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**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TWO SETS OF EDUCATIONAL
POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON EDUCATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN**

By

Muhammad Nasim Qaisrani

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ABSTRACT

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This study was undertaken as a historical inquiry into, and comparative analysis of, the proposals of (a) Pakistan Commission on National Education Policy (1959) and (b) Pakistan Education Policy (1972) and their impact on educational development in Pakistan. Both these policies commonly subscribed (1) to universalize primary education (2) to moderately expand secondary and higher education (3) to increase enrollments in scientific and technical subjects, and (4) to redistribute educational facilities between male/female and among provinces.

To accomplish these goals, the Commission (1959) involved the private sector more significantly and imposed tuition fees. Education Policy (1972) nationalized the private sector, made education free up to high school levels and standardized tuition fees at higher levels. This study attempted to assess and compare the impacts of these two different policy approaches with the intention to see whether one or the other approach appeared relatively more effective.

The research methodology was essentially historical and descriptive and consisted of three steps. First, the researcher examined the educational policies, subsequent development plans and described and assessed the outcomes of each policy. Second, the results of both policies' achievements were compared. Third, the differences in achievements were explained and discussed with respect to policy approaches.

The assessment and comparison of both policy approaches provided the following results.

1. Primary education did develop in both policy periods but large scale quantitative shortfalls against the set targets were observed in both cases.

2. Secondary education expanded faster during first policy period, largely because of involvement of local authorities and the private sector. Under Education Policy (1972), nationalization and free education increased government expenditures but did not help much to increase further expansion and redistribution of educational facilities.

3. College and university education expanded faster than was expected and faster than was needed in both policy periods. However, under EP (1972), the nationalization of colleges and the establishment of a University Grants

Commission resulted in increased enrollments in scientific and technical subjects. Also, better redistribution occurred during EP (1972).

On the basis of these findings, it is recommended

1. Private sector, local authorities and local communities become further involved in the development of primary and secondary education.

2. Government should control higher education. In the future, emphasis should be on qualitative improvement and consolidation of existing facilities rather than further expansion.

3. Tuition fees should again be imposed at all levels. Particularly at higher education levels, maximum cost should be recovered from users. However, the poorer sections of the society and backward areas should be compensated with loans and scholarships.

DEDICATION

To my parents, Mrs. and Hagi Mehmood Khan Qaisrani, for their prayers and sacrifices that laid the ground for this work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

This study is a historical and comparative analysis of two crucial sets of educational policy and subsequent educational development in Pakistan during the last two decades. Efforts to implement the first policy were made between 1960 and 1971. The second policy was put into practice from 1971 to 1978. The explicit educational policies for the purpose of this study are delineated in the following key policy documents:

1. Commission on National Education, CNE (1959)¹
2. Education Policy (1972-1980), EP (1972)²

Educational policies in Pakistan generally refer to specification of aims, decisions on priorities, provision for and management of educational facilities, and allocation of finances.

¹Government of Pakistan, Report of the Commission on National Education (Karachi, Pakistan: Government Printing Press, 1961).

²Government of Pakistan, The Education Policy, 1972-80 (Islamabad, Pakistan: Ministry of Education, 1972).

These policies subscribed to several common goals but adopted different approaches for their accomplishment. The intent of this study is to assess and compare the differing effects which the two approaches achieved.

It is accepted practice in Pakistan that the determination of overall policy, goals and aims is a function of the central government; managerial and financial responsibility and authority are shared by central and provincial governments. Provincial governments, if they desire, can delegate some of their responsibilities to local governing bodies and/or private enterprise.

The Commission on National Education, CNE (1959), was appointed by President Muhammad Ayub Khan in 1958 and its proposals remained in force until 1970-71. Education Policy, EP (1972), was introduced by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and guided the country's educational system until 1978. The policies generally agreed on four goals for developing the country's educational system.

1. Universalization of primary education,
2. Moderate expansion of secondary, college and university education,
3. Increased emphasis on scientific and technical subjects at college and university levels,
4. Equalizing access to educational opportunities. This means the redistribution of educational facilities to men/women and among various provinces.

In pursuing these goals, each policy adopted different strategies which differ significantly from one another, as described in detail in the second chapter and briefly presented here.

The CNE (1959) encouraged the participation of the private sector, local governing bodies and local communities for the expansion of primary, secondary, and college education. To enroll more students in scientific and technical subjects, the commission's recommendation concentrated on the opening of residential type pilot and comprehensive high schools and model colleges. To redistribute educational facilities among various sections of society, the commission proposed to give grants-in-aid to poor communities and to hold government directly responsible for educating backward areas and women. It also recommended the charge of tuition fees at all levels of education except at the primary level for girls and underdeveloped parts of the country.

Educational Policy, EP (1972), on the contrary, nationalized the whole system of education and took the responsibility of providing education relying on governmental sources, rather than involving the private

sector and local governing bodies. It made education free up to the high school level and standardized tuition fees¹ at the college level. In addition, it promised the opening of new universities for better redistribution of higher education. To develop scientific and technical education, it recommended the introduction of agro-technical and home economics as compulsory subjects for boys and girls at the high school level. In colleges, it promised to make provision of professional courses and, in universities, the establishment of centers of excellence for various applied sciences.

These two different approaches enjoyed a special position in the history of educational development in Pakistan. They were prepared by elected, relatively stable, political governments; they were presumed to be vigorously implemented; and they both remained in force for a considerable time period.

The focus of this study is the comparative analysis of the above-mentioned two crucial sets of educational policies and their impact on the development of education in Pakistan between 1960 and 1978. More specifically, the purpose is to describe the role of those methods of each

¹From 1960 to 1970, the tuition fee was uniform in government colleges throughout the country. In non-government colleges, it varied from institution to institution. EP (1972) standardized tuition fees in all colleges throughout the country.

1

policy that either helped or hindered the achievement of various goals of educational development.

As Ayub Khan, the ex-president of Pakistan, said:

If the past has not produced what was hoped for, no good will come from blinking at that fact. Better far to find out where the error was and how it can be corrected. Some factors which led to unsatisfactory performance were outside our control; others were well within it. Both must be recognized as such, examined carefully and assessed critically. Self-knowledge remains for the nation, as for the individual, the first step in wisdom.¹

It is hoped that this comparative analysis of various policy methods and their effectiveness will clarify certain of the shortcomings of past approaches and will help identify an alternate set of methods which may be more adequate and effective for the accomplishment of Pakistan's educational goals in the future.

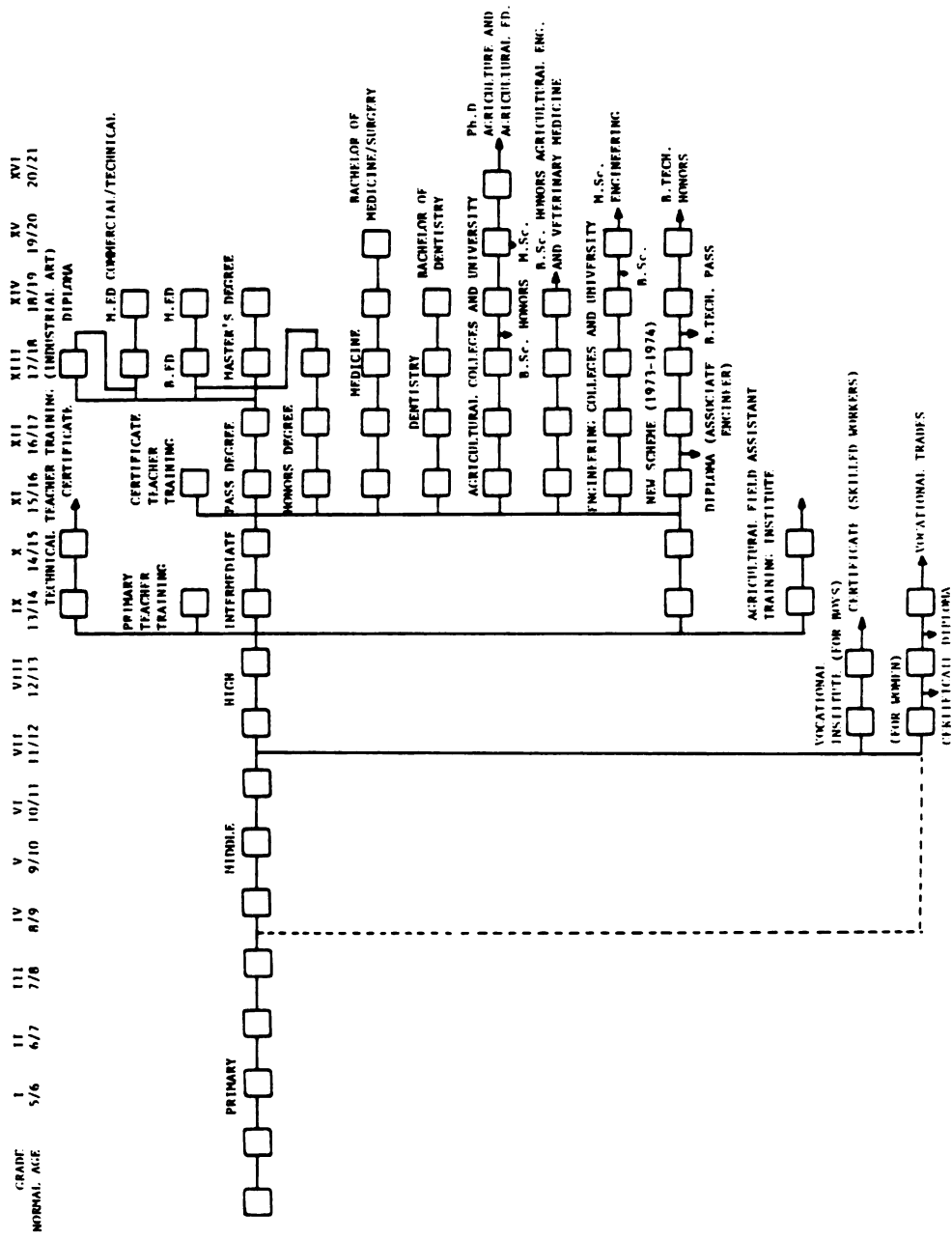
Framework and Delimitation of the Study

In order to understand the specific problem and purpose of this study, the reader should understand what is included in and what is excluded from the framework.

First of all, the focus is on general education from primary through higher levels. The structure of the formal educational system in Pakistan is presented in Figure 1. Horizontally through the center of the figure is a straight

¹Ayub Khan, Objectives of the Second Five Year Plan (1960-65), quoted in Albert Waterson, Planning in Pakistan--Organization and Implementation (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1962), p. 2.

Figure 1. Structure of Formal Education System in Pakistan.



Source: Government of Pakistan, *Development of Education in Pakistan (1978-1980)* (Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1981), p. 4.

line leading from primary through Master's Degree. It is developments in this line which are studied here.

Developments in the branches above and below this central stem are not included in this study.

Secondly, the focus of this study is on the particular policies developed and implemented between 1959 and 1978. Earlier and later educational policies are mentioned as precursive or subsequent policy statements, but are not included in this study. Thirdly, as a further clarification of the frameworks of this study, the reader should recall that Pakistan was divided until 1971 between East and West Pakistan. The focus in this study is only on developments in what was first West Pakistan and continues as Pakistan to the present time. East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971 and developments in that society are not included here. The reader should be aware that until 1969 no separate provinces designated as such existed in the west, but after the breakup of one-unit in 1969, four provinces were designated, which now include Punjab, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), Sind, and Baluchistan.

The Pakistan National Education Conference Policy (PNEC, 1947) was developed in November, 1947. The recommendations of this conference were incorporated into the first six-year educational development plan for the period 1952-1958. After one year of implementation, the plan was officially dropped. Then in 1955, the central

government included the 1947 PNEC proposals in a new first five-year national development plan for the period 1955-60.

The plan was prepared in 1955, the prime minister approved it in 1956, and it actually went into operation in 1957. In 1958, a new government came into power with the result that the 1947 PNEC proposals were never vigorously implemented. This policy is therefore not included in this study.

The Commission on National Education (CNE) prepared its proposals in 1959 and they remained in force until 1971. In 1969 new proposals for educational policy, PEP (1969), were prepared but never implemented. Therefore, this policy is not included in this study. An Education Policy, (EP) was again formulated in 1972 and guided the country's education until 1978. The present study deals with two sets of educational policies formulated in 1959 and 1972 and implemented from 1960 to 1978.

The National Education Policy (NEP), developed in 1978, is policy currently in force. It also is not the purpose of this study to examine or evaluate this present existent educational policy.

Statement of Purposes and Objectives

Purposes

The purposes for the present study are to describe, assess and compare the CNE (1959) and EP (1972) educational

policies and subsequent performance of educational system in Pakistan between 1960 to 1978 with regard to:

1. Universalization of primary education,
2. Quantitative expansion of secondary, college and university education,
3. Redistribution of primary, secondary, college and university education between
 - a. Men/women,
 - b. Among provinces.
4. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level of the general educational system.

Objectives

There are three specific objectives of this study.

1. To describe the policies and assess their effects on the development of primary, secondary, college and university education in terms of
 - a. Quantitative expansion of each level of education,
 - b. Redistribution of each level of education between men/women and among provinces,
 - c. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level.

2. To compare the development of primary, secondary, college and university education in each policy period with respect to
 - a. Quantitative expansion of each level of education,
 - b. Redistribution of each level of education between men/women and among provinces,
 - c. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level.
3. To analyze the differential effects of the policies and on the basis of this analysis make recommendations for future educational policy developments in Pakistan.

Importance of the Study

This study is concerned with a historical descriptive analysis of various procedural trends which developed in educational policies in Pakistan and the types of results they produced. The purpose is to understand the past in order to avoid the repetition of mistakes in the future.

Robert Travers stated:

The amateur reformers in the field of education would probably drop most of their plans for remodeling of public education if they had a better understanding of the failures of the past.¹

¹Robert M. W. Travers, An Introduction to Educational Research (4th Ed.) (New York: Macmillan Company, 1978), p. 390.

In its assessment of the past, historical description helps researchers to understand the present. According to Lehman and Mehrens,

Historical research is concerned with determining, evaluating and understanding the past, primarily for the purpose of clearer understanding of the present and better understanding of the future.¹

Borg and Gall stated:

Historical research in education is important for several reasons. The findings of such research enable educators to learn from past discoveries and mistakes, to perceive needs for educational reforms, and to a certain extent, to predict future trends²

In light of these remarks and considerations, it seems reasonable to hope that this comparative analysis of various educational policies and their effectiveness will serve the following purposes:

1. Assessment of effectiveness of various policy methods applied to develop education in Pakistan,
2. To help policy makers become increasingly aware of the problems of education in Pakistan,
3. Identification of alternate methods to develop adequate education policies with more chances for successful achievement of Pakistan's educational goals.

¹Ervin J. Lehman and William A. Mehrens, Educational Research, Readings in Focus, (2nd ed.)(New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1979), p. 31.

²Walter R. Borg and Meredith G. Gall, Educational Research, (New York: Longman, 1979), p. 372.

It is further hoped that the conclusions and recommendations made in this study will generate further questions for research into education policy development in Pakistan in the future.

Method and Sources

The study is carried out as a descriptive historical inquiry into the differential effects of two educational policies in Pakistan. In order to determine the comparative effectiveness of the policies, simple statistical techniques, such as ratios, averages and percentages are employed to compare various outcomes. However, emphasis is on the presentation, description and explanation of various methods and their consequences. This researcher has relied for primary data on historical works and government of Pakistan documents. Every effort was made to secure all necessary documents from Pakistan through personal contacts and with the assistance of the Pakistan Embassy, Washington, D. C.

The primary sources used in this study include:

1. Education policies, education development plans and evaluation reports published by the government of Pakistan.
2. Annual progress reports from central and provincial Ministries of Education.

3. Educational statistics published by the Federal Ministry of Education.
4. Reports of international agencies, such as UNESO, USAID, and the World Bank.

Secondary sources include:

1. Literature on Pakistan history, politics, economics and other social sciences published by Pakistanis and foreigners.
2. Articles from Pakistani newspapers, magazines and journals.

Definition of Basic Concepts and Terms

The following key terms are defined in the context in which they are used in this dissertation:

1. Structure of the system

There are three principal tiers of the educational system in Pakistan, namely: primary education (I-V), secondary education (VI-XII), and higher education (XIII-XVI).

Primary education starts at age five plus and comprises grades I-V.

Secondary education is divided into three stages. Middle school education starts at age 10 plus and contains grades VI-VIII. High school education starts at age 13 plus and contains grades IX-X. Higher secondary consists of grades XI and XII.

Higher education is divided into two stages of degree (XIII-XIV) and post graduate education (XV-XVI).

2. Financing of Education

- a. Government funds. These include the amounts spent by the central government, provincial government and university grants commission for various educational purposes.
- b. Local funds. These include the amount of money spent by local bodies, out of their general funds or special tax levies, for education.
- c. Grants-in-aid. These grants are a contribution in money or material goods by the central government to provincial governments, local bodies or private institutions. The grantor can specify the purpose of the grant:
 - (1) for specific types of expenditures, such as construction of school buildings, furniture, libraries, laboratories, and teacher's salaries,
 - (2) for specific levels of education, such as primary, secondary, college or university,
 - (3) for specific types of educational expenses such as teacher education,

vocational education and science
education,

(4) for the education of specific groups of
people, such as women/minorities and
backward areas,

(5) sometimes, the grantor does not define
the specific purpose of the grant. Then
it is used by the recipient for any
purpose he likes.

d. Other expenditures.

(1) Developmental expenditures. These
include money spent on purchasing land
for schools, construction of buildings,
playgrounds, furniture, some categories
of library and laboratory equipment.

(2) Recurrent expenditures. These include
teacher's and staff salaries, maintenance
of school buildings, and other temporary
services provided to the students and
teachers.

Overview of the Study

This chapter has provided the background of the study,
the problems to be investigated, the purposes of the study
and the sources used in conducting it. Definitions of

basic concepts and terms used in the study have also been presented.

In Chapter Two, an extensive description of education policies is presented. In this chapter, emphasis is on highlighting the variance between various educational policies developed to structure the educational system at various times in the history of educational development in Pakistan.

