaries at a higher level or by any other means. The small pool of competent science faculty needs to be concentrated, not diffused. Further, rather than throwing research funds into places where no meaningful research can be done, it would be far wiser to concentrate these resources where they could be effectively utilized. A similar argument can be made for students: the poor quality of incoming students which is a consequence of quality breakdown at the pre-university level means that the pool of students who can meaningfully take advantage of a high level of instruction is very small.²⁴²

Regarding universities, Tariq Rahman also says that the number of public and private universities will have to be reduced drastically to implement the reforms given in this section. No institution that does not have the basic sciences, social sciences and

²⁴¹ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-135.

²⁴² Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p- 276.

humanities should have the right to call itself a university. In the private sector the only institutions moving in this direction are the Aga Khan University and the Lahore University of Management Sciences. They combine quality with an increasing choice of disciplines and are evolving into universities.

Tariq Rahman recommends that new disciplines such as Information Technology (IT), fashion -design and environmental studies should be introduced in the public universities. Moreover, the basic sciences, social sciences and humanities should be improved. Some important subjects-linguistics, archaeology, intellectual history, criminology are not taught in most of the Pakistani universities. They must be introduced because without teaching a very wide range of subjects, an institution does not deserve to be called a university at all. Teaching and research at the university level should be mostly in English though Urdu and other languages may be used to make the students comprehend difficult concepts easily.²⁴³ Since engineering colleges as well as other professional colleges are responsible for promoting teaching and research, and for producing personnel who will develop resources of the country, these colleges should be detached from the control of the government department. Commercial education in various specialized fields is essential as the requirements of a modern state cannot be met without a large body of trained personnel qualified for careers in public and business administration, trade, industry and commerce. This involves the establishment of special commercial institutes as well as the introduction of graduate and post-graduate courses in the universities in the above fields.²⁴⁴

The college curriculum should be broad-based; establish a core curriculum consisting of mathematics, English, Urdu, communication, history of world civilization and world culture; include research and one-two semesters of internship programmes; assess all textbooks and revise them every three years; and update curricula yearly but no more than every three years to meet the future needs, such as teaching of molecular biology, neuroscience, genetics and preventive medicine at medical schools. The undergraduate

²⁴³ Rahman. Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-145.

²⁴⁴ Qudus, Naseem J.(1990),*Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company,p-209.

curricula should be based/categorised on a semester not an annual system. Funding from government should be increased several-fold and the funding of these colleges should be based not only on the number but also the quality of graduates and the academic programmes. Improvement in teaching should include updating college curricula; introducing internship programmes; introduction of new methods of teaching; encouraging reason-based learning and critical and creative thinking; community financial plans as grants and loans on a needs basis; and government could provide grants to colleges to expand their scholarship programmes.

The government should invest in and upgrade libraries, especially implementing free and easy access to Internet, and providing basic student resources for research. Government must ensure that every student who has the merit and wishes to pursue higher education receives sufficient financial aid for his/her education.²⁴⁵ So long as the per capita income of the country is low, some of the ablest students are not able to afford higher education, thus depriving the nation of the benefit of trained talent. Hence, there is need for a large number of scholarships at different stages. So long as the state is unable to provide free education for all, it must at least try to provide free education to those who are most deserving of it. Naseem Jaffer Quddus (1990) says that in awarding the scholarships, merit should be the only determining factor as to who should receive a grant, but the size of the award may vary according to the financial needs of the student. In any case, it should be large enough to enable the student to live a normal life without the necessity of seeking employment elsewhere to neglect studies.²⁴⁶

Quality of education cannot be maintained unless the students have the necessary ability and aptitude to pursue higher education in the subject which they choose. Hence, satisfactory aptitude tests should be devised and proper guidance and counseling provided to the students so that their valuable time and nation's manpower do not go

²⁴⁵ Xhaferri R. and K. Iqbal (2008), "A Call for Commission on Higher Education in Pakistan" [Online: Web] Accessed 24th Feb 2009 URL: <http://www.pepfoundation.org/dawn3.pdf>.