The methodology and limitations of the study are presented in Chapter Three. The techniques used to determine the comparative effectiveness and analysis of various policies are explained. A policy's effectiveness, however, may be influenced considerably by factors which lie outside the scope of the educational planner. These limiting factors are identified and listed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four is the nucleus of this study. In it, the researcher responds to each objective mentioned in Chapter One by analysis of the comparative effectiveness of associated policies, according to methods which are explained in Chapter Three.

In Chapter Five, a summary of the findings of the study is presented and discussed. Conclusions are drawn, recommendations are made for policy-making in the future, and suggestions for further research are outlined.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL POLICY DEVELOPMENTS IN PAKISTAN

Educational policy development in Pakistan can be divided into five historical phases.

The first policy, PNEC (1947), was formulated in November, 1947 and remained in effect until 1958. The second policy, CNE (1959), was formulated in 1959 and its recommendations remained in force until 1971. The third policy, PEP (1969), was formulated in 1969 but never implemented. The fourth policy, EP (1972), was prescribed in 1971 and prevailed until 1978. The present policy, NEP (1977), which is the fifth, was designed in 1977 and currently guides the educational system.

The object of this chapter is to describe the various policies which have shaped the educational system in Pakistan. It starts with a brief review of education policies during the Muslim and British periods before Independence and then proceeds to a detailed explanation of post-Independence policies.

Throughout this description, the intent is to highlight the objectives of various policies and the procedures they prescribed for the attainment of educational objectives.

The_Muslim_Period

The areas now under the effective control of Pakistan were predominantly Muslim-inhabited parts of United India.

Before the establishment of British rule, the area had a tradition of Islamic education. This educational system and its institutional organization was based on three principles. The first principle was that the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge was a religious obligation and an act of worship. The second principle was that educational institutions were autonomous and free from governmental interference. Finally, as an autonomous system free from governmental control, education was financed by donations and private endowments. In some cases, the government gave grants that helped maintain an annual income for educational institutions. The function of grantor and donors ended with the awarding of grants and they could not influence the purpose of education or the academic and administrative functions of the institutions. Education was divided in Maktabas, Madrasahs and Daral-Ulum which were roughly equivalent to primary, secondary and post-secondary or higher education.

Primary education was conducted in Maktabas where the children were taught the basic tenets of Islam: reading and writing of Arabic and Persian, basic mathematics, history and geography. This education was sufficient for activities of daily living and for employment as lower

level public servants. Since Maktabs were mostly conducted by Imams (prayer leaders) in mosques, these institutions were relatively inexpensive and common throughout the country. As they were attended both by boys and girls, literacy was widespread through a large proportion of the population. Secondary education was conducted through Madrasahs. Curriculum in these institutions included advanced learning in religion, particularly Islamic jurisprudence, Hadith, and secular subjects such as philosophy, logic, mathematics, medicine, history and geography. In some cases, instructions in crafts and job-oriented skills were also provided. The graduates of Madrasahs could be appointed (a) teachers in Maktabs, (b) Qazi (Justices) in courts, (c) practitioners of medicine, or (d) operators in private business. Higher education was conducted through Daral-Ulum which was only for advanced students who wanted to specialize in certain specific branches of knowledge in Islam or in secular subjects.

The enrollment in Madrasahs and Daral-Ulum consisted almost entirely of males because parents did not send their daughters to co-educational institutions. Females were not considered to need further education so no separate facilities existed. The education of females was common at the Maktab level but very rare at higher levels.

Education at all levels was entirely free, no fees were charged. On the contrary, students were also provided with books, accomodation and food without charge.^{1,2,3,4} All of this changed, however, with the establishment of British rule in the eighteenth century.

British_Education_Policy

The British began coming to India early in the seventeenth century as businessmen and traders and established the East India Company. For almost one hundred years they confined their attention to business and did not interfere with local affairs. In the early eighteenth century, they started taking an interest in politics and, after a series of political conspiracies and battles, the East India Company emerged as a political power in the late 18th century.⁵ In the early days of her control, the company's officials tried to understand the indigenous educational system. Some officials, in their individual as

¹S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, (Delhi, India: Idarak-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, 1936), Oriental Series No. 16.

²Ishtaig Hussain Qureshi, Education in Pakistan, (Karachi, Pakistan: Ma'aref Limited, 1975).

³S. P. Chaube, History of Education in India, (Allahabad, India: Ramnayanlah Benimagho, 1965).

⁴J. P. Naik and Syed Nurullah, History of Education in India, 2nd ed. (Bombay, India: Macmillan Company, 1951).

⁵Brian Gardenov, East India Company, (London: Rupert Hart Davis, 1971.)

well as official capacities, made efforts to develop that educational system. In this regard, significant contributions were the establishment of Calcutta Madrasah for Muslims in 1781, Sanskrit College Banares for Hindus in 1792, and Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800.

The objectives of Calcutta Madrasah and Banares College were to preserve and promote the liberal knowledge of the East, particularly Muslim jurisprudence, Hindu law, and Indian classical languages and literature. Fort William College was established for British employees, to make them conversant with traditions and culture of India. An associated objective of this college was to develop Indian, modern and classical, language on modern scientific grounds.¹

This attitude of patronage and sponsorship toward Eastern knowledge did not persist for long. In 1813, the East India Company dramatically changed the educational policy with new concepts, purposes and methods.

New Concepts of Education

In 1813, on the instruction of the central government in England, the East India Company officially accepted responsibility for education in India. In this regard, education policy making processes confronted four issues.

¹Said Ghalam Mustafa Shah, Legacy of Britain: A Brief Educational and Cultural Survey of British Rule in India, (Karachi, Pakistan: Pak Publishers Limited, 1971).

1. What should be the object of the policy--to spread Western knowledge or to preserve the Eastern knowledge?
2. What should be the medium of instruction--English, Arabic, Sanskrit or modern Indian languages?
3. What should be the agencies for the spread of education--the mission schools, the institutions directly controlled by the company, or indigenous schools conducted by Indians themselves?
4. What should be the methods of spreading education--should government try to educate the masses directly, or should it only educate a few Indians and leave it to them to educate others?¹

These issues remained under discussion for more than two decades, when Lord Macaulay, the British Educational Commissioner in India, prepared his final report in 1835.

About the Eastern knowledge and indigenous system of education, he said: "To continue this system tends not to accelerate truth, but to delay the natural death of an expiring error."²

He prescribed the following objects of educational policy:

That the great object of British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone. . . . We must at present do our best to form a class of educated people who may be interpreters between us and the millions

¹Naik and Nurullah, History of Education in India, p. 17.

²H. Sharp, Selections from Educational Record, Part I (1781-1839) (Calcutta, India: Government Printing Press, 1920), p. 117.

whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and intellect.¹

About the expansion of education, he further explained, in July, 1837: "Our object of education in India is not to educate the masses but to create such groups which could disseminate the acquired knowledge to others."²

Macaulay submitted his report on February 2, 1835, and the government of British India approved it on March 7, 1835, for implementation. In 1847, another stipulation was added to this policy. This added stipulation put economic value on British education.

In 1847, Lord Harding, the Governor General of British India said, "Preference should be given in selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions (English schools) thus established."³ This decision created incentive for British education and facilitated the decay of the already degenerating indigenous educational system. Macaulay's report is considered the foundation for the establishment of British educational policies in India.

¹Ibid., p 116.

²H. Sharp, Selections from Educational Record, p. 116.

³J. A. Richey, Selections from Educational Record, Part 2 (1839-1920)(Calcutta, India: Government Printing Press, 1920), p. 364.

In 1854, the central government in England revised educational policy in India. The Crown appointed Mr. Charles Wood to prepare a new policy. Wood reviewed the principles evolved over the past decades and defined a new comprehensive policy for the development of education in India in the future.

Wood Dispatch of 1854

The Wood report recommended more participation of the government in the development of education.

Among many of subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be means as far as in us lies of conferring upon the natives of India those best morals and material blessings which flow from general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England.¹

About the aims of education it said:

We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because it is calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages and to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit office of trust. . . . We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its objects the diffusion of the improved arts, sciences, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short European knowledge.²

In addition to specifying the aims of education, Wood's Dispatch made a number of other significant recommendations

¹Ibid, p. 364.

²Ibid., p. 365.

whose influence is still reflected by Pakistani's system of education. These continuing influences include the following:

Establishment of a Formal System of Education

Before the release of Wood's Dispatch, there were schools and colleges but there was no academic or otherwise official definition of what school or college meant. This report envisaged the provision of a network of graded schools throughout India. By graded schools, it meant a three tier plan with college and university at the top, high and middle schools in the middle, and indigenous elementary schools at the bottom. In this way, for the first time a formal education system was developed in India.¹

Administration and Management of Education

In order to co-ordinate the activities between different schools and between schools and government, the dispatch recommended the establishment of a department of education in each province. This idea of a state department of education was another innovation in the history of educational establishments in India. The functions of this newly created department of education were the following:

1. to advise the provincial governments on all educational matters,

¹Ibid., p. 377.

2. to administer the funds allocated to education by central and provincial government,
3. to conduct certain educational institutions directly under the authority of the government,
4. to supervise and inspect the working of those educational institutions which apply to the government for grants-in-aid or recognition,
5. to compile annual reports on the progress of education within their jurisdiction along with necessary statistics to improve and expand.¹

Financing of Education

The dispatch recommended the institutionalization of education under the government; it also suggested general guidelines for financing, in the light of which each provincial government was expected to frame its own rates for grants-in-aid. Aid could be given to those institutions which were prepared to accept the following conditions:

1. To observe the rules laid down by the government and to remain prepared for inspection by inspectors appointed by the government,
2. Possess good local management,
3. Impart good secular education and maintain religious neutrality,
4. Levy fees, however small, to be paid by the students.²

The discussion of the subject closed with the following remarks:

¹Ibid., pp. 378-381.

²Ibid., p. 381.

We look forward to the time when any government system of education entirely provided by the government may be discontinued, with gradual advance of grant-in-aid and when many of the existing good institutions, especially those of higher order may be safely closed or transferred to management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the state.¹

Training of Teachers

Prior to Wood's report, there did not exist the concept of professionally trained teachers in India. This report recommended the establishment of teacher-training institutes in India and encouraged the appointment of trained teachers in all types of schools.²

Establishment of Universities

The dispatch recommended the establishment of three universities in India to be operated on the University of London model. The functions of these universities were to conduct examinations and award degrees to successful candidates of affiliated schools and colleges.³

Female Education

Prior to this report, female education was virtually nonexistent in India. Though, in theory, the traditional indigenous system provided rudimentary religious education to girls, in practice it was rare.

¹Ibid., p. 381.

²Ibid., p. 383.

³Ibid., pp. 371-374.

This dispatch officially recognized the importance of women's education. In this regard, it said:

We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction.¹

This dispatch was a significant document in the history of educational development in India. What went before led up to it, what followed flowed from it. It established the foundations of the formal educational system. It introduced university education in India. It gave the concept of teacher's training and suggestions about the administration, management and supervision of education. It laid down the grants-in-aid system. In addition, it recommended the provision of education for women.

This dispatch laid down the foundations of education policy in India which remained unchanged throughout the British period. The next steps in the historical process were not new policies but administrative and executive orders which reviewed from time to time the priorities, the methods of control, or responded to new issues. The next two significant administrative orders were the report of Indian Education Commission of 1882 and the Provincial Autonomy Act of 1935.

¹Ibid., p. 381.

Indian Education Commission (1882)

In 1882, the government of British India appointed the Hunter Commission with the basic aim to review and evaluate the performance of the educational system since 1854, especially the progress of primary education. However, the commission's recommendation went beyond the limits of primary education and discussed all levels.

The commission observed the following priorities in the educational system:

That every branch of knowledge can justly claim the fostering care of state, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts should now be directed in a still large measure than here to.¹

The commission further suggested that:

Primary education be extended in backward districts, especially in those inhabited mainly by aboriginal races, by the instrumentality of the department pending the creation of school boards, or by specially liberal grants-in-aid to those who are willing to set up and maintain schools.²

With regard to secondary and college education, the commission stated:

It should mostly be provided on a grant-in-aid system and that government should maintain only one efficient high school in each district. The public funds of all kinds, local, municipal and provincial should be chargeable in an equitable proportion for the support of girls as well as boys schools.

¹Government of India, Report of Indian Education Commission, 1882 (Calcutta, India: Government Printing Press) 1883, pp.

²Ibid., p. 586.

In regard to colleges, the rate of aid was to be determined by the strength of staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution, and the wants of the locality and provision for special grants for building, equipment and library was to be made.¹

Therefore, the main recommendations of this report were emphasis on primary education, more facilities to backward areas, and girls' education. It also recommended the delegation of responsibilities to local bodies, municipalities, and district boards. In addition, it emphasized the grants-in-aid system and more participation of the private sector.

After 1882, significant changes developed in the politics of India. The Indian National Congress emerged in 1885 and the Muslim League came into existence in 1906. Both of these organizations started organizing people against British imperialism. Now the demand of the people was not merely more education, but more participation in public affairs.

In 1921, the department of education was partially transferred to provinces. Ultimately, in 1935 the British government granted autonomy to provinces and as a result the subject of education was completely transferred to the provinces. These provinces were to be governed by the local people.

¹Ibid., pp. 477-478, 590.

Evaluation_of_British_Education_Policies

The British took over the responsibility of providing education to India in 1813 and handed it over to local people partially in 1921 and completely in 1935. During this time span of more than 100 years, the traditional indigenous and autonomous educational system was proselytized into a formal system under the direct control of government. The basic purpose of the new system was to create a class of people well versed in British thought and tradition, loyal to the government and fit for medium level jobs in the law and order establishment.

In this new system, the medium of instruction was the English language and curriculum was based on Macaulay's scheme of diffusion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India. The institutions were managed by the joint cooperation of government, local bodies and private public. All these institutions were open to everyone who could adjust himself with the curriculum regardless of caste, creed or sex. It was in British time that longstanding traditional inequality based on caste, creed and sex was removed. The untouchables, the schedule castes and women got access to knowledge. However, in this one-way system, tuition fees were compulsory at all levels of education and for everyone.

Since the bulk of the people were poor and could not afford tuition fees, the educational system became

inegalitarian and turned to be a system for privileged classes rather than masses.

The consequences of such a system, according to M. K. Gandhi:

I say without fear of my figures being challenged successfully that today India is more illiterate than fifty or hundred years ago, and so is Burma, because the British administrators, when they came to India, instead of taking hold of things as they were, began to root them out.¹

Though the British educational system was secular and accessible to a limited class of people, it did have certain good things which continue to benefit the Indian and Pakistani people. Some of the positive contributions of the British education policies are as follows:

1. The indigenous Muslim and Hindu educational system in spite of all proclaimed good qualities was inaccessible to schedule castes, untouchables and women. The British introduced the concept of equality of opportunity regardless of caste, creed and sex and in this way opened the doors of the schools for the first time to depressed and underprivileged groups.
2. Introduction of English, scientific method and knowledge. When the British arrived in India, the

¹M. K. Gandhi, International Affairs, Vol. X, 1931, pp. 227, 734-735. Quoted in M. A. Aziz, "The Effects of the Official Policy on the Development of Secondary Education in Pakistan." Ph.D. dissertation, (Indiana University: Bloomington, Indiana, 1963), p. 95.

intellectual life of the society, both of Hindus and Muslims, was in decay. The English language, the European sciences and Western philosophy brought out the Indian mind from the "thralldom of old-world views" and laid down the foundations of renaissance in modern life.¹

3. India has always been a multicultural and multilingual society without having any lingua franca. The English language bridged this gap and still continues to be the social, academic and political common language of India and Pakistan.

Post-Independence Policies

When Pakistan came into existence in August 1947, there were very limited educational facilities in this part of the subcontinent. Part of the reason lay in the fact that the Muslim community of India could not adjust to the British secular educational system. Moreover, some of the areas now in Pakistan were socially and economically the most backward parts of United India.

The statistics of educational facilities available to the 32.5 million population were as follows:

¹Naik and Nurullah, History of Education in India, pp.

Table 1

EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN, 1947-1948

1. <u>Level and number of schools</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Primary schools	6864	1549	8413
Middle schools	2037	153	2190
High schools	334	64	398
Colleges	35	5	40
Universities (two, co-educational)			
2. <u>Enrollment</u> (in thousands)			
Primary schools	680.0	110.0	770.0
Middle schools	200.0	21.0	221.0
High schools	54.0	7.0	61.0
Colleges	12.4	1.1	13.5
Universities	.588	.056	.644
3. <u>Teaching staff</u> (in thousands)			
Primary schools	15.4	2.4	17.8
Middle schools	11.2	.80	12.0
High schools	6.0	.80	6.8
Colleges	NA	NA	NA
Universities	NA	NA	NA

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics 1947-48 to 1972-73 (Islamabad, Pakistan: Ministry of Education, Tables 1-3).

These statistics indicate that for approximately every 50,000 persons, there were twelve primary schools, three middle schools, and one high school. Colleges were extremely scarce. Most of them were situated in urban areas. The majority of these institutions were in the private sector, and had been owned and staffed by Hindus who left for India between 1947 and 1951. For instance, out of 150 faculty members of the Punjab University, Lahore, 130 were non-Muslims who left for India. Therefore, the immediate problem for the government of Pakistan was not merely to expand the system, but to save it from collapsing and give it a new direction consonant with the country's ideological, cultural and economic needs and aspirations.

In spite of serious difficulties such as communal riots, repatriation of people between India and Pakistan coupled with financial constraints and very weak administrative machinery, the Government of Pakistan (GoP) paid immediate attention to this important sector of national development and convened a national conference in 1947 to formulate a policy for educational development in the country.

Pakistan National Education Conference (PNEC, 1947)

A Pakistan educational conference was called in Karachi in November, 1947. Fazal Rahman, the Federal Minister of

Education, chaired this conference and the participants included officials of provincial and central ministries of education, teachers, principals, vice chancellors, religious leaders, and representatives of different religious minorities. M. A. Jinnah, the governor-general of Pakistan, in his message to the conference, expressed national educational goals in the following words:

The importance of education and right type of education, cannot be overemphasized. Under foreign rule over a century, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people and if we are to make a real, speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and program, on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture and having regards to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world. . . . There is no doubt that the future of our state will and must depend on the type of education we give to our children and the way in which we bring them up as future citizens of Pakistan. Education does not merely mean academic education. There is immediate and urgent need for giving scientific and technical education to our people in order to build up our future economic life and to see that our people take to science, commerce, trade and, particularly well planned industries. We should not forget that we have to compete with world which is moving very fast in this direction. At the same time we have to build up the character of our future generation. We should try, by sound education, to instill into them the highest sense of honor, integrity, responsibility and selfless service to the nation we have to see that they are fully qualified and equipped to play their part in the various branches of national life in a manner which will do honor to Pakistan.¹

¹M. A. Jinnah, Proceedings of the Pakistan Education Conference (Karachi, 1952, p. 5). Also cited in the First Five Year Plan (1955-60). Government of Pakistan Printing Press, p. 400.

The conference deliberated for four days and decided on the following guidelines for educational policy development in Pakistan:

1. The system should be inspired by Islamic ideology, emphasizing among its many characteristics those of universal brotherhood, tolerance, and justice.
2. Education should be viewed as one of the instruments for national development.
3. Free and compulsory education for five years should be introduced and should then gradually be increased to eight years.
4. A committee was formed to determine an adequate plan for secondary education.
5. A comprehensive scheme should be prepared for the introduction and organization of technical education. The formation of a council on technical education was proposed to deliberate on this issue.
6. The formation of a central advisory body of education, to serve in the future as an education policy-making authority, was proposed.¹

Certain issues, such as medium of instruction, and the distribution of powers and responsibilities between central government and provincial governments were left undecided until the formation of a national constitution.

The recommendations of this conference were incorporated into a six year national plan of educational development for Pakistan issued in 1952. This plan was prepared by the Education Division of the Central

¹M. Iqbal, "Developments in Education After Independence Phase I 1947-1958." Quoted in M. Iqbal, Education in Pakistan, 2nd edition, (Lahore, Pakistan: Aziz Publishers, 1977), pp. 58-65.

Government in collaboration with provincial governments. The plan set targets for various levels of education and threshed out the details into money, material and people. Unfortunately, the plan was neither related to national social and economic policies nor had any well-defined constitutional support for implementation. Consequently, this plan was officially dropped in 1953.

In 1956, nine years after the commencement of PNEC (1947), a national constitution was approved and put into practice. This constitution of 1956 envisioned a uniform system of education throughout the country. It further stipulated that GoP would make educational policy and decide the methods for implementation. The PNEC (1947) recommendations which were incorporated into a six-year development plan in 1952 and then dropped in 1953, now were supposed to be implemented according to the new constitution. In 1955, GoP formulated a five-year development plan for the period 1955 and 1960. This plan was supposed to go into operation after the promulgation of the new constitution. Actually, it was implemented in 1957. In 1958, a military government came into power and abrogated the constitution of 1956 and the development plan died down without formal announcement of death. Consequently, PNEC (1947) could never be implemented.

The martial law administrator who headed the new government in his first press conference defined three

immediate tasks that would have to be undertaken on a priority basis; namely, land reforms, refugee settlement, and educational reforms.¹ Consequently, he appointed a commission on national education in 1958.

Commission on National Education (CNE, 1959)

On December 30, 1958, on the direction of the martial law administrator, the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, was notified of the formation of a commission, its purpose and scope. The preamble to the resolution creating the commission stated:

Whereas the existing educational system of Pakistan is not adequate to meet the needs and requirements of the nation, it has become necessary to set up a competent body to review, in consonance with the aspiration of the people and socio-economic structure of the country, the educational system and to recommend appropriate measures for its re-orientation and reorganization for the purpose of ensuring an integrated and balanced development of education in various stages.²

The commission was given a free and wide scope. The terms of reference included all aspects of primary education, secondary education, college education, university education, professional education, adult education, and the status of religion, military training and physical education in the national educational system.

¹Muhammad Ayub Khan, Friends, not Masters, (Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 98-100.

²Ministry of Education Resolution No. F-16-9158-E-III, Karachi, 30 December, 1958. Quoted in Commission on National Education, Appendix I, p. 347.

The commission was asked specifically to consider the problems related to the financing and management of education, women's education, equality of educational opportunity and the role of education in the national social and economic development.

The martial law administrator inaugurated the commission on January 5, 1959. Soon after inauguration, the commission started its work and made arrangements for eliciting public opinion. The commission visited selected educational institutions in the country, interviewed people associated with the education department and in order to know the opinion of the masses, a comprehensive questionnaire covering all aspects of education was published in national newspapers and distributed to the people. The commission took eight months to complete its report. The report was presented to the president on August 26, 1959. Soon after its receipt, the president appointed a subcommittee to examine the recommendations made by the commission. The subcommittee deliberated on each item and after three months, reported to the president. The report in its entirety was accepted by the Government of Pakistan in February, 1960. The report recommended the following objectives of the educational system:

1. It must preserve the Islamic way of life. The spiritual value of Islam combined with freedom, integrity and tolerance should be the ideology to inspire our educational system.

2. Education should be viewed as productive activity and as an investment in human resources essential for the development of a progressive and prosperous welfare state.
3. An educational system is a part of the concept of social justice and its benefits and opportunities must be available to all--a target for the achievement of that should be set up and all efforts bent towards that goal.
4. The development of a good educational system will require the maximum possible financial support from government, local bodies, the community and students and parents.¹

The commission did not set the physical targets for various levels of education, but it recommended the following order of priority:

1. Compulsory education at the elementary stage is indispensable for skilled manpower and intelligent citizenry. This target should be achieved within ten years for the age group 6-11 and within another five years for the age group 11-14.
2. Secondary education should be diversified. In high schools, students should be encouraged to specialize in science, mathematics, and home economics groups.
3. In the case of higher education, three objectives should be accomplished at one and the same time.
 - a. The range of educational courses should be expanded.
 - b. Large numbers of students should be admitted.
 - c. Quality of education must be maintained and further improved.²

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education, pp. 10-13.

²Ibid., pp. 170, 118-120, 15.

For the attainment of these objectives, the commission recommended the following methods.

Management_of_Education

1. Central government should take the responsibility for opening primary schools, high schools and colleges in centrally administered areas and in tribal areas of Pakistan.
2. Government primary schools should be managed by the community. The basic philosophy in this arrangement is that people should have a sense of ownership of the school and assist in its financial affairs.
3. Local bodies should manage their primary school, high school and colleges in their areas of jurisdiction.
4. Private organizations, individuals, communities, welfare organizations and other agencies can open and manage their own schools, but these schools must be registered with the government department of education.
5. In the case of secondary education, private schools, in addition to registering with the government department of education, must also register with autonomous boards of education. The functions of these boards are to approve courses of

study, conduct examinations, and award diplomas and certificates to qualified students.

6. Private colleges should have an independent board of governors made up of reputable persons drawn from the community in which they exist. These colleges must be registered with provincial departments of education and with the university in whose jurisdiction they fall.¹

Financing of Education

1. Primary Education

- a. The federal government should share developmental expenditures and provincial governments should pay recurring expenditures.
- b. If any community, in rural as well as urban areas, provides land, buildings and furniture, the provincial government should pay teacher's salary and other maintenance expenses.
- c. Municipal committees, town corporations, and local councils should open schools and bear all expenses for the running and maintenance of these schools. They can recover part of the expenses by levying an educational tax or

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education, pp. 315-321, 333-340, 169-185, 111-147, 15-16.

through charging tuition fees. In case of hardship, the government should give grants-in-aid to these schools.

- d. Private individuals or groups should open schools and recover whole or part of the expenses through tuition fees. The government may give grants-in-aid to privately managed schools.

2. Secondary Education

- a. The developmental expenditure for secondary schools should be shared by federal government and provincial governments. Provincial governments should pay the recurring expenditures. Part of the recurring expenditures can be recovered through tuition fees.
- b. The private sector should open secondary schools and can recover 60 percent of the expenses from tuition fees; the remainder should be shared equally by provincial governments and management.
- c. The federal government should take responsibility for scholarships and other financial assistance to students.

3. College Education

- a. Federal government should share development expenditure with provincial governments and provincial governments should bear recurring expenses. Part of the expenses can be recovered through tuition fees.
- b. Municipal committees and town corporations should open colleges and make their own decisions about the arrangements of finances.
- c. The private sector should open colleges. They can recover their expenses through tuition fees. The amount of tuition fees should be decided by college management. Government's approval is not needed to decide the amount of tuition fees. The government may give grants-in-aid to registered and recognized institutions.

- 4. University education is the exclusive responsibility of the government and the government should discharge her responsibility through a university grants commission.¹

The Planning Commission of Pakistan which coordinates the development activities of all departments in the country, incorporated the Commission on National Education

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education, pp. 333-340, 169-185, 111-147, 15-16, 245-250.

Policy into Second and Third Five Year national development plans for the years 1960 to 1965 and 1965 to 1970 respectively. Therefore this policy remained under effective implementation for ten years.

In 1969, President Muhammad Ayub Khan relinquished power and resigned. He was followed by a military government. This new government developed certain new proposals for the development of education in the country in 1969.

Proposals for New Education Policy, PEP (1969)

This new policy suggested the following aims of educational system in the country.

1. To impart a common set of cultural values based on the precepts of Islam,
2. To create a literate society,
3. To attach a high priority to the development of analytical skills,
4. To attract some of the best talents of the country in the teaching profession,
5. To use education as a source of national integration.

To facilitate these objectives, the policy recommended the following changes in the structure of the educational system in the country.

1. Integration of Islamic Madrassahs into the normal national system,
2. Integration of primary and middle schools into elementary schools.

3. Reorganization of secondary education to make it a terminal stage,
4. Decentralization of educational administration.¹

These proposals were incorporated into the Fourth Five Year Plan for the years 1970 to 1975. But in 1970, the country passed through political crisis. In December 1969, general elections were held in the country. Regional political parties won the election. The Pakistan People's Party won the majority of the Parliament seats in West Pakistan and the Pakistan Awami League succeeded in East Pakistan. These parties could not reach a consensus on national issues and ultimately civil war started in the country. East Pakistan separated and became Bangladesh. Under these circumstances, PEP (1969) could never be implemented.

Education Policy (1972-1980)

The Pakistan People's Party won the majority of seats in the general election held in December, 1970. In her election manifesto, the party promised:

Education will be free up to matriculation and primary education will be compulsory and free. More secondary

¹Government of Pakistan, The New Education Policy of the Government of Pakistan (Islamabad, Pakistan: Ministry of Education, 1970).

schools will be established. . . . Mathematics will be accorded the place of honor and will be taught by more scientific modern methods. Universities have to be organized. . . . The students and teachers must work in full academic freedom.¹

The party came into power in December, 1971.

Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto assumed the office of the head of state. Immediately after assuming office, the new administration called a conference of representatives of teachers' and students' associations, vice-chancellors of the universities, officials of federal and provincial ministries of education, and elected representatives of the people to deliberate on problems facing the national educational system. After three months of discussion, the new Education Policy was formulated. The president described the following objectives of the new policy:

1. Ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life.
2. Building up national cohesion by promoting social and cultural harmony compatible with our basic ideology through the conscious use of educational process.
3. Building up and nurturing the total personality of the individual, dynamic, creative and capable of facing the truth as it emerges from the objective study of reality: an individual able to comprehend fully the nature of technical and social change and having deep concern for the improvement of society.

¹Pakistan People's Party Election Manifesto. Quoted in M. Iqbal, Education in Pakistan, (Lahore, Pakistan: Aziz Publishers, 1977), p. 80.

4. Mobilizing the youth for leadership roles through participation in programmes of social service and environmental improvement, and by inculcating in them the dignity of labour.
5. Eradicating illiteracy within the shortest possible time through universalisation of elementary education and a massive adult education programme.
6. Equalising access to education through provision of special facilities for women, under-privileged groups and mentally-retarded and physically-handicapped children and adults in all areas in general and the backward areas in particular.
7. Designing curricula relevant to the nation's changing social and economic needs compatible with our basic ideology and providing a massive shift from general education to more purposeful agro-technical education.
8. Providing a comprehensive program of studies through the integration of general and technical education and by keeping options open for transfer from one course of study to another.
9. Insuring active participation of teachers, students and representatives of parents and the community at large in educational affairs; and
10. Generally promoting the welfare, dignity and sense of responsibility of teachers and students.¹

In order to achieve these objectives, the Policy made the following suggestions:

1. Government should spend at least 4 percent of GNP on education,

¹Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, Nationalization of Colleges. Quoted in W. M. Zaki, End of Misery, (Islamabad, Pakistan: Ministry of Education and Provincial Coordination, 1972), p. 5.

2. Nationalization of all privately managed primary schools, high schools and colleges, except institutions managed by non-Muslims, non-Pakistani nationals,
3. Making education free up to the high school level,
4. Standardizing tuition fees at the college level,
5. Provision of free textbooks at the primary level and cheaper textbooks at the college and university level,
6. Substantial increases in scholarships and interest-free loans,
7. All developmental expenditures at primary, secondary and college levels should be provided by central government and all recurring expenditures at these levels should be provided by provincial governments,
8. A University Grants Commission should be established,
9. Agro-technical education should be compulsory from grade 6-10. The federal government should provide funds for that purpose,
10. Technical and commercial courses should be offered in all undergraduate colleges,
11. Examinations should be abolished until the 9th grade. The quality of education should be improved by providing free textbooks, writing materials,

audio-visual aids and better libraries and laboratories,

12. At the university level, internal evaluation systems should be introduced. Professional councils such as the Pakistan Medical Councils, Pakistan Engineering Councils, Pakistan Agricultural Councils and others should supervise academic standards at the college and university level,

13. Public councils at district, provincial and central levels should be formed to supervise the implementation of educational policy.

The above policy remained in force until 1978, when the present government came into power. This government announced a new National Education Policy, NEP (1978), which is the fifth policy in the historical process of educational policy development in Pakistan. Since the Constitution is presently in abeyance, there is no uniform course of action in carrying out national policies. It is premature, therefore, to examine or evaluate the present policy.

Summary of Post-Independence Education Policies

A review of educational policies in Pakistan indicates that

1. In the post independence period, five educational policies have been formulated. The latest policy, NEP (1977), is presently in force. Two policies, i.e., PNE (1947) and PEP (1969) were never vigorously implemented. The remaining two policies, CNE (1959) and EP (1972), were implemented for a considerable time period with full political backing.
2. These two policies, by and large, have the following common aims for the educational system in Pakistan:
 - a. Universalization of primary education,
 - b. A moderate expansion of secondary education, college education and higher education,
 - c. Fair distribution of educational facilities between men/women and between provinces and administrative units,
 - d. Increased emphasis on scientific and technical subjects.

Out of the five policies formulated to achieve these goals, CNE (1959), encouraged the participation of the private sector, local bodies and local communities for the expansion of primary, secondary, and higher education. To enroll more students in scientific and technical subjects, the commission's recommendation concentrated on opening multipurpose and comprehensive high schools and model

colleges. To distribute educational facilities among various sections of society, the commission proposed more scholarships to students; to give grants-in-aid to poor communities and hold the government directly responsible for the education of backward areas and women.

Educational Policy, 1972, on the contrary, nationalized the whole system of education and the responsibility of providing education rested with governmental sources, rather than involving the private sector. In order to distribute education, it made education free up to the high school level, reduced tuition fees at the college level and continued the previous government's policy of awarding scholarships. In addition, it promised the opening of new universities for better distribution of higher education. To develop scientific and technical education, it recommended the introduction of agro-technical and home economics as compulsory subjects for boys and girls at the high school level. In colleges, it made the provision of professional courses and, in universities, established the centers of excellence for various applied sciences.

What the impact has been of these two different approaches on the development of education in Pakistan is the main theme of this study. Chapter III presents the methods applied to understand this impact, and Chapter IV prepares the assessment, comparison and analysis of the above-mentioned policies and their impact on the development of education in Pakistan.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

A general background of the study, the need for it, its objectives and importance were described in the first chapter. It was indicated that the concern of the study would be an historical and comparative analysis of CNE (1959) and EP (1972) and their influence on the development of education in Pakistan from 1960 to 1978. A recapitulation of pre-Independence policies during Muslim and British periods and a detailed description of post-Independence policies were presented in the second chapter. The overall conclusion reached there was that two policies of the post-Independence periods, i.e., Commission on National Education, CNE (1959), and Education Policy, EP (1972), subscribed to common goals but adopted different approaches for their accomplishment. Moreover, the policies in question enjoyed a special position in the history of educational development in Pakistan because they were prepared by elected stable political governments and remained in force for considerable time periods.

The present study concentrated on an historical and comparative analysis of these policies and subsequent

performance of the educational system in Pakistan. In this chapter, the method and procedure used in conducting this study are presented.

Methodology

The method used in the pursuit of this inquiry was that of a historical descriptive case study. It was historical because the approaches, events and policies studied and analysed occurred in the past. It was descriptive because the level of explanation was geared to achieving an understanding of policy methods and their outcomes. It was a case study because the research concentrated specifically on the history of educational development in Pakistan.

This methodology involved the following steps:

1. Identification of the problem.
2. Specification of objectives.
3. Assessment of educational development.
4. Comparative analysis of development.
5. Sources of data.
6. Drawing up of conclusions and recommendations.

Development of the methodology for this study includes elements, ideas and suggestion found in other relevant research studies.^{1,2,3}

Problem

The problem for the present study was to describe, assess and compare the CNE (1959) and EP (1972) educational policies and subsequent performance of educational system in Pakistan between 1960 and 1978 with regard to the:

1. Universalization of primary education,
2. Expansion of secondary, college and university education,
3. Redistribution of primary, secondary, college and university education between
 - a. men/women,
 - b. among provinces.
4. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level of the general educational system.

¹A. S. Adesina, "An Analysis of Nigeria's Educational Plans and Actual Development Between 1945 and 1970" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1974.)

²J. P. Naik, Policy and Performance in Indian Education 1947-74 (Delhi, India: Oriental Longman, 1975).

³J. P. Naik, Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education (New Delhi, India: Allied Publishers, 1975).

In operational terms:

Expansion means increasing the number of educational institutions, enrollments and teachers.

Redistribution means removal of existing disparities in the distribution of educational institutions, enrollments and teachers between men/women, and among provinces.

Increased enrollments in scientific and technical subjects refer to courses other than the arts and humanities at college and university levels of the general education system.

Objectives

There were three objectives of this study.

1. To describe the policies and assess their effects on the development of primary, secondary, college and university education in terms of
 - a. Quantitative expansion of each level of education,
 - b. Distribution of each level of education between men/women and among provinces,
 - c. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level.
2. To compare the development of primary, secondary, college and university education in each policy period with respect to

- a. Quantitative expansion of each level of education,
 - b. Distribution of each level of education among men/women and among provinces,
 - c. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level.
3. To analyze the differential effects of the policies and on the basis of this analysis make recommendation for future educational policy developments in Pakistan.