²⁴⁶ Quddus, Naseem J. (1990). *Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-213.

waste. The young men and women should be given training and education for which they are best fitted by nature.²⁴⁷

The significance of research in all types of higher education, academic or professional, should be emphasized, as provision for fundamental and applied research is essential for any country which wishes to be strong and progressive. Therefore, the universities should be encouraged to build up departments in which both teaching and research occupies a prominent place.²⁴⁸ However, the HEC in Pakistan has claimed about the 3-fold increase in Pakistani academic publications. According to Pervez Hoodbhoy (2008), fantastically large per-paper monetary rewards to university teachers, a practice not adopted anywhere else in the world for excellent reasons have indeed boosted publication rates. But publishing more papers is not the same as doing more research. Instead, the high rewards have caused an explosion of plagiarism, theft of intellectual property, publication of trivial results and falsified data, and publication of slightly different versions of the same paper in different journals. Most published papers are worthless academically and scientifically.²⁴⁹ Therefore, the emphasis should be on genuine research and not plagiarism which has led to even greater degradation of the Pakistani universities.

Regarding student selection, Pervez Hoodbhoy recommends that student selection to government universities and vocational institutes should be made strictly on the basis of admission test. Quotas should be severely reduced and limited to disadvantaged groups only. Higher education should be subsidized but not be entirely free. A sufficient number of scholarships and campus employment should be made available for exceptional students. In a society that still functions in a partly tribal and feudal mode, selection on the basis of merit raises hackles in many parts of the Pakistani society. The government of Sindh, for example, fearing that rural Sindhis will be put at a disadvantage relative to urban Karachiites, refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the National Examination Testing Service (NETS) as an instrument for deciding admissions to professional colleges

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p-197.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p-199.

²⁴⁹ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (2005), "Pakistan's Universities: Problems and Solutions", (Online web), accessed 20 th Feb,2009, URL: <http://www.chowk.com/articles/pakistans-universities-problems-and-solutions-Pervez-Hoodbhoy.htm>

and universities. In the NWFP, student demonstrations organized by Jamaat-i-Islami demand scrapping of a proposed test for university admission, arguing that students from tribal areas would suffer a disadvantage if they had to compete against students from urban areas.

According to Hoodbhoy, therefore, in an ideally 'fair' system, religion, ethnicity, tribe, class and ability to pay, should all be irrelevant. It is the individual who should be given primacy. To what extent is this ideal realizable, the answer depends upon the extent to which a society has modernized and dispensed with the traditional institutions of sect and caste, the extended family system, and feudal relations of production and control.²⁵⁰

The agencies of the state, such as armed forces and their welfare organizations, have extended their hold from schools to colleges and private universities where among other things, discriminatory fees levels operate for civilians and armed forces dependents. To establish an equal educational system for all its citizens, the state will have to dismantle these bastions of privilege. All state-influenced, or state controlled institutions administered by the welfare agencies connected with any state department or agency should be governed by the government's own educational authorities and have the same, affordable fees for all students no matter which sector of the society they belong to. Moreover, these institutions too may be governed by teachers (in the case of schools) and academics (in the case of universities) as such institutions are in Britain which is the model which can be safely followed in academic governance.²⁵¹

Regarding privatization of higher education, the present thinking of the government of Pakistan is that the university system is fatally ill and the only solution proposed is: let the private sector build universities. However, privatization is not a panacea. True, the efficiency of private organizations is higher than government ones. There is less wastage, more accountability, greater attention to the quality of services provided, and more

²⁵⁰ Hoodbhoy, Pervez (1998), "Pakistani Universities Which Way Out?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*, Oxford University Press, p-280-81.

²⁵¹ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, p-152.

responsiveness to the demand of the consumer (that is, the student). On the other hand, there are serious problems of equity and opportunity- unlike education at lower levels, higher education requires huge capital input and to make up the costs, high student fees must necessarily be charged. Thus, only elite and rich classes could afford it while the poor remain deprived. It is hard to see how private universities in Pakistan- even twenty years down the line- can account for more than a fraction of the total enrollment in higher education. While they have a role to play as models of quality and must be encouraged as part of a larger solution, private education can have but limited impact.

According to Hamid Khan Niazi and John Mace in the article “Efficiency and Equity and Private Higher Education in Pakistan”(2007), it is argued in the economics of education literature that in addition to the private benefits of education, there are significant wider benefits enjoyed by the society at large. Thus, there appears to be a strong case on theoretical and empirical grounds for the government to provide some financial support to private sector of higher education provision in Pakistan. This could be made directly, through, for example, reducing the taxes they currently pay or indirectly, for example, by providing more financial aid to students attending private higher education institutions possibly through loans or levying education tax.²⁵²

According to Tariq Rahman (2004), because of the growing population, colleges and private institutions calling themselves universities but teaching one or two capital generating subjects will keep expanding. They should be examined and regularly inspected by a Board of Higher Education in every major city of Pakistan- Karachi, Hyderabad, Multan, Bahawalpur, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, D.I. Khan, Quetta, Gilgit-which should provide external examiners, paper-setters and inspectors. All such institutions may call themselves colleges, institutes or even university colleges. However, they would have to accept such standardization of curricula and evaluation as the Board prescribes.

²⁵² Niazi, H.K. and John Mace (2007), “Efficiency and Equity and Private Higher Education in Pakistan”,XXI(1):43-61.

The medium of instruction should be both Urdu and English. Other languages can be used when books and teachers become available.²⁵³

There should also be an increased role of the government. In Pakistan, the state is weak, and possibly becoming weaker, as the primary loyalties of citizens- ethnicity, religion, tribe and culture assert themselves with increasing boldness and vigour in every sphere of national life. Political parties have contributed to this state of affairs by playing on people's loyalties for immediate gains. The upshot of all this is that no government in Pakistan is able to enforce its own writ in such key areas as law and order, environmental protection, tax-collection, banking and economic administration, and so on. Even efforts to conduct a population census have uniformly failed in two decades for political reasons. On the basis of this, Pervez Hoodbhoy says that it must also be accepted that the ability of the state to provide or administer quality education has diminished to the point that it is incapable of delivering its promises.

He says that for proof, one need only to look at the quality of people in the federal and provincial ministries of education, the Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education, the Directorate of Colleges, the UGC, the Textbook Boards. One sees aplenty the sort of people who are responsible for the problems, but only a few who can ever be part of the solution. ²⁵⁴*Leaping Forward: A Report on Higher Education in Pakistan* (Feb, 2006) gives the following recommendations to restructure and reform higher education, both public and private universities. The report is based on the first international symposium on "Issues in Higher Education in Pakistan" at the United Nations in New York on December 5, 2005.

Planning:

- The HEC with representation and the active participation of senior faculty from both public and private colleges should develop a short term, mid term, long term,

²⁵³ Rahman, Tariq (2004), *Denizens of Alien Worlds: A Study of Education, Inequality and Polarization in Pakistan*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 133-34.

²⁵⁴ Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998), "Out of Pakistan's Educational Morass: Possible? How?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-15-16.

and long term Master Plan for the improvement and accessibility of higher education in Pakistan. This national plan may also identify the institutionalization of the recommended procedures, and clear symptoms of transparency and accountability, and necessary checks and balances.

- An independent external Board of Advisors should be established to ensure transparency and provide guidelines for decision-making process.
- The external HEC Board should investigate what of the 2000 and the 2002 Task Force Reports were implemented and what have been the results.
- Colleges and universities should receive annual funds from the HEC, which may be based on the number and level of faculty, but the decisions for spending funds should be made by the Board of Governors of recipient institutions. The renewal of the funds must require a satisfactory report from the recipient institutions six months in advance of the lapse of funds. The evaluation and award of research grants may be carried out by HEC, using appropriate review groups of faculty and where needed experts from overseas.