Assessment of Educational Development

It has already been described that proposals of CNE (1959) were implemented from 1960 to 1970/71 and that of EP (1972) from 1971/72 until 1978. Simple statistical techniques such as annual growth rates, averages and ratios were calculated to assess the developments of various levels of education in both policy periods. The assessment of the performance of educational system in both policies was made as follows:

- 1. Expansion. Average annual growth rates of institutions, enrollments and teachers were calculated in both policy periods.
- 2. Redistribution. The ratios of educational facilities available to various segments of society

such as men/women and among provinces were assessed at the terminal year of each policy period.

3. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects.

Enrollment ratios in scientific and technical subjects at college and university level were also determined, using the terminal year of each policy period.

The developments in each level of education during both policy periods were assessed separately.

Assessment of Primary Education

The development of primary education was assessed at two levels:

1. Expansion in educational facilities,
2. The redistribution of expanded facilities.

Assessment of Secondary Education

Secondary education comprises two stages:

1. Middle school,
2. High school.

Therefore, developments at each stage were assessed separately during each policy period. These included:

1. Expansion of educational facilities,
2. Redistribution of expanded educational facilities.

Assessment of Higher Education

Higher education consists of two stages:

1. College stage.
2. University stage.

The developments at each stage were assessed separately at three levels:

1. Expansion of each level of education,
2. Redistribution of each level of education,
3. Enrollments in scientific and technical subjects.

Comparative Analysis of Development

Developments at each level of education in both policy periods were compared. The comparison included:

1. Expenditure on each level of education in both policy periods,
2. Quantitative expansion of each level of education in both policy periods,
3. Redistribution of each level of education in both policy periods,
4. The ratios of enrollments in scientific and technical subjects at college and university at the terminal year of both policy periods.

The differential performance of the educational system in both policy periods are presented in tables. As a final analytic step, the differences in the development of various levels of education are discussed with respect to differences in policy approaches.

Sources of Data

The materials from which data were derived for this analysis came primarily from several sources.

1. Literature on the history of education in pre-partitioned India consisted of official documents prepared by the government of British India and works done by British, Indian and Pakistani scholars on the subject of education. This literature was reviewed primarily for the purpose of gaining insights into the historical development of the educational system during the Muslim and British periods.
2. Educational policy documents by the governments of Pakistan were reviewed to determine the aims of the educational system suggested by various policies and the methods prescribed by those policies to achieve the suggested goals.
3. Planning Commission of Pakistan documents encompassing the two policy periods from 1960 to 1978 were examined to determine how various policy concepts, purposes and suggestions were translated in money, materials and physical targets for various levels of education.
4. Evaluation reports of the above mentioned commission were extensively reviewed to determine the performance of the educational system during each policy period.
5. Data on enrollments, institutions, teachers and expenditures were drawn from statistical reports

from federal and provincial ministries of education and federal bureau of statistics.

6. Publications of international agencies such as UNESCO and the World Bank served several purposes; first, to get information which was not available in Pakistani documents, and second, to get comparative information about education in third world countries.

Limitations

The purposes of this study are modest purposes--simply to examine and compare the data of results at the end points of two different periods of educational planning in Pakistan's history to see the extent to which these planning efforts may have succeeded or may have fallen short of their stated goals. Also, since the two planning efforts represented two quite different policy approaches to education and development, the results are compared to see, if possible, whether one or the other policy approach appeared relatively more effective.

As the data reveal, educational development did in fact occur between 1960-1978 in Pakistan. The data also reveal that both planning efforts in fact fell short of some of their stated goals while achieving and exceeding others. There are many reasons why educational planning in a given society may fall short of its goals. Factors which clearly

strongly influence outcomes in most societies, and which are typically more potent than recommendations of the educational commission in determining ultimate decisions, include the following at least.

1. Cultural_factors. Societies which have longstanding customs against inclinations to give formal education to females are likely to move slowly in changing this custom, even though a government objective may be clearly stated in this regard.
2. Economic_factors. The demands for scarce funds are typically clamorous in most societies and there are usually fewer funds to go around than are requested. A well-intended goal may be missed because of lack of resources to reach it.
3. Political_factors. Politics is the art of the possible. Clearly, it is often a lot easier to express and promise noble goals at the outset of a program than in practice it may prove to be possible to deliver by the end of a five-year plan.
4. Social_factors. Human groupings have a way of differentially distributing power among their memberships, and the more socially powerful groups typically possess and maintain economic and political advantage for themselves. The less

advantaged may be allowed to progress so long as the more advantaged do not become threatened.

The above factors obviously are present in their own peculiar form in Pakistan, and obviously these factors operated during 1960 to 1978. It is not, however, the purpose of this study to engage in cultural, economic, political, or social analysis, to try to explain in such terms, the varying educational development outcomes of CNE (1959) and EP (1972). No doubt each and all of these powerful factors did influence the outcomes.

But in a given society, such factors over relatively stable periods tend to operate with relatively constant degrees of influence and in relatively typical ways. What was different in Pakistan between 1960 and 1978 were the two policy approaches represented by CNE (1959) and EP (1972). The question here is did these policy differences make any discernible differences in the actual educational developments which occurred? And can they be explained in terms of the differences in the policy approach?

Using the above methods, and with the above limitations in mind, the next chapter sets forth the findings on educational development in Pakistan between 1960-1978.

CHAPTER IV

ASSESSMENT, COMPARISON AND ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT

There are four objectives in this chapter. First, to describe the role of various agencies which participated in the process of various levels of educational development. Second, to assess the developments in each policy period. Third, to compare the effectiveness of the two policies. Finally, the differences in achievements are analyzed and explained with regard to differences in the policy approaches.

Primary Education

The provision of universal primary education has been the central objective of all educational policies almost since the country was founded in 1947. Indeed, it is embedded in the very genesis of the Islamic ideology of the country that basic education be provided to all citizens.

Although, on the eve of independence, Pakistan was faced with colossal problems, administrative machinery was weak. Millions of refugees coming from India had to be settled down. The internal political situation was not stable. The inherited educational infrastructure was moribund. Financial resources were scarce. Qualified

teachers were in short supply. But in spite of these tremendous difficulties, the government of Pakistan paid immediate attention to this sector of national development. Within four years of the establishment of the country, the central government of Pakistan started looking forward to universalize primary education. Since as a past legal tradition, finances for primary education were shared by the central and provincial governments, both these agencies agreed to discharge their responsibilities. In 1951, at the time of preparing a first six-year educational development plan for the years 1952-1958, the provincial government of Sind, including centrally administered areas of Karachi, the government of East Bengal (which was renamed East Pakistan in 1956 and is now Bangladesh) decided to universalize primary education within ten years. The governments of Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP set a target for 20 years.¹ This plan was implemented in 1952, but it could not work and was officially dropped in 1953. Nevertheless, the aim of universal primary education remained as a cherished goal in the minds of the federal and provincial governments. In 1956, the Parliament of Pakistan approved the national constitution and accepted

¹Government of Pakistan, Six-Year National Plan of Educational Development for Pakistan (Education Division, Karachi: Government Printing Press, 1956), p. 369.

the provision of universal primary education as a constitutional obligation. The relevant article of the constitution states:

Article_28

The state shall endeavor to

- a. Promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the people of special areas, backward classes, and schedule costs,
- b. Remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory primary education within minimum possible period,
- c. Enable people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development and other methods to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the services of Pakistan . . .¹

Considering the problems involved in the universalization of primary education and elimination of illiteracy, these were essentially long-term goals to be achieved and the constitution carefully used the wording of "minimum possible period" instead of specifying an exact time period. However, the promulgation of the constitution and the preparation of the first five-year development plan (1955-1960) occurred simultaneously. The plan interpreted the constitutional directive of "within minimum possible period" in the following way:

The universalization of primary education is a major goal of national planning. Very great obstacles will have to be overcome in reaching this goal . . . clearly sometime will be required to train teachers, construct

¹Government of Pakistan, Constitutional Documents, Vol. 3, (Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, Karachi: Government Printing Press, 1964), p. 197.

buildings and develop financial resources that will be needed. Nevertheless, steady progress can and should be made and we have provided for this in the development plan. Looking beyond the present plan period, while no precise estimates can be made, we believe the country may reasonably hope to achieve a universal system of free and compulsory primary education in about 20 years.¹

The plan lagged behind schedule two years, went into operation in 1957, and supposedly remained under implementation until 1959. From 1955 to 1958, Pakistan passed through a series of internal political crises. There was no strong stable central government. Various political parties came into power, ruled for a while and left the office for a new party.² Therefore, implementation of the plan took place under the hands of bureaucratic machinery. The educational system expanded during the tenure of the first five year plan, but the accomplishments in the field of primary education were disappointing. Four thousand primary schools were proposed to be set up, but actual achievement was 2400, a failure of 40 percent. Thirty-five thousand teachers were proposed to be produced, but actual output was 8300, a failure of 73 percent. Enrollments could not increase substantially. At the end of the plan period, 36 percent of the children of

¹Government of Pakistan, The First Five Year Plan (1955-60) (Planning Board, Karachi: Government Printing Press, 1956), pp. 403-404.

²Karl Vorys, Political Developments in Pakistan, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.)

primary age group were enrolled in schools against the target of 52 percent.¹ In the background of this situation, the Commission on National Education (1959) started its work. In its recommendations, the commission reiterated:

We believe that the time has come for us to accept the implementation of universal compulsory education as a part of our national policy and for fixing a target date for this implementation, whatever be the difficulties and problems involved. We believe that our first goal should be to make eight years schooling compulsory within fifteen years.²

For the achievement of these objectives, the commission suggested that central government, provincial governments, local bodies, local communities and private groups should work together. Central government was to provide developmental expenditure. The recurring expenditure which included teacher's salary and other maintenance expenditures were to be borne by the provincial governments. The local communities and parents were asked to provide land and building for the schools. The commission encouraged the local bodies and private sector to assist the government in the expansion of primary education. The commission's recommendations were incorporated in the second and third five year plans for

¹Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan (1955-60) (Planning Commission, Karachi: Government Printing Press, 1965), pp. 403-404

²Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education (1959), pp. 171-172.

the periods 1960 to 1965 and from 1965 to 1970. It was envisaged that 1.2 million new children would be enrolled in the schools during 1960-1965. This would increase the participation rate from 36 percent existing in 1960 to 56 percent in 1965 and the addition of 2.5 million new children during 1965 to 1970 would increase the participation rate above 85 percent.

The complete planning program is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

PRIMARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IN PAKISTAN
1960 - 1970

	Benchmark 1960/61	Expected Increase 1960-65	Expected Increase 1965-70	Expected Achievment in 1970
Enrollments	1.89 mill (36%)*	1.20 mill (56%)	2.50 mill	5.59 mill (85%)
Schools	18,000	15,200	40,500	73,700
Teachers	44,800	35,000	100,000	179,800

Sources:

Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan
(1960-1965), pp. 341-342.

Government of Pakistan, Third Five Year Plan
(1965-1970), pp. 193-194.

*Figures in parentheses indicate enrollment ratios.

These targets were to be achieved with the joint efforts of central government, provincial government, local bodies, local communities and private sector as recommended by the commission.

Role of the Government

The central government of Pakistan promised to provide 78 million Rupees during the second five-year plan and 200 million Rupees during the third five-year plan. The provincial government proposed to increase 108 million rupees in recurring expenditures during the second five-year plan and a further increase of 315 million rupees during the third five-year plan. In addition, provincial governments had to deal with local bodies and the private sector. This dealing was a two-way business. The government was to provide grants-in-aid to less resourceful local bodies and private schools and, wherever possible, these institutions were to rely on tuition fees and other local resources. The review of planning commission documents indicates that the government expected 16 percent assistance in developmental expenditures from the private sector for the overall educational system, but nothing for the development of primary education.¹ This means that the government was conscious of her own responsibilities and did not intend to depend upon the assistance of the private sector. However, it is understood that legally the private sector could work and her contributions were always welcome. Government did expect that wherever possible, free land, school buildings and furniture would be

¹Government of Pakistan, "Private Expenditure on Education". Cited in The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65), p. 353.

available from local communities. Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c indicate the financial performance of the system during the second and third five year plans.

Table 3a (1)

DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
(in millions)

SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN
1960-1965

	Proposed Finance	Actual Utilization	Percentage Utilization
Primary education	78.0	19	24.35
Secondary education	96.4	95	100.00
Teacher education	17.4	18	100.00
College education	17.0	68	400.00
University education	47.5	59	125.00
Others	110.0	--	---
TOTAL	357.3	463	132.50

Sources: 1. Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan (1960-1965), pp. 353-354.

2. Government of Pakistan, The Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-1988), Tables B.8.1, B.8.2, pp. 549-550.

Table 3a (2)

THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN
1965-1970

	Proposed Finance	Actual Utilization	Percentage Utilization
Primary education	200.0	25	12.50
Secondary education	305.0	129	42.29
Teacher education	78.0	15	19.23
College education	45.0	65	142.20
University education	110.0	59	53.63

Sources: 1. Government of Pakistan, The Third Five Year Plan (1965-1970), pp. 214-215.

2. Government of Pakistan, The Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-1988), Tables B.8.1, B.8.2, pp. 540-550.

Table 3b

**PUBLIC RECURRING EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY
EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN (in millions)
1960-1970**

	Total Recurring Expenditure On Education	Recurring Expenditure on Primary Education	P.E. Share
1960-65	1139.9	473.7	41.55
1965-70	1794.4	801.9	44.68
TOTAL	2954.3	1274.6	43.14

Sources: Government of Pakistan, Education Statistics (1947-1979), (Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1979), pp. 8-9.

Table 3c presents government expenditure on primary education as a part of the national education budget that includes both development and recurring expenditures.

Table 3c

**BUDGET EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1960-1970 (in millions)**

Years	Total Education Budget	Primary Education Budget	Share of Primary Education as Percentage of Education Budget
1960-1965	1662.6	492.7	29.63
1965-1970	2594.5	826.9	31.86
TOTAL	4257.1	1319.6	30.99

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

These tables present a clear dichotomy among the recommendations of CNE (1959), and the role of the government of Pakistan in the implementation of education policy. These data appear to support the following generalizations:

1. Table 3a indicates that in the Second Five Year Plan (1960-1965), primary education was not given appropriate importance in the allocation of development funds. It was not top priority. It was seriously undersupported in the process of implementation. Only 24 percent of the allocated money was utilized, while in the case of secondary, college and university education, full funds were utilized and in some cases the level of utilization was more than allocated funds. For example, spendings on college education went up 400 percent and in the case of primary education, they were down 78 percent.
2. Table 3a (2) indicates that in the Third Five Year Plan (1965-1970), again primary education is the least supported in the process of implementation. Only 12.5 percent of allocated funds were utilized. The second undersupported sector was teacher education. In fact, teacher education is closely associated with primary education.

The shortage of trained teachers directly affects the development of primary education.

3. Table 3b, recurring expenditure, means teacher salaries and other maintenance expenditures. Primary education constitutes more than 85 percent of the total educational enterprise but its share in recurring expenditures is 43.14 percent. For further clarification of this point, it is pointed out that most of the primary schools were in the government sector. Excluding private secondary and college education, primary education constituted more than 90 percent of the education sector, but its share in recurring expenditures is only 43.35 percent. This point is further discussed in the following paragraph.

4. In the budget expenditure which constitutes combined recurring and development expenditure combined as shown in Table 3c, primary education does not appear to have been given due importance. In fact, the Second Five Year Plan promised to spend 56 percent of the education budget on primary education.¹ But actual spending barely exceeded

¹Adam Carle, Planning for Education in Pakistan, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 112.

30 percent. In most of the third world countries, more than 50 percent of the education budget is spent on primary education, but in the case of Pakistan, during the period 1960-1970, approximately 30.99 percent of the education budget was spent on primary education. It is clear that the central government of Pakistan and provincial government of West Pakistan were not able fully to heed the recommendations of CNE (1959).

Role of the Local Bodies

During the pre-partition times, the British officials created municipal administrations, primarily for the purpose of sanitation, roads, lighting and health. In the beginning, these municipalities had nothing to do with education and could not legally incur any expenditures for educational purposes. It was in the late 19th century that they were permitted to assign funds for education, but it was not obligatory on them to incur such expenditures nor was any minimum contribution to education prescribed by law. In 1882, two important events occurred. The first was the resolution on local self-government issued by the government of British India and the second was the Indian Education Commission of 1882. These two events influenced the educational development in several ways.¹

¹Madhuri R. Shah, "Local Authorities and Education." In S. N. Mukerjee (ed.), Administration of Education in India (Baroda, India: Acharya Book Depot, 1962), pp. 101-124.

1. In the urban areas, municipal committees were compelled by law to contribute to educational expenditures.
2. In rural areas, the income from local taxes came to form local funds. A local fund could be used for educational purposes. This fund was accumulated at the district level. District boards/committees made up of public representatives and government officials could make their own plans for the development of education in rural areas.
3. The Indian Education Commission also recommended that local bodies should be given an effective voice in the administration of primary schools.¹ From 1882 until the partition of United India, local bodies made a significant contribution for the expansion of primary education. In 1945, on all India basis, nearly half of the primary schools were managed by local bodies. Therefore, after the creation of Pakistan, local bodies continued to participate in the process of educational development. From 1947 to 1959, the major portion of primary education in Pakistan was in the control of district boards in rural areas and municipal committees/corporations in the urban areas. In

¹Government of India, Report of the Indian Education Commission (1882), pp. 586-587.

1960-1961, primary schools administered by local bodies constituted 52.28 percent of the total educational enterprise while 38.90 percent were managed by the government and the remaining 6.80 percent were in the private sector.¹ However, this proportion declined in the years ahead. In 1958, teachers working under local bodies demanded that their services be governmentalized.²

In Pakistan, people prefer to work for the government rather than for local bodies or private organizations. The government provides job security, good salaries, pensions and other fringe benefits.

In some parts of the country, local bodies did not have enough tax resources and thus were not financially strong. Therefore, they paid less wages to the teachers than the government rates. In some cases, local bodies under financial constraints could close down schools and terminate teacher services.

Moreover, the provincial department of education had its own problems with these schools. The role of the provincial department of education was limited to the

¹W. M. Zaki and M. Sarwar Khan, Pakistan Education Index (1970), (Islamabad: Central Bureau of Education, 1970), p. 34.