Administration:

- A set of guidelines should be developed for the decision-making process at HEC and institutions controlled by it.
- Research planning should be carried out at the national level.
- Public universities should be autonomous and managed by their Board of Governors and various bodies created by their Boards.
- Appointments of Vice-Chancellors and deans should be from academia and made by the University Board. A University may appoint a separate administrator, who does not have to be from the academia, but reports to the Vice-Chancellor.
- The Vice-Chancellor of a university should play an active role and should be accountable only to the Board of Governors.
- Each institution should calculate the total cost of education per student of each degree program and make it known to each student at the end of each semester.

Funding:

- The current rate of increase in funding for higher education should be sustained.
- Allocation of funds to the universities from HEC is to be based on the number and degree programs of students and the number and ranks of faculty.
- Students attending private colleges/ universities should be eligible to receive only student financial assistance but based on the same levels as the corresponding public institutions. However, both public and private institutions should be equally eligible for research grants which should be based strictly on merits of the proposal, the qualifications and track record of the investigators, and the availability of adequate research facilities and environment.
- Encourage philanthropy for higher education and give recognition and preferred treatment to corporations, businesses, organizations and individuals making large donations to higher education.

Faculty:

- Make a proactive campaign to recruit talented faculty from home and abroad.
- Increase remuneration of faculty and make it productivity and performance based.
- HEC should organize annual training workshops for the faculty.
- Encourage the reappointment of meritorious faculty in the public sector.
- Increase personal and professional motivation either by financial stimuli and/or position.
- Ensure faculty quality by applying standardized testing (assessment).

Methods of Teaching: Update curricula every three years and require reason-based teaching with more emphasis on logical thinking and reasoning, discussion and differing view points and less on descriptions as absolute facts.

Quality:

- A reason based learning is required.
- Modernize and upgrade libraries and laboratories and basic students resources for research; train staff and librarians; upgrade and add resources.

- Immediate intervention is required in improving the college level education, which currently is the weakest segment of higher education in Pakistan. A special and major effort should be made to improve the standard of education at colleges. HEC may appoint external review boards of the senior faculty of region's universities to review and advise colleges for improvement of education. The funding of colleges should be based on the number but also the quality of their graduates and academic programs.
- The quality of education can only be as good as the quality of the faculty at an institution. Faculty at the public institution should receive sufficient financial rewards, incentives and encouragements that they do not feel compelled to join the private sector. The Foreign Faculty Programme should be encouraged, expanded, and employed to augment the local faculty. Post-retirement age should not be a disqualification in hiring or rehiring of meritorious and productive local and foreign faculty. A proactive leadership effort should be made in hiring young and talented faculty both locally and from abroad.

Accessibility:

- Improve and increase elementary high school education. Increase in the percentage of students who successfully graduate from high school is necessary for increasing the college enrolment. Education of girls should be especially encouraged to reduce the current disparity between boys and girls in enrolment and completion of both elementary and high school education.
- A nation-wide campaign should be lodged to encourage youth to go for higher education.
- Financial assistance should be made available as grants and loans on need basis.
- Financial support should be improved and other resources should be made available to all students, especially those who come from economically disadvantaged families.
- Financial assistance and scholarship should be increased to talented students in need.
- A loan financial scheme should be introduced.

Public-Private Partnership: Private donor organizations and individual philanthropists should be encouraged to establish independent academic programmes and the existing programmes at the existing college/university campuses should be updated. Financial, administrative and academic partnerships with the donor parties should be developed.

Support to Private Institutions:

- There should be a full cooperation between government and private sector.
- Government should actively encourage and support private sector in establishing institutions of higher learning, by making land available free of cost, provide technical assistance in developing degree and research programmes.
- Pakistani institutions should be encouraged to develop linkages to reputable foreign institutions and degree and research programmes.
- The Pakistan government should encourage those private universities which meet the educational standards and make education accessible to the unprivileged.

Increase Social Conscience: Community service should be made mandatory for each college/ university graduates. Awareness and sensitiveness should be increased of the financial cost of education of a student to the public.²⁵⁵

The undergraduate education, which is mostly provided at colleges, is one of the most neglected sectors of higher education in Pakistan. There has to be a holistic approach to education. In all the policy planning so far, the thrust of all initiatives has been directed towards the universities, and in that, primarily public universities to the neglect of colleges. Public universities are heavily, if not entirely, dependent on public colleges for their intake of students. They are the weakest link in the whole chain of education in Pakistan. In all initiatives and planning, these colleges have been ignored. Their infrastructure is in poor condition and equipment and libraries almost non-existent. Most of the college faculty has little or no training and only a local Masters degree, no incentives for improving their qualification, and no facilities for research. Relying on outdated textbooks and learning by rote, they produce students who are ill prepared for

²⁵⁵ Promotion of Education in Pakistan Foundation, Inc.(2006),*Leaping Forward*, NewYork.

university.²⁵⁶ In this context, Naseem Jaffer Quddus says that there should be an integrated system of higher education where a form of co-ordination and integration among the colleges and universities must be encouraged. Higher education in Pakistan consists of poorly coordinated groups of arts, science and professional colleges and Government departments concerned. It is recommended that the professional colleges located in university centres should be incorporated in the higher educational organization.

The integration of higher education can be achieved by affirming the leadership of universities and making them really beneficial and progressive. They should develop an integrated system at their headquarters in which maximum use is made of all resources whether in the colleges or universities. Post-graduate teaching and research should be their direct concern. Universities should also be staffed to assist and keep a watch on progress of the colleges that are affiliated to them, but do not form a part of the headquarters organization. They must have arrangements for a regular inspection of such institutions. They must be represented on the Managing Bodies and keep a check on management.²⁵⁷

Comparing the higher education system of India and Pakistan, the performance of Pakistan's higher education system is remarkably low. Whereas India is boasting of its knowledge economy and one of the greatest IT industries of the world, Pakistani universities can hardly boast of anything. As far as the higher education system of India is concerned, it too needs a lot of reforms. However the standard of higher education in India is far better than Pakistan. While India can boast of institutions like IITs, IIMs, and universities like JNU, D.U., Pakistan can hardly imagine, except one or two. Instead the universities are occupied with militancy, religious fundamentalism and politicization. In

²⁵⁶ Xhaferri R. and K. Iqbal (2008), "A Call for Commission on Higher Education in Pakistan" [Online: Web] Accessed 24th Feb 2009 URL: <http://www.pepfoundation.org/dawn3.pdf>.

²⁵⁷ Quddus, Naseem J.(1990),*Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company,p-195-96.

fact, the universities are over-occupied with the concepts of power and intolerance rather than education.

The higher education system of Pakistan has just received attention in the new millennium with the significant contribution of the UNESCO-Task Force and the World Bank, triggering in the establishment of a Higher Education Commission in 2002 and launching of several programmes. The policies and programmes of the HEC are highly ambitious with high targets but the implementation is low. The severe problem commission is facing is the financial crunch which is hitting the sector badly. Financial crisis is a crucial issue of the education sector in Pakistan and this problem needs to do away with as soon as possible. Quddus (1990) in the context of financial problem states that it is hoped for securing adequate finances for the nation's educational enterprises, the Government and the business community, and the people in general reorganize and accept the close relationship that exists between education and economic productivity. Regarding politicization of universities and student unrest prevailing in the campus, it should be the noble and sacred duty of each and every student to discourage subversive trends which may wreck the entire fabric of the society. Such activities are detrimental to the security of the state, as they threaten overall chaos, and confusion.²⁵⁸ Politicization of education and university campuses should be reduced to the minimum if not fully eliminated.