²Dawn E. Jones and Rodney W. Jones, "Nationalizing Education in Pakistan: Teachers' Association and the People's Party," in Pacific Affairs 4 (Winter, 1977-78) No. 4, pp. 581-603.

inspection and supervision of schools. All other powers of administration, management, teacher's appointments and promotions were in the control of local authorities. The District Deputy Commissioner was the chief administrator, while elected representatives of the people served as members on the management committee. The Commission on National Education did not like this dual administration and argued that this situation was causing internal inefficiency in the school system. The commission appreciated the services of local bodies and suggested that administrative procedures should be made simple and efficient by bringing the people, education department and local body administration together. It further recommended that teacher salaries be brought up to par with government scales.¹ The government did not pay heed to the commission's recommendation and administrative procedures were not simplified. Teachers' salaries were not enhanced according to government scales. The teachers again went on strike in 1962.

The government, disturbed with teacher's strikes, ignored the CNE (1959)'s suggestion and provincialized local bodies schools working in rural areas in 1962, but permitted the maintainance of schools in urban areas. The government succumbed to teachers' demands and made

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education, (1959). Pp. 184-185.

administrative and political decision rather than solving the problem on rational technical grounds as envisaged by CNE (1959).

Consequently, local body schools disappeared in rural areas but continued to work in urban areas. In 1966-1967, the share of these schools at the national level was as follows:

Government schools	93 %
Local bodies schools	3 %
Private schools	4 %
TOTAL	100 %

Source: Compiled from Zaki and Khan, Pakistan Education Index, 1970, p. 34.

However, in urban areas, they constituted a significant share. Table 4 presents the share of local body schools in urban areas.

Table 4

LOCAL BODY PRIMARY SCHOOL IN SELECTED CITIES OF PAKISTAN
1967 (%)

	Local Body Schools	Government Schools	Private Sector	Total
Rawalpindi	39.65	23.41	36.93	100
Lahore	28.28	29.20	42.51	100
Hyderabad	33.33	35.68	30.98	100

Source: Institute of Education and Research, Statistical Profile of Education in West Pakistan, (Planning Commission, Research Study No. 14, Islamabad, Pakistan, 1967), pp. 11-12.

This discussion leads to two conclusions:

1. Local bodies have the potential to help in the development of primary education as they did from 1947 to 1961,
2. Government did not follow the CNE (1959) recommendations and by making the administrative decisions, it did make a tendency to cripple the functioning of local bodies.

The Role of the Private Sector

In pre-partition days, religious bodies, welfare organizations, and philanthropic people took great interest in providing educational facilities to the masses. In the pre-partition days, these agencies came forward in a reaction to secular education provided by the British administration. In 1921, the government of British India decided to decentralize civil administration in the country. One aspect of this decentralization was that provinces were made responsible for providing education and other social services but they could not levy taxes. Therefore, provincial governments could not supply education according to demand. As a result of this imbalance in supply and demand, private organizations, either on a philanthropic basis or with commercial motives, established schools.

Moreover, in the 1920s and 1930s, the concept of separate Muslim and Hindu nationalism developed in Indian

politics. One of the consequences of this change was that both communities took an interest in the establishment of private schools. These are the main reasons that before 1947, the larger number of primary schools were in the private sector, while government owned a very small share.¹

Table 5 presents the distribution of educational institutions in United India.

Table 5

DISTRIBUTION OF MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
IN UNITED INDIA, 1945-1946 (%)

	Private Sector	Local Bodies	Government
Primary Schools	42.64	53.23	4.50
Middle Schools	47.09	50.24	2.65
High Schools	82.73	8.09	9.18

Compiled from S. M. Qureshi, "Private Agencies in Education." In S. N. Mukerji (ed.), Administration of Education in India, (Baroda, India: Acharya Book Depot, 1962), p. 169.

Note: These statistics are on all-India basis for the years 1945/46. Geographical changes, as a result of the partition of the subcontinent, make it impossible to present figures for the areas now under the effective control of Pakistan. However, these statistics do indicate a general trend prevalent in pre-partition India.

These figures indicate that in the pre-partition times 42.64 percent of the total primary schools were in the

¹M. A. Qureshi, "Private Agencies in Education." In S. N. Mukerji (ed.). Administration of Education in India, (Baroda, India: Acharya Book Depot, 1962), pp. 125-140.

private sector. The share of private middle schools and high schools is greater. This tradition did not continue after the creation of Pakistan. The private sector did exist, but it shifted its activities towards higher education. Table 6 presents the contribution of the private sector in the development of primary education in Pakistan.

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
IN PAKISTAN, 1967-1968

	Private <u>Sector</u>	Local <u>Bodies</u>	Government <u>Schools</u>
Primary Schools	4 %	2.79%	93.18%
Middle Schools	10.30	2.08	87.60
High Schools	39.65	25.64	34.71
Colleges	50.78	6.20	43.62

Source: Zaki and Khan, Pakistan Education Index, 1970, Tables 1.4, 1.8, 1.12, 2.3

Figures before partition and after partition differ on priorities. During pre-partition days, the private sector played a significant role in the development of primary education, but after partition it shifted its emphasis to higher education. The possible reasons for this change in priority could be that from a commercial point of view, primary education is not a profitable enterprise. Since government schools charged very small tuition fees, parents preferred to send their children to government schools or

local body schools. Especially the rural population which is comparatively poor cannot afford education unless it is subsidized by the government.

Nevertheless, the private sector significantly contributed to the development of primary education in urban areas. Table 7 indicates that in big cities like Karachi, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Hyderabad, more than one-third of the primary schools were maintained by the private sector.

Table 7

PRIVATE PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN SELECTED CITIES
OF PAKISTAN, 1967 (%)

	Government	Local Bodies	Private Sector
Rawalpindi	23.41	39.65	36.93
Lahore	29.20	28.28	42.51
Hyderabad	35.68	33.33	30.98

Source: Institute of Education and Research,
Statistical Profile of Education in West Pakistan, p. 12.

This means that the private sector flourished in big cities where people could afford and school could collect tuition fees. CNE (1959) urged the government to give grants-in-aid to private primary schools, but there is no evidence that government ever aided private primary schools. In this way, one major previous source for the development of primary education was curtailed because of the ways in which government policies were implemented.

The CNE (1959)'s recommendations remained in force until 1970. Table 8 presents the growth of primary education in Pakistan between 1960-1970.

Table 8
GROWTH OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1960-1970

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1960/61	20,909	2,060,000	50,000
1961/62	24,930	2,270,000	54,800
1962/63	28,338	2,490,000	63,000
1963/64	30,950	2,750,000	69,800
1964/65	32,589	3,050,000	75,900
1965/66	32,930	3,160,000	74,900
1966/67	34,678	3,380,000	80,000
1967/68	36,453	3,750,000	83,600
1968/69	38,870	3,830,000	88,000
1969/70	41,290	3,910,000	92,000
1970/71	43,710	3,960,000	96,300

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics, (1947-1979), Tables 1-3, pp. 2-7.

These tables show that institutions increased at the rate of 7.75 percent per year. An average of 2,280 new schools were opened each year. Enrollment increased at the rate of 6.82 percent per year. An average of 190,000 additional children enrolled each year. Number of teachers increased 6.72 percent per year. Student-teacher ratio remained approximately 1:40 as an average throughout this period. This development is far less than recommended by CNE (1959) and planned and projected in the Second and Third Five Year Plans. According to the Planning

Commission, the enrollment ratios should have been close to 85 percent but actual achievement is 45 percent. This short fall of targets is a measure of the extent to which the recommendations of CNE (1959) were not strictly implemented.

Distribution of Primary Education

Equal distribution of state-sponsored social facilities including education has been another objective of the government of Pakistan.

The National Constitution gives clear directions to the state that special peoples and backward areas should be not only treated equally, but should be treated affirmatively and fairly. This means that the government should bring backward people up to par with the advanced sections of society by taking special measures.

The CNE (1959) accepted this constitutional directive and stated that as a matter of policy, education is a part of the concept of social justice. Its fruits and benefits should be provided equally to men/women, between provinces and regions, and between rural and urban people.

Girls Education

Historically, the education of girls has been ignored in Pakistan. The reasons lay with the facts that, firstly, in the pre-partition days, the educational system was male dominated. And secondly, the social atmosphere was not

conducive for women's education. But with the attainment of independence, the education of girls became a fundamental objective in the domain of all educational policies. CNE (1959) strongly recommended that educational facilities for girls be in every respect equal to those provided to boys. It further suggested that basic grades of primary teaching both in boy's and girl's schools be assigned to women teachers.

The second five-year plan promised to provide greater opportunities to girls in primary education. The third five-year plan devoted a whole section on female education. This plan recommended that primary education should be absolutely free for girls. In addition, the plan appealed to the intellectuals to create awareness about the importance of girl's education in society, to women's organizations to cooperate with the government, and to women to come forward and work as teachers in the primary schools.

The growth of female educational during 1960-1970 is presented in Table 9.

Table 9

GROWTH OF FEMALE PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN,
1960 - 1970

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1960/61	4,057	43,000	10,000
1961/62	5,350	48,000	11,100
1962/63	6,715	53,000	13,300
1963/64	7,416	57,000	14,600
1964/65	8,021	70,000	16,700
1965/66	8,272	75,000	17,400
1966/67	8,535	79,000	18,300
1967/68	9,324	99,000	20,300
1968/69	10,250	101,000	22,500
1969/70	11,170	103,000	25,000
1970/71	12,097	104,000	27,200

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), Tables 1-3.

This table indicates that female's rate of growth was 12.83 percent. 804 new schools opened each year. Enrollments increased 9.53 percent per year. 61,000 girls enrolled each year. Teachers increased 10.90 percent per year. Overall increase was 1,720 teachers per year.

It is evident that, to some extent, disparities reduced in the provision of education to boys and girls. The annual rate of increase was higher for girl's education as compared to national norms. But on the basis of data, it cannot be generalized that significant changes occurred in CNE's tenure of implementation. There are only marginal differences in growth rates between boys and girls. These

differences could also be attributed to the possibility that parents might have taken more interest in the education of their daughters or demography might have pressured on more enrollments. There were still disparities in enrollment ratios as is presented in Table 10.

Table 10

SEX SPECIFIC ENROLLMENT RATIO FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN, 1970-71

Male	60.6%
Female	22.8
Both	42.4

Source: Musharaf Ali et al., Sector Assessment of Education in Pakistan, (Islamabad: Ministry of Education, 1974), p. 50.

Thus it is obvious that CNE (1959) could not reduce altogether the disparities between boys and girls.

Provincial Distribution

Since independence, the provinces have undergone various changes in terms of their administrative control. From 1947 to 1955, all provinces had their own political and administrative structures. In 1956, all the provinces in the western part of the country were merged into one province named West Pakistan. The eastern wing of the country was given the name of East Pakistan. Both the provinces had their own governors, council of ministers, legislature, and a separate ministry of education. In order to run the administration effectively, the department of education was divided into five regional directorates of

education. The ex-Baluchistan province was assigned to the directorate of education, Quetta, and the ex-Northwest Frontier Province was in the control of the directorate of education, Peshawar. While Punjab province, being much larger in population, was divided into two regional directorates of Lahore and Rawalpindi. Similarly, Sind was divided into two regional directorates of Karachi and Hyderabad. West Pakistan continued to exist and operate until 1969 when it was dismembered and all the provinces were reinstated to their original status. For the purpose of this study, these changes do not matter significantly since in terms of educational planning, the area under the influence of regions or provinces is almost the same with some very minor changes. Therefore in this study, the distribution of primary education facilities are discussed under the title of provinces.

Primary school enrollment ratios at the end of CNE (1959) period of enactment are presented in Table 11.

Table 11

PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIOS IN PROVINCES
AND PAKISTAN, 1971-1972 (in thousands)

Province	Population	Enrollment	Enrollment Ratio
Punjab	6,096	2,695.0	44.2
Sind	2,289	910.1	39.8
NWFP	1,377	672.4	48.8
Baluchistan	397	87.2	22.0
Pakistan	10,159	4,364.7	46.0

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1972), Table 16.

These statistics indicate that three provinces, Punjab, Sind and NWFP are close to national norms and Baluchistan was lagging behind. However, population density in Baluchistan is much less than the other provinces. This factor might have impeded development but even then the differences were much less than equitable.

Summary of Primary Education Development During CNE (1959

Primary education did develop to some extent during the CNE (1959) period to 1970. It is clear, however, that the efforts did not succeed at primary level as CNE (1959) had envisioned. The policy approach entailed support from local and private sectors but during the period this form of support shifted away from primary schooling toward higher levels or away from rural toward urban schooling. CNE (1959) was also able to achieve only a modest reapportioning of schooling between boys and girls. The next section of this study looks at EP (1972) outcomes with respect to these same categories.

Education Policy (1972) and the Development of Primary Education

In 1972, some of the problems in primary education were:

1. In the past, national development plans had not succeeded in giving high enough priority to primary education,

2. Only 45 percent of the children in the primary age group were enrolled. This means 55 percent of the children were out of the schools,
3. Educational opportunities were not equally available throughout the country. Remote areas such as Baluchistan had limited educational facilities and lower proportion of girls were enrolled.

Education Policy was formulated in March, 1972. Some of the salient features of this policy regarding primary education were:

1. Making education free up to the high school level. The main objective of this decision was to make education accessible for all.
2. Nationalization of all educational institutions, excluding those managed by non-Muslim, non-Pakistani nationals.
3. Provision of free books, writing materials and, in some cases, free uniforms to poor students.
4. Automatic promotion up to the ninth grade.
5. Improvement in teacher's salaries and service conditions.
6. Increased participation of female teachers at the primary school level.
7. Introduction of a double shift system wherever possible.

Table 12 presents the targets set for the achievement of universal primary education.

Table 12

PRIMARY EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IN PAKISTAN
1972-1980

	Enrollments In_1972	Percentage of Age_Group	Proposed Enrollments in_1980	Percentage Of_Age_Group
Boys	3.5 mill	70%	5.8 mill	100%
Girls	1.1	25	3.8	70
TOTAL	4.6	45	9.6	85

Source: Government of Pakistan, Education Policy (1972-80), p. 5.

This policy was put into operation for the period 1972-1978.

Since funding was to be the exclusive responsibility of the government, therefore it promised to substantially increase the funds for primary education. During this period, which constitutes 1970-1978, the government's allocation increased to 444 million for the development of primary education. This amount was 12.89 percent of the total education development budget. The complete budget is presented in Table 13.

Table 13

**EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1970-1978 (in millions)**

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Primary Education</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Education Development Expenditure	3442	444	12.89
Recurring Expenditure	10146.3	4107.3	40.48
TOTAL	13588.3	4551.3	33.49

Source: Government of Pakistan, Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

The development of education that took place is presented in Table 14.

Table 14

**GROWTH OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1970-1978**

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Enrollment Ratio</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1970/71	43,710	3,960,000	45%	
1971/72	45,854	4,210,000		105,700
1972/73	49,580	4,460,000		108,800
1973/74	50,574	4,810,000		115,700
1974/75	51,744	4,980,000		125,500
1975/76	52,800	5,240,000		130,300
1976/77	53,162	5,530,000		133,300
1977/78	53,853	6,050,000	54%	135,300

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics, pp. 2-7.

Table 14 indicates that institutions increased at the rate of 3 percent per year. Enrollment increased at the rate of 6.25 percent per year. Teachers increased at the

rate of 5.10 percent per year. Students-teacher ratio is approximately 1:40. 1,450 new schools opened each year. Average annual increase was 298,571 students per year. The policy had proposed that by 1979, 85 percent students would be enrolled in primary schools but actual enrollment ratios in 1977-78 were 54 percent. Enrollment ratios were 73 and 33 percent for boys and girls. This means the government failed to provide universal primary education as it promised.

Distribution of Educational Facilities

The education policy, EP (1972), stressed the distribution of educational facilities among boys and girls and among various provinces of the country. The picture of growth in primary education in various provinces and among sexes is presented in Table 15.

Table 15

PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIO, PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES 1977-1978

<u>Province</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Punjab	71%	39%	56%
Sind	80	35	59
Baluchistan	50	11	32
NWFP	84	18	52
Federal Territories	50	7	34
Pakistan	73	33	54

Source: M. L. Qureshi, "Universalization of Primary Education in Pakistan: Pilot Primary Project," Pakistan Education Review 11, (1980) No. 5, p. 93.

The table indicates that there were still disparities among sexes. For example, at the national level, participation rate for boys was 73 percent while in case of females, it was 33 percent. In case of regions, NWFP is on the top and Baluchistan and the Federal Territories are lagging behind and far below the national levels.

Summary of Primary Education Development, 1972-1978

1. Government failed to provide universal primary education as it promised. The enrollment ratios were 54 percent only.
2. Government spent 12.89 percent of the total education development budget on primary education. The recurring expenditures included 40.48 percent of the budget for education. Development expenditures and recurring expenditures combined were approximately 33.49 percent of the national education budget.
3. There were still disparities among sexes and provinces. At national level the enrollment ratio among boys and girls were 73 and 33 respectively. In the case of the provinces, Sind had enrollment ratios of 59 percent, Punjab 56 percent, NWFP 52 percent and Baluchistan 32 percent against the nationwide enrollment ratios of 54 percent.

Comparison of Effectiveness of Two Policies

This comparison is made at two levels:

1. Expenditure level. This level constitutes comparison of development expenditures, recurring expenditures and then combined expenditures. Table 16a, b, c presents the comparison of expenditures in both policy periods.

Table 16a

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURES ON PRIMARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN DURING CNE (1959), AND EP (1972)

Development Expenditure in Millions

	<u>Expenditure on Education</u>	<u>Expenditure on Primary Education</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	1026	44	4.28
EP (1972) 1970-1978	3442	444	12.89

Table 16b

Recurring Expenditure (in millions)

	<u>Expenditure on Education</u>	<u>Expenditure on Primary Education</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	2930.3	1190.6	40.63
EP (1972) 1970-1978	10146.3	4107.3	40.48

Table 16c

Combined Tables 16a and 16b

Budget Expenditure on Primary Education (in millions)

	<u>Education Budget</u>	<u>Budget for Primary Education</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	3956.3	1234.6	31.29
EP (1972) 1970-1978	13588.3	4551.3	33.49

The only apparent difference in the two policy periods with respect to financial support is a difference in development expenditures. The difference in development expenditure could be attributed to the difference in policy approach. The Commission on National Education recommended the participation of local communities, local bodies, and private sector in the development of primary education. These agencies supported the government in providing development-oriented commodities such as land, building and furniture. This assistance helped the government to keep development expenditure low. In second policy period, government was to buy land, build buildings and provide furniture for the schools. In addition, the government promised to provide free writing material and textbooks to students. This was an additional burden on federal government. Because of these reasons, development expenditure went up.