Islamization is an inevitable phenomenon existing in the education system of Pakistan. It has been strongly prevalent since the Zia-era though it was imbibed in the system since the beginning. Pakistan is a strongly Islamic country and it is very difficult to overcome its Islamic character since the majority of its population consists of Muslims. As a result, due to presence of strong religious groups and their influence on the government, it is very difficult to protest them. Not only on education, has Islamization had its effects on other sectors as well. It has resulted in the curbing of freedom of women, and their

²⁵⁸ Quddus, Naseem J.(1990),*Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, p-214.

education as well. The ideological barriers put on women have prevented them to pursue education in a smooth manner. This has strongly been experienced especially in the border regions of NWFP and SWAT area, which has got strong influences of Talibani forces and the Mullahs. Islamization has strongly degraded the position of women in Pakistan. By teaching distorted and biased versions of history, it has brought down the standard of curriculum and narrowed the scope of education. It has also inculcated anti-India feeling amongst students through this process, culminating in militancy and violence in the campuses. Overall, it has generated backwardness in education, both at primary and higher levels. A secular education is needed in the country without any religious bias but this is almost impossible to achieve in a country like Pakistan which has such inevitable influences of different religious groups of Islam.

According to Stephen Cohen (2004), a modern state that neglects education will have all the more difficulty adapting to changing circumstances, including new economic opportunities, changes in the physical environment, and new strategic alignments. This point is especially important to make when a country already has several strikes against it in the form of high levels of ethno-linguistic conflict and sectarian discord, as in the case of Pakistan. Therefore, its educational system must be of high calibre to help bridge the cultural and civilizational divides that already exist without producing new divisions, and in addition produce a trained cadre of future leaders able to navigate a rapidly changing global and regional environment.²⁵⁹

Overall, we can say that higher education in Pakistan is in a state of flux. Though it has received sufficient attention in the new millennium, it still needs an overhaul. Uncertainty about the budgetary situation, the political stability and the deteriorating security situation has created a loss of confidence in the new government of Asif Ali Zardari and new questions about the future of higher education. These factors threaten to reverse the phenomenal progress in higher education, limit quality improvement, reverse the attractiveness of university positions, curtail enrolment increases and undermine the prospects for national development. In addition, there is growing uncertainty about the

²⁵⁹ Cohen, Stephen P.(2004), *The Idea of Pakistan*, Washington D.C.: Brookings Institutions Press, p-236.

future of Higher Education Commission, including its administrative and financial autonomy. Thus, one of the few hopeful signs of progress in Pakistan appears to be in jeopardy. While there are many claimants on the national budget in this period of economic difficulty, the failure of higher education transmission would be a devastating reversal for Pakistan and make economic growth, social recovery and political stability even more difficult than at the present time.²⁶⁰

To sum up, the recommendations discussed in the chapter will require much investment which would be a revolution in itself. It is high time that the government take active steps to improve this sector. A political will is required, along with sufficient funds and also the participation and urge on behalf of the society is needed so that this sector gains encouragement, as according to Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998), Pakistan's public education system fails because, in its present form, it is simply not valuable or important enough to the society. The visible disintegration of the present system, therefore, has not set off the alarm bells that the failure of other institutions would have.²⁶¹ Higher education should be given a significant attention for reform, as according to Nasseem Jaffer Quddus (1990), the strategic point in education lies in the colleges and universities. These institutions set the tone for primary, secondary and specialized education. They train the teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, philosophers, agriculturists, businessmen and government officials who provide leadership and establish standards for moral, economic and social life. They are responsible for conserving knowledge, for keeping abreast of new knowledge and adding to knowledge through research. Therefore, our most diligent attention must be directed towards higher education.²⁶² Thus for a prosperous and self-sufficient and a stable Pakistan, it is necessary to reform the education sector of the country, with much emphasis on higher education as it is a decisive factor in the future prospects of the country.

²⁶⁰ Hayward, M. Frederick (2009), "Higher Education Transformation in Pakistan: Political and Economic Stability"[Online:Web] Accessed 2nd February 2009 URL: http://www.bc.edu.bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/Number54/p19_Hayward.htm.

²⁶¹ Pervez Hoodbhoy (1998), "Out of Pakistan's Educational Morass: Possible? How?" in Pervez Hoodbhoy (eds.) *Education and the State: Fifty Years of Pakistan*", Oxford University Press, p-5.

²⁶² Quddus, Naseem J. (1990), *Problems of Education in Pakistan*, Karachi: Royal Book Company, 194-95.

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