Though the expenditure went up, it produced no clearly positive results in increasing the rates of expansion of education, as is shown in Table 17.

Table 17

COMPARISON OF GROWTH RATES OF PRIMARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	7.75%	6.58%	6.72%
EP (1972) 1970-1978	3.00	6.25	5.10

This table shows that in spite of spending more money on development expenditure, the growth rate in the number of institutions did not increase during EP (1972) but in fact decreased from 7.75 percent to 3 percent.

As the above Table 17 shows that there is a decrease in growth rates of institutions but growth rates in enrollments are approximately the same in both policy periods. There could be two reasons for these differences.

1. Education Policy (1972) recommended the double shift system in primary schools. Therefore, the best utilization of available schools might have resulted in keeping the enrollment ratios high without increasing school buildings.
2. EP (1972) promised to abolish tuition fees, provide free textbooks and writing material, and automatic

promotion in primary schools. These factors could have helped in maintaining enrollment increase ratios.

Distribution_Level

Table 18 compares the enrollment ratios in various provinces of Pakistan at the terminal year of each policy period.

Table 18

COMPARISON OF PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATIOS IN PROVINCES AND PAKISTAN

	1970/71	1977/78
Baluchistan	22%	32%
NWFP	48	52
Punjab	44	56
Sind	39	59
Pakistan	46	54

Explanation: This table does not lead to any generalization. Probably Sind and Punjab benefited most from double shift system and free tuition fees. However, the relative disparities in both policy periods appear to remain essentially unchanged.

Summary_of_Primary_Education_Developments

The above tables display the effects of each policy planning period on primary education between 1960-1978. The next section discusses developments at the secondary level.

Secondary_Education

Introduction

Secondary education in Pakistan comprises three stages; middle school stage from classes VI to VIII, high school stage consisting of classes IX to X; and intermediate or higher secondary stage comprising classes XI and XII. Instructions in classes VI to VIII are provided in middle schools and high school building while classes IX and X are held exclusively in high school building. Intermediate or higher secondary education is provided in intermediate or degree colleges. Therefore, this stage is discussed under the section College_Education. The present discussion concentrates on middle and high school stages. However, secondary education in Pakistan compositely forms class VI to VIII, IX to X and XI to XII. Historically, these three stages have also maintained a separate identity. Middle school education is a stage that comes next to primary education. High school stage is a type of education that produces the bulk of trained or informed citizens needed in various walks of life. Most of the students after completing this stage go directly to primary teachers' training schools, technical training centers, business, industry, agriculture and government. Intermediate or higher secondary education is a kind of education that prepares students for advanced education in professional fields and universities.

Therefore, secondary education in Pakistan serves three purposes: (a) it receives and accommodates children coming from primary schools; (b) serves as a terminal stage after which students join different activities in the society and (c) finally it may serve as a stepping stone for higher education.

These three different conceptions about the functions of secondary education, during various periods in history, affected the process of planning and patterns of growth of various stages. During British periods, secondary education was geared towards higher education. This conception led to more emphasis on high school and intermediate education and neglected middle school education. After independence, the repatriation of Hindus and British to India and England created a vacuum in white collar jobs. This factor further created a demand for high school and intermediate education leading to higher education. During the first eight years of independence (1947-1955), high school and intermediate education expanded enormously. High schools increased from 408 to 747, arts and science colleges from 40 to 77 while middle schools decreased from 2,190 in 1947/48 to 1,517 in 1955.¹ The First Five Year Plan (1955-1960) criticized this situation.

1

Government of Pakistan, Education Statistics
(1947/48-1972/73), Table 1.

There has been unbalanced growth of secondary education after independence. The activities of private religious organizations and local bodies have been concentrated in urban areas. As a result high schools are not distributed geographically, with rural areas being largely neglected. The disproportionately small number of girls must be attributed in some measures to the same cause.

The plan suggested to make primary education a base for the entire structure of secondary and higher education. It proposed a balanced development of primary, middle, high school, intermediate and higher education. The purpose was to give an appropriate place to middle school education in the domain of secondary education.

It has been mentioned elsewhere that the First Five Year Plan was never vigorously implemented. But the achievements in the field of secondary education were more than were planned. Many factors contributed towards this development. Government's inability to provide satisfactory and sufficient education encouraged the private sector. A variety of education became available in the market. For the elites, there were English medium public schools, and for the common people, there were ordinary schools running on commercial and/or philanthropic bases.² Consequently, a large number of schools mushroomed without adequate preparations. In 1958, 707

1

Government of Pakistan, The First Five Year Plan (1955-1960), p. 408.

2

Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan (1960-1965), pp. 341-343.

schools in the Lahore region were surveyed to assess the quality of their staff. The data received from 629 schools showed that 19 had no graduate teacher on their staff, 177 had only one trained graduate teacher each, and 129 had two graduate teachers each. Very few of these schools had science teachers while science was being taught in high schools.¹

CNE (1959) and its Program of Secondary Education Development

In a preliminary analysis of secondary education existing in 1959/60, the commission noted:

There is no doubt that as a consequence of unplanned expansion without adequate funds, the system of secondary education has virtually collapsed. Overcrowded classes, teachers without adequate qualifications, inadequate materials and unsatisfactory buildings . . . these are the things that characterize our present secondary education.

In order to remedy the deficiencies and rebuild the system, the commission drew up a scheme. The proposed scheme consisted of the following suggestions:

1. Privately operated schools should be registered with government and required to provide adequate facilities in the way of teachers, buildings and equipment.

1

Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education, p. 129.

2

Ibid., p. 137

2. Boards of intermediate and secondary education should rigidly follow and enforce the rules for the recognition of private schools.
3. The existing substandard schools should be rehabilitated. Government, local bodies and private agencies should undertake a program of rehabilitation.
4. Access to secondary education should be equalized.
5. Increased emphasis should be placed on scientific¹ and technical subject.

Following the report of CNE (1959), the Planning Commission of Pakistan figured out a program of development which was incorporated in the Second and Third Five Year Plans.

Second Five Year Plan, 1960-1965

1. Improvement of existing secondary schools by bringing their accommodation equipment, libraries, and instruction up to a reasonable standard.
2. Encouragement should be given to the development of secondary schools of the residential type.
3. Upgrading of 600 primary schools to middle schools, 103 middle schools to high schools, and establishment of 160 new high schools.

1

Ibid., pp. 139-143.

4. Enrollment of 230,000 new students in middle and¹
high schools.

Third Five Year Plan (1965-1970)

1. Upgrading of 2,000 primary schools to middle schools and 100 middle schools to high schools.
2. Establishment of 100 new high schools, 50 in the private sector and 50 in the government sector.
3. Establishment of 40 new high schools.²

According to CNE (1959)'s recommendations, the federal government, provincial government, local bodies and private agencies were to cooperate for the achievement of the objectives outlined in the Second and Third Five Year Plans. Federal government was to provide development expenditures, and provincial government was to provide recurring expenditures. Local bodies and private institutions were to rely on their own resources and in case of financial constraints, the provincial government was to provide them grants-in-aid.

The financial performance of the system during 1960-1970 is presented in Tables 19a, b, and c.

1
Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65), pp. 195-198.

2
Government of Pakistan, The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70), pp. 342-343.

Table 19a

PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION
1960-1970 (in millions)

	Development Budget	Budget for Secondary Education	Percentage of the Budget
1960-65	463	95	20.5 %
1965-70	563	129	22.91
TOTAL	1,026	224	21.83

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

Table 19b

PUBLIC RECURRING EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN (in millions)

	Total Education Budget	Secondary Education	Percentage of the Budget
1960-65	1,135.9	197.5	17.38
1965-70	1,794.4	339.6	18.92
TOTAL	2,930.3	537.1	18.32

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

Table 19c

BUDGET EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN (in millions)

	Total Education Budget	Allocation for Secondary Education	Percentage of the Budget
1960-70	2,956.3	761.1	19.34

These expenditures include grants to local bodies and private schools. The government of Pakistan never granted development funds to local bodies or private schools. However, provincial government out of recurring expenditures granted approximately 10 to 15 percent of the recurring budget to non-government schools.¹

CNE (1959) and Development of Secondary Education Middle School Stage

In 1947, there were approximately 2,190 middle schools in the country with total enrollment of 221,000 students. From 1947 to 1955, the number of middle schools decreased to 1,517. The First Five Year Plan suggested that within the domain of secondary education, middle school education be given top priority and provided throughout the country. From 1955 to 1960, the number of middle schools slightly increased to 1,974 but the schools were still less than the inherited stock of 2,190 in 1947. The Commission on National Education suggested that middle schools should be adequately increased so that they could accommodate the children coming from primary schools. The Second Five Year Plan recommended the upgrading of 600 primary schools into middle schools and improvement of 200 existing middle

1

Charles Benson, Finance of Education: Training and Related Services in the Public Sector (Planning Commission, Research Study No. 3) (Karachi: Government Printing Press, 1970), pp. 12-13.

schools. During the plan period approximately 625 new middle schools were established against the target of 600.

The Third Five Year Plan proposed the upgrading of 2,000 primary schools into middle schools. However, this plan could not produce significant results and 851 primary schools were upgraded against the target of 2,000.

Table 20a

GROWTH OF MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1960/61-1970/71

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1960/61	1,798	449,000	14,400
1961/62	2,011	461,000	16,700
1962/63	2,237	491,000	18,700
1963/64	2,379	576,000	19,600
1964/65	2,701	624,000	22,100
1965/66	2,785	689,000	23,100
1966/67	2,970	763,000	25,200
1967/68	3,018	793,000	26,100
1968/69	3,290	846,000	28,800
1969/70	3,560	899,000	31,500
1970/71	3,822	933,000	34,200

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 1-6.

Table 20 shows that average annual growth rate in institutions was 7.20 percent per year. Two hundred and two new schools opened per year. Enrollments increased 6.98 percent per year. In absolute figures, 48,400 new students enrolled each year. Teachers increased 6.20 percent per year. In absolute figures, 1,980 new teachers were hired each year.

High School Education

In 1947, there were 408 high schools in the country. Within 13 years of independence, their number increased three times. In 1960/61, there were 1,172 high schools in the country. The Commission on National Education noted that this rapid multiplication in numbers has taken place at the cost of quality. The commission suggested that, in terms of quality, secondary education was moribund and it should be saved from collapsing. The Second Five Year Plan proposed the rehabilitation of the existing schools and moderate expansion as its central objectives. In terms of quantity, the plan proposed the establishment of 263 new high schools throughout the entire period of five years. During the plan period, 600 schools were improved and 450 new high schools opened against the target of 263. The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) proposed further addition of 240 high schools. Forty schools were supposed to serve as comprehensive and pilot and the remaining 200 as general high schools. During this period 375 new schools were established against the target of 240.

Table 20b presents the growth of high school education from 1960 to 1970.

Table 20b

GROWTH OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN,
1960-1970

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1960/61	1,172	160,000	20,000
1961/62	1,300	161,000	21,500
1962/63	1,349	209,000	23,000
1963/64	1,459	217,000	25,000
1965/66	1,658	244,000	28,400
1966/67	1,776	273,000	31,600
1967/68	1,827	275,000	33,400
1968/69	1,910	296,000	34,500
1969/70	1,995	337,000	35,500
1970/71	2,063	339,000	36,400

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 1-7.

Table 20b shows that average growth rates in educational institutions is 5.81 percent per year. Eighty-nine high schools opened per year. Average annual increase in enrollment was 8.08 percent per year. 17,800 students enrolled each year. Average annual growth rate in teachers was 6.61 percent per year. 1,640 teachers were hired per year.

This development of secondary education was assessed by the private sector and local authorities. In the following pages, the role of each agency is described separately.

Role of the Private Sector

There were four types of private educational institutions working in the country.

Private_Public_Schools. During the British period, the government created public schools for the education of the children of elite groups. The chief college, Lahore, and some public schools in Murree, Islamabad belonged to this category. Most of these schools were wholly or substantially financed by the government. These schools offered a superior standard of education but were inaccessible to the poor of society. The existence of these schools, their admission policies and academic programs were criticized from time to time by students, unions and the private public at large. The government spent much more money on these institutions than on other typical schools. In 1967, the Commission on Student's Problems criticized their existence as unconstitutional because they were violating the concept of equality of citizens. Therefore, the Education Policy of 1972 said:

These institutions have played their part well in the social order which created them. It is unthinkable to permit such institutions where access to knowledge and culture depended on any consideration other than merit.

Unaided_Schools. These institutions did not get any financial assistance from the government. These were managed either by welfare organizations and trusts or by well-to-do classes or communities. They depended on their

1

Government of Pakistan, Education_Policy
(1972-1978), p. 4.

own financial resources and charged tuition fees. These schools were managed by individuals or organizations. Mostly their source of income was tuition fees from students. These institutions were mostly located in big cities. Their standard of education, quality of staff, and other educational facilities remained always of good standard.

Islamic_Madrassah. These are the traditional Islamic institutions, having their own admission policies, curriculum and administrative setup. Here education is free. Their main source of income is charity and assistance provided by the people. These institutions are concentrated in rural areas and they are not counted in the educational statistics.

Missionary_Schools. These are English medium schools run by Pakistanis and foreign Christian missionaries. Included in this category were international schools.

All these above-mentioned schools except Islamic schools and international schools, in the department of education's account were classed as private schools. They helped in the development of the country's educational system and their contributions are presented in Table 21.

Table 21

DISTRIBUTION OF MANAGEMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN, 1967

	Private Schools	Local Body Schools	Government Schools	Total
Middle Schools	306	62	2,602	2,970
High Schools	706	414	644	1,764

Source: Zaki and Khan, Pakistan Education Index,
pp. 38-42.

These figures indicate that private middle schools constituted 10.30 percent of the total schools and high schools constituted 40 percent of the total schools.

Table 22 presents the location of private schools in various cities of Pakistan. Middle schools were scattered throughout the country. High schools tend to concentrate in big cities.

Table 22

LOCATION OF PRIVATE MANAGED HIGH SCHOOLS
IN PAKISTAN, 1967

<u>Regions</u>	<u>Total High School</u>	<u>Private School</u>	<u>Percentage of Private Schools</u>
Lahore	541	230	42.51%
Rawalpindi	444	164	40
Hyderabad	255	79	31
Karachi	263	193	73.38
Quetta	50	11	22
Pakistan	1,764	706	40.02

Source: Pakistan Education Index, pp. 38-42.

It is clear that the share of private high schools in Lahore was 42.51 percent, Rawalpindi 40 percent, Hyderabad 31 percent, Karachi 73.38 percent and Quetta 22 percent. The interior regions of the country, particularly rural areas, did not have private schools.

Role of the Local Bodies

The Commission on National Education recommended that local bodies should participate in the process of educational development in the country. These authorities could charge tuition fees, could levy special tax for education and could spend money from their general funds. In some cases, they were entitled for grants-in-aid from the government. However, they were required to provide adequate educational facilities with equality of opportunity among men and women and by establishing schools at suitable geographical places. The share of local bodies is presented in Table 23.

Table 23

LOCAL BODIES SCHOOLS IN PAKISTAN (1967)

	Total School	Local Body School	Percentage
Middle School	2,970	62	2.08
High School	1,764	414	23.46

Source: Zaki and Khan, Pakistan Education Index (1970), Tables 1.8, 1.12, pp. 38, 42.

It is clear from the above statistics that local bodies maintained a small number of middle schools but their share in high schools is 23.46 percent. These schools were mostly in medium level towns of Punjab and Sind province.

Distribution of Secondary Education

Fair distribution of secondary education has been another important objective of CNE (1959). Tables 24a and b present the population, enrollments and enrollment ratios among various provinces and sexes in Pakistan.

Table 24a

ENROLLMENT RATIOS AT SECONDARY LEVEL IN PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1970 (in thousands)

Age Group			
<u>10-12</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Enrollment Ratios</u>
Baluchistan	137	16.8	12.26%
NWFP	484	137.2	28.4
Punjab	2,167	656.8	30.3
Sind	830	185.1	22.3
Pakistan	3,618	995.9	27.52
<u>13-14</u>			
Baluchistan	91	5.7	6.2
NWFP	323	43.2	13.4
Punjab	1,453	275.3	18.9
Sind	557	82.0	14.7
Pakistan	2,424	406.2	16.8

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947/48-1972/73), Table 16.

Table 24b

ENROLLMENT RATIOS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN
SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF PAKISTAN

	Boys	Girls	Total
Middle School Stage	40.9%	11.7%	27.50%
High School Stage	25.0	6.8	16.8

Source: Compiled from Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1972), Table 16.

Tables 24a and b show that in the case of middle schools there were still disparities among provinces and sexes. At the national level, the enrollment ratio was 27.52 percent, but Sind and Baluchistan were far behind. In the case of sexes, boys represented 40.4 percent and girls represented only 11.7 percent. Similarly, in the case of high schools, at the national level, the enrollment ratio was 16.8 percent but Baluchistan represented 6.2 percent only. Here Sind is close to the national norm. In the case of sexes, boys represented 25 percent and girls represented only 6.8 percent only.

CNE (1959) and Summary of Secondary Education Developments

1. Middle schools. Average annual enrollment growth rate was 7.20 percent per year. Two hundred and two new schools opened each year.

2. Enrollments increased 6.98 percent per year. In absolute figures, 48,400 new students enrolled each year.
3. Teachers increased 8.27 percent per year. In absolute figures, 1,980 new teachers were appointed each year.
4. Educational facilities were unevenly distributed. Disparities persisted among provinces as well as between boys and girls.
5. High_schools. Average annual growth rate is 5.47 percent per year. Ninety schools opened per year.
6. Average annual increase in enrollments was 6.96 percent per year. In absolute figures, 17,600 new students enrolled each year.
7. Average annual growth rate in teachers was 6.641 percent per year. One hundred sixty-four teachers were hired each year.
8. Geographical distribution of schools did not improve. There was a disparity in enrollment ratios among various provinces and between sexes.

Education_Policy_(1972)_and_Development_of_Secondary Education

The main principles of the second policy period are described in the second chapter. The salient features regarding secondary education were:

1. All private and local bodies schools were taken over by the government. On 1 October 1974, secondary education came under the complete control of the government.
2. Education became free until Grade X and all forms of tuition fees were abolished.
3. Annual examinations from Grades I to IX were also replaced with automatic promotion.

According to EP (1972), the government was responsible for providing all kinds of expenditures. The financial performance of the system is presented in Table 25.

Table 25

FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEM
IN PAKISTAN, 1970-1978 (in millions)

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Development Budget	3,442	542	15.74
Recurring Budget	10,146.3	1,692.6	16.68
TOTAL	-----	-----	-----
	13,588.3	2,234.6	16.44

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

Tables 26 and 27 present the development of middle school and high school education in Pakistan from 1970 to 1978.

Table 26

DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1970-1978

Quantitative Expansion of Middle School Education

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1971/72	4,110	963,072	36,000
1972/73	4,406	1,041,140	41,400
1973/74	4,586	1,097,140	41,900
1974/75	4,713	1,200,427	43,500
1975/76	4,783	1,296,461	46,400
1976/77	4,990	1,400,189	46,000
1977/78	5,026	1,510,383	48,400

Source: Government of Pakistan, Development of Education in Pakistan (1978-1980), p. 32.

Table 27

QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION
1970-1978

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1971/72	2,247	366,000	37,900
1972/73	2,498	390,000	40,700
1973/74	2,742	418,000	45,300
1974/75	2,898	462,000	51,100
1975/76	3,047	493,000	55,700
1976/77	3,214	509,000	59,600
1977/78	3,258	522,000	60,800

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 2-7.

Middle_schools. Institutions increased 3.27 percent per year. 130 new schools opened per year. Enrollment increased 7.12 percent per year. In absolute number 76,901 new students enrolled each year. Teachers increased 4.71 percent per year. In absolute numbers 1,771 teachers increased each year.

High_schools. Enrollment increased by 5.90 percent per year. Actual increase was 22,285 per year. Institutions increased 5.41 percent per year. In absolute terms, 138 schools opened per year. Teachers increased 7.52 percent per year. 372 teachers were hired each year.

Distribution_of_Secondary_Education

Education Policy (1972) laid much emphasis on equal distribution of educational facilities among various sections of society. Tables 28 and 29 present the enrollment ratios in various provinces and among men and women.

Table 28

**ENROLLMENT RATIOS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION,
PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES, 1977-1978**

	<u>Baluchistan</u>	<u>NWFP</u>	<u>Punjab</u>	<u>Sind</u>	<u>Pakistan</u>
Enrollment ratios In Middle School Grades 6-8, Age 10-12	9.50	19.44	25.9	23.06	22.99
Enrollment ratios In High School Grades 9-10, Age 13-14	5.17	12.14	15.82	15.86	14.35

Sources: Enrollments compiled from Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 31, 40.
Population (projected) in Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1972), Part IX.

Table 29

**ENROLLMENT RATIOS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
OF PAKISTAN, 1977-1978**

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Middle School	28.40	11.60	21.89
High School	21.17	6.83	14.35

Source: Compiled from Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979).

Comparison of Effectiveness of Two Policies

CNE (1959) and EP (1972) both agreed on the following objectives in the development of secondary education.

1. Quantitative expansion of the system.
2. Equal distribution of educational facilities between men and women and among various regions of the country.

In order to achieve these objectives

1. CNE (1959) encouraged the participation of the private sector, local bodies and the direct participation of the government.

2. It also permitted to charge tuition fees from students. EP (1972), on the contrary, nationalized the whole educational enterprise, made government exclusively responsible for providing education to the people, abolished all kinds of tuition fees and made education free.

CNE (1959) remained in force from 1960 to 1970 and EP (1972) remained in force from 1971/72 to 1977/78. The comparative effectiveness of both policies is prepared at four levels.

1. Expenditure level. From 1960 to 1971, the government spent 224 million Rupees on secondary education development out of its total educational development budget of 1,026 millions. On recurring side, 537.1 million Rupees

were spent on secondary education out of total recurring budget of 2,930.3 million Rupees. From 1971 to 1978, government spent 542 million on secondary education development out of total development budget of 3,442 million. On recurring side, 1,692.6 million Rupees were spent out of total budget of 10,164.3 million Rupees.

Table 30 presents the expenditure on secondary education in both policy periods.

Table 30

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURE ON SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN (in millions)
1960-1970

	Total Expenditure	Secondary Education	Percentage
Development Expenditure	1,026.4	224	21.82
Recurring Expenditure	2,930.3	537.1	18.33
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	3,956.7	761.1	19.23

1970-1978

	Total Expenditure	Secondary Education	Percentage
Development Expenditure	3,442	542	15.74
Recurring Expenditure	10,146.3	1,692.1	16.67
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	13,588.3	2,234.1	16.44

These tables indicate that on budget level, there is a difference of 3 percent. EP (1972) spent 16.44 percent of the education budget on secondary education while CNE (1959) spent 19.23 percent.

Expansion_Level

Table 31 presents the comparative picture of development in each policy period.

Table 31
COMPARATIVE GROWTH RATES OF MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	7.20%	6.98%	6.20%
EP (1972) 1970-1978	3.27	7.12	4.71

COMPARATIVE GROWTH RATES OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	5.81%	8.08	6.61
EP (1972) 1970-1978	5.41	5.90	7.52

In the case of high schools, both policy periods show the same performance level.

Distribution_Level

Table 32 presents a comparison of the distribution of secondary education in both policy periods.

Table 32

COMPARISON OF ENROLLMENT RATIOS
PAKISTAN AND PROVINCES

Middle Schools

	1971/72	1977/78
Baluchistan	12.3	9.5
NWFP	28.4	19.44
Punjab	30.3	25.90
Sind	22.3	23.06
Pakistan	27.5	22.99

High Schools

	1971/72	1977/78
Baluchistan	6.2	5.17
NWFP	13.4	12.14
Punjab	18.9	15.82
Sind	14.7	15.86
Pakistan	16.8	14.35

Explanation. Table 30 indicates during CNE (1959), 19.23 percent of the education budget was spent on secondary education development. This amount does not include expenditure in the private sector. In the second policy period, secondary education got 16.44 percent of the development budget. The effect of these differences in expenditure is reflected in the growth rates presented in Table 31.

1. The table indicates that the growth rate in middle school institutions was 3.27 percent during EP (1972) as compared to 7.20 percent in CNE (1959)'s tenure of implementation. But in spite of differences in institutions, growth rates of enrollments in middle schools are approximately the same in both policy periods. The possible reason for this phenomenon could be the abolishing of tuition fees in middle schools.

2. In the case of high schools, growth rates in institutions, enrollments and teachers are approximately the same in both policy periods. Table 32 presents a somewhat confusing picture. The enrollment ratios in both middle school level and high school level went down in the second policy period. The possible reasons could be (a) population growth rate has continuously been increasing at the rate of 3 percent since 1961. In 1961, it was envisaged that population growth would go down to 2.6 percent. But actually, throughout the 1960s, the growth rate remained constant at 3 percent; (b) children born in the 1960s arrived in secondary school age group in the 1970s. This factor might have influenced the enrollment ratios in the 1970s.

Summary of Secondary Education

Table 30 depicts the financial differences in the implementation of the two policy approaches and Tables 31

and 32 display the differing impacts on the development of secondary education in Pakistan from 1960 to 1978. It becomes clear that nationalization and making this level of education free did not produce favorable outcomes. The next section discusses the impact of the two policies on the development of college education in Pakistan.

College Education

Background

College education in Pakistan consists of two stages. The first stage comprises grades XI and XII and is called intermediate or higher secondary education. The next stage contains grades XIII-XIV and is called the degree stage or B.A., B. Sc. (Baccalaureate of Arts or Science). Instructions in grades XI and XII are provided in intermediate colleges. Courses in B.A., B. Sc. are offered in degree colleges. Some of the degree colleges have intermediate or postgraduate education wings in their buildings. Boards of intermediate and secondary education deal with academic programs of intermediate education. They prepare curriculum, prescribe textbooks, conduct examinations and award diplomas to qualified students. Similarly, universities discharge the same responsibilities for degree and postgraduate education.

The government of Pakistan, in terms of planning, management and financing, considers college education as one integral unit.

In 1947-48, there were 40 colleges in the country. Twenty-five of these were managed by the government and 15 were in the private sector. Within eight years of independence, their number grew to the tune of 77 and enrollments increased almost four times from 13.3 thousand in 1947-48 to 43 thousand in 1954-55. This development was by and large quantitative. The First Five Year Plan (1955-60) criticized this multiplication in numbers. It urged the improvement in curriculum and consolidation of existing facilities rather than further expansion.¹ The plan's proposals could not change the behavior of the system. Quantitative expansion continued and 50 more colleges were founded. The curriculum, libraries, laboratories and other academic facilities did not improve and no improvement took place in the geographical distribution of educational facilities.² The growth of college education between the period 1947-1959 is presented in Table 33.

¹Government of Pakistan, First Five Year Plan (1955-60), pp.

²Government of Pakistan, Second Five Year Plan (1960-65), pp.

Table 33
GROWTH OF COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1947-1959

Year	Private Colleges	Government Colleges	Total
1947	15	25	40
1955	31	46	77
1959	57	69	126

Source: Zaki and Khan, Pakistan Education Index (1970), p. 84.

Table 33 indicates the rapid expansion of colleges both in the private as well as in the public sector. The First Five Year Plan had categorically announced the consolidation of the existing facilities. It has been discussed in the previous section that during the First Five Year Plan growth in primary and middle school education never reached the set targets but college education expanded without any proposed plan for expansion. Probably social and political pressures facilitated this expansion, but the colleges established without planning lacked adequate facilities. Against this background, the Commission on National Education prepared its proposals.

CNE (1959) and Development of College Education

CNE (1959) criticized the unplanned expansion of college education which took place in the post-independence period. The commission observed:

Since independence education at higher level in Pakistan has expanded enormously. New colleges opened

and existing ones expanded without adequate facilities. This largely unplanned expansion has been at the expense of quality, which has deteriorated disastrously; it is imperative that this trend be reversed.¹

The commission made several suggestions for the improvement of college education in the country. These suggestions include:

1. College education in Pakistan must perform three tasks and they must be accomplished at one and the same time.
 - a. Range of educational courses must be extended,
 - b. Quality of education must be improved,
 - c. Large number of students must be catered for.
2. No new college, in government as well as in the private sector, be allowed to function unless it has adequate resources in terms of teachers, libraries, laboratories and buildings.
3. The extremely important position of private colleges must be recognized and government should give adequate grants, provided they maintain quality of education and offer courses in scientific and technical subjects.
4. Equality of opportunity must be maintained.

The commission's recommendations were incorporated into the Second and Third Five Year Plans for the periods 1960-1970. The Second Five Year Plan (1960-65) proposed the improvement of existing colleges as its central objective and extension of Bachelor degree course from two to three years. The Third Five Year Plan (1965-70) again reiterated the improvement of existing colleges,

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education, p. 16.

enlargement of curriculum, increased enrollments in scientific and technical subjects, and proposed the establishment of 75 new colleges.

According to CNE (1959) recommendations, federal government, provincial government and the private sector were to cooperate for the achievement of the above-mentioned objectives.

Federal government provided development expenditures and provincial government arranged for recurring expenditures. The private sector largely depended on its own resources and got some assistance from the government. The financial performance of the system during 1960-1970 is presented in Table 34.

Table 34

PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES ON COLLEGE EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN, 1960-1970 (in millions)

	Education Development_Budget	Budget For College_Education	Percentage
1960-1965	463	68	14.63
1965-70	563	64	11.63
TOTAL	1026	132	12.86

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan_Education_Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

Table 35

**PUBLIC RECURRING EXPENDITURES ON COLLEGE EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN, 1960-1970 (in millions)**

	<u>Recurring Expenditure On_Education</u>	<u>Recurring Expenditure On_College_Education</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1960-65	1135.9	99.3	8.74
1965-70	1794.4	148.5	8.27
TOTAL	2930.3	247.8	8.45

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan_Education
Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

Combined Table 34 and Table 35 make the budget expenditure on education.

Table 36 presents the budget expenditure on college education as a part of the national education budget in Pakistan from 1960 to 1970.

Table 36

**BUDGET EXPENDITURES ON COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN,
1960-1970 (in millions)**

<u>Budget Expenditure On_Education</u>	<u>College Education Budget</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
3956.3	379.8	9.59

Out of these 379.8 million Rupees college education budget, government gave some grants to private colleges. This grant never exceeded 10-15 percent of the college education budget.¹ However, this smallness of grant did not affect the growth of private colleges as is presented in Table 37.

Table 37

MANAGEMENTWISE GROWTH OF COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1970

	Private_Colleges	Government_Colleges	Total
1947	15	25	40
1955	31	46	77
1959	57	69	126
1965	120	105	225
1970	175	114	289

Source: Zaki and Khan, Pakistan_Education_Index (1970), p. 84.

This table indicates that after 1959, colleges increased and growth was comparatively higher in the private sector. The government established 55 colleges and 118 were opened in the private sector.

The Planning Commission of Pakistan had proposed in the Second and Third Five Year Plans improvement of quality, increased enrollment in scientific and technical subjects and establishment of 75 new colleges in the country. The

¹Charles Benson, Finance_of_Education:--Training_and_Related_Service_in_the_Public_Sector

total expansion at the end of the planning periods was 55 colleges in the government sector and 118 colleges in the private sector. Thus, overall quantitative expansion was 173 as against the targets of 75. However, the other two objectives, that of increased enrollments in scientific and technical subjects and equality, did not improve. The deterioration in standards, unbalanced enrollment in different subjects and inequality in opportunities continued. Table 38 presents comparative enrollments in scientific and technical subjects during the period under study.

Table 38

GROUPWISE ENROLLMENTS IN COLLEGES OF PAKISTAN

	<u>Private</u>	<u>Government</u>
Intermediate		
Arts	64%	54%
Science	36	46
Degree		
Arts	86	70
Science	14	30
Postgraduate		
Arts	100	89
Science	0	11

Source: W. M. Zaki's "Inevability of Nationalization" in W. M. Zaki's End of Misery, (Islamabad: Ministry of Education and Provincial Coordination, 1972), p. 47.

In addition to this disproportionate representation in arts subject, private colleges tended to be concentrated in big cities where large numbers of students could become

available. In Karachi, 83 percent of the total colleges belonged to the private sector. In Lahore, Hyderabad and Rawalpindi the private colleges contributed over 70 percent while the whole province of Baluchistan did not have a single private college. NWFP had only one private college.¹.

It is alleged that some of the private colleges came into existence as commercial enterprises. They charged heavy tuition fees, provided unsatisfactory educational facilities, and paid less wages to the teachers.

The Commission on Student Problems and Welfare (1966) observed,

The position in most of the private colleges, other than those run by Christian missionary societies, is much worse. The teachers are poorly paid. They have no service conditions, no security of services and no incentive for good work, although, the institutions that employ them have huge student enrollment and a large income from fees. These institutions . . . run on commercial basis with an eye to earning profits for the management. . . .

In Karachi we visited a mammoth multi-purpose institution called the Islamia College which under one roof dispenses instructions from kindergarten to the graduation level. Apart from spacious classrooms and laboratories we found little or no common facilities in this institution for students. Its library was merely an apology for one recreational facilities did not exist . . .

¹Dawn E. Jones and Rodney W. Jones, "Private Power and Educational Politics in Pakistan" (Occasional Paper No. 6. University of Texas at Austin, Center for Asian Studies, 1978), pp. 6-8.

The founder of the college, himself an uneducated person was also its de facto chief administrative head.¹

The West Pakistan Committee on the Administration of privately-managed Colleges (1967) reported

In one (private) college the committee noted that while the number of students on roll was 500, those who were actually present were about 50. Further examination of the record revealed that students were marked present even when they did not attend the college.²

This discussion indicates that the recommendations of CNE (1959) and proposals of Second and Third Five Year Plan could not keep the development of private colleges on track.

Table 39 presents the joint contribution of government and private sector in the development of college education in Pakistan between 1960 and 1970 when CNE (1959)'s recommendations were in force.

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on Students Problems and Welfare (Karachi: Ministry of Education, 1966), p. 45.

²Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education. Quoted in W. M. Zaki, The End of Misery, p. 40.

Table 39

QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION OF COLLEGE EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN (1960-1970)

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollment</u> <u>1960-1970</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1960/61	131	71,000	N.A.
1961/62	146	71,900	N.A.
1962/63	159	94,100	N.A.
1963/64	190	118,700	4,938
1964/65	225	127,200	5,432
1965/66	228	139,300	5,711
1966/67	258	147,900	6,049
1967/68	251	153,300	6,208
1068/69	270	159,000	7,080
1969/70	290	175,000	7,950

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

These figures indicate that number of institutions increased at the rate of 9.38 percent per year. In absolute numbers 16 new colleges opened each year. Enrollment increased 11 percent per year. Approximately 10,000 new students joined colleges each year. Teachers increased 7.56 percent per year. Four hundred new teachers were recruited each year.

Distribution of College Education

In the case of primary and secondary education, the enrollment ratios of men/women and among provinces were prepared and compared with national norms. But in the case of college education, data are inadequate and make it impossible to prepare and compare enrollment ratios.

Therefore, for this level of education, college education in various provinces is calculated as a share in college at the national level at the terminal year of each policy period.

Table 40 presents the provinces' share in college education in 1970.

Table 40

**DEVELOPMENT OF COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
AND PROVINCES, 1960-70**

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
Baluchistan	9	2,710	264
NWFP	37	16,339	946
Punjab	154	107,363	4,905
Sind	112	71,994	2,640
Central			
Government	2	806	68
Pakistan	314	199,212	8,823

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1972), Table 21.

This table indicates that Baluchistan had 2.88 percent of institutions, 1.36 percent of enrollments and 3 percent of the teachers. NWFP had 11.78 percent of the institutions, 8.20 percent of the enrollments and 10.72 percent of the teachers. Sind had 35.66 percent of the institutions, 36.13 percent of enrollments and 30 percent of teaching staff. Punjab had 40.04 percent of the institutions, 53.89 percent of enrollments and 55.59 percent of teaching staff.

It seems clear that Punjab and Sind had far the greater share of institutions and enrollments than Baluchistan and NWFP.

Female Education

The participation of females in college education is extremely important. Overall, women's involvement in the public sector labor force in Pakistan is extremely low, but they have some representation in the medical and teaching professions. College education is a prerequisite for these professions. Increased enrollments of women at this level of education would increase their participation in the labor force and ultimately accelerate the growth of girls' primary and secondary education.

Table 41 presents the representation of girls in college education in Pakistan from 1960 to 1970.

Table 41

DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE EDUCATION BETWEEN MEN/WOMEN IN PAKISTAN (1970)

	1960/61	1965/66	1969/70
Institutions			
Men	75%	74%	71%
Women	25	26	29
Enrollments			
Men	83	80	74
Women	17	20	26
Teachers			
Men	--	73	70
Women	--	27	30

Source: Compiled from Pakistan Education Statistics (1947/48-1972), Table 5 (1-3).

Table 41 indicates that women's education improved only marginally from 1960 to 1970.

Education Policy (1972) and Development of College Education

EP (1972) made three important recommendations for the development of college education. These recommendations included:

1. Nationalization of all private colleges,
2. Standardization of tuition fees in all colleges,
3. Increased emphasis on scientific and technical subjects.

This policy was implemented soon after the announcement in March 1972. On September 1, 1972, one hundred and seventy-five private colleges were nationalized. In addition, tuition fees in these colleges were also standardized and reduced to government level. Government took over the responsibility of financing college education.

The financial performance of the system is presented in Table 42.

Table 42

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON COLLEGE EDUCATION
IN PAKISTAN, 1970-1978
(in millions)

	Total Education Expenditure	College_Education	Share
Development Expenditure	3442.0	3740	10.75
Recurring Expenditure	10146.3	1313.59	12.94
Total Education Budget	13588.3	1687.59	12.41

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan_Education
Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

As a result of implementation of this policy, the
following development took place.

Table 43

**QUANTITATIVE EXPANSION OF COLLEGE EDUCATION
1970-1978**

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
1971/72	338	186,600	8,313
1972/73	334	186,400	8,346
1973/74	354	194,800	8,990
1974/75	361	208,200	9,635
1975/76	404	211,500	11,313
1976/77	433	222,700	11,834
1977/78	455	229,000	12,371

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 2-7.

These figures indicate that during 1970-781 institutions increased by 4.63 percent per year, enrollments increased by 2.50 percent, and teachers increased by 6.30 percent.

Distribution of College Education

We have already noted that during CNE (1959) tenure, college education expanded but some parts of the country were poorly supplied with college facilities. In fact, the most important aims of EP (1972) were to streamline education in general and particularly college education in such a way that it benefits all geographical parts of the country and all sections of society.

Table 44 presents the position of college education in various provinces of Pakistan at the terminal year of the policy, 1978.

Table 44

**GROWTH OF COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
AND PROVINCES, 1978**

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
Baluchistan	28	3,724	583
NWFP	69	16,906	1,256
Punjab	211	114,343	6,587
Sind	134	92,553	3,520
Centre	13	1,503	425
Pakistan	455	229,029	12,371

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), Tables 41, 42 and 43, pp. 71-73.

Centre includes federally administered tribal areas, federally administered northern areas and federal capital area of Islamabad.

This table indicates that institutions were distributed as 6.15 percent in Baluchistan, 15.16 percent in NWFP, 46.37 percent in Punjab and 29.45 percent in Sind. In the case of enrollments Baluchistan's share was 1.62 percent, NWFP's share was 7.38 percent, Punjab's share was 50 percent and Sind's, 40.41 percent.

This means that the distribution of institutions is fairly close to the population distribution among provinces of Pakistan. But enrollment distributions, though improved, were still concentrated in Sind and Punjab. There could be two possible reasons. NWFP and Baluchistan have more area and less population while Punjab and Sind have more population but less area. This population

density might have affected enrollment ratios. For example, the table indicates that in Baluchistan, the student-institution ratio is 133 to 1, in centrally administered areas the ratio is 115 students per college. Punjab had a student-institution ratio of 541 students per college. The second reason could be that standardization of tuitions in private colleges might have helped those areas where private colleges were concentrated. These areas were exclusively in Punjab and Sind. However, it can be stated that overall distribution of college education improved.

Development of Female Education

Table 45 presents the distribution of college education among men/women in 1978 in Pakistan.

Table 45

DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE EDUCATION BETWEEN MEN/WOMEN IN PAKISTAN (1978)

	1969/70	1977/78
Institutions		
Men	71%	73%
Women	29	27
Enrollments		
Men	74	69
Women	26	31
Teachers		
Men	70	72
Women	30	28

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 2-7.

This table indicates that there did not appear to be any significant change in the pattern of distribution of college education facilities among men and women. In spite of marginal differences in teaching staff and institutions, there is some notable improvement in enrollments.

Enrollment in Scientific and Technical Subjects at College Level in Pakistan, 1970-1978

One of the objectives of Education Policy 1972-80 was to increase enrollments in scientific subjects. Table 46 presents the enrollment in various groups of study in 1978.

Table 46

ENROLLMENTS IN VARIOUS GROUPS OF STUDIES AT COLLEGE LEVEL
IN PAKISTAN (1976-77)

	<u>Science</u>	<u>Humanities</u>	<u>Commerce</u>
Intermediate	41	52	7
Degree	24	67	9
Post graduate	27	72	-

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 93-95.

This table indicates that in 1978, enrollments in scientific and technical subjects improved.

Education Policy 1972 and Summary of College Education Development

1. Expenditure.

- a. From 1970 to 1978 government of Pakistan spent 444 million Rupees as development expenditure

on college education. Provincial government spent 1313.3 million Rupees as recurring expenditure. These expenditures combined were 12.41 percent of the total education budget.

2. Expansion of College Education.

- a. Institutions increased at the rate of 4.63 percent per year.
- b. Enrollments increased at the rate of 2.50 percent per year.
- c. Teachers increased at the rate of 6.30 percent per year.

3. Growth of College Education in Provinces.

- a. Rate of growth in backward provinces was far greater than the national norms. This means that to some extent disparities were reduced, for example, Baluchistan and NWFP.

4. Enrollment in scientific and professional subjects.

- a. At intermediate level, 48 percent students enrolled in scientific and professional subjects while 52 percent enrollments were in humanities groups.
- b. At bachelor level 33 percent students enrolled in scientific and professional courses while 67 percent enrolled in humanities groups.

- c. At postgraduate level, the ratio between science and arts groups was 28 and 72 percent respectively.

Comparison_of_Development

The basic difference in the approach of the two policies regarding college education were that:

1. CNE (1959) encouraged the participation of the private sector in the development of college education and authorized the management to charge tuition fees in order to meet expenses.
2. EP (1972) nationalized the private colleges and brought them under the government control. It standardized the tuition fees in all colleges according to the rates prevalent in government colleges. The differing impacts of the two policies are prepared at four levels.

1. Comparison_of_Expenditure

Table 47 indicates the comparative performance of the financial system in both policy periods.

Table 47

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURE ON COLLEGE EDUCATION (in millions)

	Education Budget	Budget on College_Education	Percentage
CNE (1959) 1960-1970	2956.3	379.8	9.59
EP (1972) 1970-1978	13588.3	1687.59	12.41

This table indicates that during the second policy period, the share of college education in national education budget increased.

2. Comparison of Expansion

Table 48 presents the rate of growth in the expansion of college education in the two policy periods.

Table 48

COMPARISON OF COLLEGE EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

	<u>Institutions</u>	<u>Enrollments</u>	<u>Teachers</u>
CNE (1959)			
1960-1970	9.38	8.82	7.56
EP (1972)			
1970-1978	4.63	2.50	6.30

This table indicates that expansion rates went down in the second policy period.

3. Comparison of Distribution of College Education

Table 49 presents the development of colleges at the terminal year of both policy periods.

Table 49

COMPARATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF COLLEGE EDUCATION IN PROVINCES OF PAKISTAN

	<u>1970</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Baluchistan	9	2.88	28	6.33
NWFP	37	11.85	69	15.61
Punjab	154	49.35	211	47.73
Sind	112	35.89	134	30.31
Pakistan	312	100.00	442	100.00

This table indicates that during CNE (1959) the rate of growth of college education was higher in Punjab and Sind, while during EP (1972) the rates were higher in Baluchistan and NWFP.

Women's Education

Table 50 presents the growth of women's education in both policy periods.

Table 50
COMPARISON OF WOMEN'S EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
IN BOTH POLICY PERIODS IN PAKISTAN

	1969/70	1977/78
Institutions		
Men	71%	73%
Women	29	27
Enrollments		
Men	74	69
Women	26	31
Teachers		
Men	70	72
Women	30	28

This table indicates that there was no significant change in the pattern of distribution of college education facilities among men/women. There are marginal differences in teaching staff and institutions but there are some noticeable improvements in women's enrollments in the second policy period.

Comparison of Enrollments in Scientific and Technical Subjects

It was pointed out that in the first policy period, the private colleges were dominated by liberal arts groups while the government colleges had better facilities for science education. After the nationalization, further improvement took place in science education. Table 51 presents the comparative enrollments in scientific subjects in the two policy periods.

Table 51

ENROLLMENTS IN VARIOUS GROUPS OF STUDIES IN COLLEGES OF PAKISTAN, 1960/70-1970/78

	Private College	Government College	Government College
Intermediate			
Arts	64%	54%	52%
Science	36	46	48
Degree			
Arts	86	70	67
Science	14	30	33
Postgraduate			
Arts	100	89	72
Science	0	11	28

This table indicates that during the Education Policy (1972) enrollments in scientific and technical subjects improved.

The comparison of the two policies' performances indicates that they produced differing impacts. These differences may possibly be explained as follows:

Explanation

1. Table 47 indicates that during CNE (1959) Government of Pakistan spent 9.59 percent of the education budget on college education. Tables 34 and 35 indicated that approximately 35 percent of this budget was spent on developmental expenditure and 65 percent on recurring expenditure. During EP (1972) Government of Pakistan spent 12.41 percent of the education budget on college education. Table 42 indicates that 22 percent of the budget was spent on development expenditure and 78 percent on recurring expenditure.
2. Table 48 presents the comparative rate of growth in the expansion of college education in the two policy periods. It becomes obvious from the table that rate of growth went down in second policy period.
3. Table 49 indicates that
 - a. During CNE (1959) the rates of growth were higher in Punjab and Sind.
 - b. During EP (1972) growth rates were higher in NWFP and Baluchistan.
4. Table 51 indicates that enrollments in scientific and technical subjects were higher during EP (1972) than CNE (1959).

The difference in achievements in two policy periods might be explained with respect to differences in policy approaches.

1. Nationalization of 175 private colleges in second policy period increased government expenditures. The reason is that between 1960 to 1970 the private managements built buildings and paid teachers' salaries. In second policy period, the private college teachers' services were governmentalized. Since teachers' salaries are paid from recurring expenditure, therefore in second policy period recurring expenditures increased.
2. It is interesting to note in Table 48 that after standardization of tuition fees and governmentalization of private colleges, the rates of growth went down in second policy period. There could be three reasons for these differences.
 - a. In the first policy period, larger expansion was in private sector. Since private colleges' main source of income was tuition fees, therefore they enrolled as much students as they could enroll. In search for more students they did not care students-teacher ratio or students-institution ratio.

Table 52 presents comparative student-teacher ratio in private and government colleges during 1960 to 1970.

Table 52

STUDENT-TEACHER RATIO IN GOVERNMENT AND
PRIVATE COLLEGES OF PAKISTAN

<u>Management</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Institutions</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Teachers</u>	<u>Number of</u> <u>Students</u>	<u>Teacher-student</u> <u>Ratio</u>
Government	114	3208	71479	22.3
Private	118	2644	89334	33.8
TOTAL	232	5952	160813	27.01

Source: Compiled from W. M. Zaki, End_of_Misery, p. 44.

This table indicates that teacher-student ratio was higher in private colleges as compared to government colleges. In the second policy period, Table 43 shows that the teacher-student ratio remained approximately 1 to 20. This could be one of the reasons that rate of growth in enrollments went down in second policy period.

- b. Government's grant to private colleges was tied to enrollments. In order to receive grants, sometimes private colleges exaggerated their enrollments by forgery of the college record as was reported by West Pakistan Committee on the Administration of Private Colleges and quoted on page 137 of this dissertation.

c. During EP (1972) rate of growth of institution was higher in Baluchistan and NWFP as presented in Table 49. These areas are not densely populated. In Baluchistan student-institution ratio was 100 to 1. Therefore, enrollments at national level did not show any significant increase.

3. Table 49 indicates that during CNE (1959) disparities increased among the provinces. Baluchistan and NWFP had limited educational facilities, less than their population ratios. This disparity was mainly created because of private sector. After 1972 when system was nationalized, the government was in a better position to distribute educational facilities. This is the main reason that after 1972 the backward provinces of Baluchistan and NWFP benefited from expanded educational facilities.
4. Table 50 indicates that women's representation in both policy periods remained the same. In fact, the problems of women's education in Pakistan lie out of the educational system.
5. Table 51 indicates that during EP (1972) enrollment in scientific and technical subjects improved. This is mainly because of governmentalization of private colleges.

Summary of College Education in Pakistan

Both policies had two objectives in developing college education in Pakistan.

1. College education must perform three tasks and they must be accomplished at one and the same time:
 - a. The range of educational courses must be extended,
 - b. The quality of education must be improved, and
 - c. The number of students must be increased.
2. Equality of educational opportunity between the sexes and among provinces must be maintained.

CNE (1959) involved the private sector and government in the achievement of these targets. The government spent 9.59 percent of the education budget from 1960 to 1970 on college education. Out of this budget, the government gave some grants to private colleges, but 80 to 90 percent of the college education budget was spent on its own colleges.

In 1971, there were 289 colleges in the country; 175 of these colleges were in the private sector and 114 were managed and administered by the government. Private colleges were clustered in big cities, particularly in urban areas of Sind and Punjab. As a result, facilities were unevenly distributed among provinces. In addition, private colleges indiscriminately enrolled students in

liberal arts groups. In 1972, after nationalization, the patterns of distribution of college education among provinces improved. There were significant improvements in enrollments in scientific and technical subjects.

University Education

Background

General universities in Pakistan are modeled on the pattern of the University of London. They are teaching and affiliating institutions. Teaching is done in university's own department and in constituent affiliate colleges. University academic councils, made up of university teachers, college principals and a few other experts control, regulate and coordinate instructions at the undergraduate as well as at the graduate level.

In terms of administration, vice-chancellor, an appointee of the government, is the chief academic and executive officer of the university. In 1947, there was one university, the Punjab University, Lahore, in the country. The Sind University was in the process of making and it started functioning in 1948. The Peshawar University came into existence in 1950 and the Karachi University was founded in 1951. Thus, within four years of independence, Pakistan had four universities. These universities were established without having adequate financial and human resources. The First Five Year Plan criticized this rapid unplanned expansion. It noted,

"Many university departments are mere skeletons; no provision exists for research in education; failures have increased ominously."¹ The Plan proposed the consolidation and improvement of existing facilities as its chief concern. In addition, it proposed the formation of a central authority to coordinate the university education at national level.

In fact, in 1948, the Government of Pakistan had set up an interuniversity board for this purpose. At the time of creation, the responsibilities of this board include (a) the exchange of academic information, (b) exchange of faculty and students among the universities, and (c) to help the universities in their developmental activities. In its organization, the board was an association of vice-chancellors without having formal head or permanent head office. The first five year plan proposed to strengthen this board by granting it administrative, academic and financial powers and finally to convert it into a national autonomous planning body for higher education in the country.

It has already been mentioned elsewhere, that first five year plan could never be implemented. So no significant change occurred in university education in Pakistan. The university departments remained mere

¹The First Five Year Plan (1955-1961).

skeletons, standards of education remained low and interuniversity board continued to be a powerless debating society.

With this heritage, the Commission on National Education prepared its program for university education development.

Commission on National Education and Program for University Education Development

The CNE (1959) made four important recommendations regarding the development of university education. These include

1. Emphasis on qualitative improvement rather than on quantitative expansion,
2. Increased stress on scientific and technical subjects rather than on humanities and liberal art groups,
3. Government should be responsible for financing university education,
4. Creation of University Grants Commission (UGC).

There were two purposes to create this commission.

- a. To protect the universities from governmental interference,
- b. To guide and control the universities in the direction of their development and correlation of their efforts.

To improve the quality of education, the commission recommended that

1. Bachelor degree course be extended from two years to three years so that universities receive qualified students,
2. External system of examination should be changed and instead a combination of external and internal system of evaluation be introduced.

The first proposal was approved by the government and implemented.¹ After one year of implementation, various groups started agitation against this reorganized program. Students were of the opinion that one-year extension in program means one-year delay in getting jobs. Parents were against having to bear the burden of the expenditure on the education of their wards for one additional year. The other element which resisted this change was the private colleges. Private colleges did not have enough physical, financial and human resources to carry on this change. Ultimately, the Government of Pakistan conceded to agitator's demand and withdrew her decision.

The external system of examination was another issue the commission discussed in detail. Actually, this system

¹Ishtiag Hussain Qureshi, "Educational Policies in Pakistan." In Ishtiag Hussain Qureshi, Perspectives of Islam and Pakistan, (Karachi: Ma'aref Limited, 1979), pp. 45-63.

of examination was a British legacy. The PNEC 1947 and the first five-year plan raised objections against its validity, but no improvement took place.¹

The CNE (1959) observed

It is responsible for many of the weakness in our educational system. For many of the students, the examination has become to be more important than the acquisition of knowledge. Teachers have taught only the basic minimum of what was required by the syllabus and have substituted cramming for education . . . The emphasis has been on successful retention of some facts about a subject for a brief period rather than on the more arduous but rewarding aim of mastering a subject, understanding its basic principles, and learning how to apply this understanding to real situations. Examinations have come to dominate higher education, and the examining function of the university has dangerously overshadowed those of teaching and research. Moreover, as internal examinations have at present no value, the external examination is the exclusive preoccupation of the student and he does not feel under strong pressure to attend lectures or to secure his teachers guidance personally or in the tutorial groups.²

The commission suggested a combination of internal and external examination. According to this arrangement, the examinations were to be conducted at two stages. At the first stage, teachers were asked to constantly evaluate and record student's performance on monthly basis throughout academic program. At the end of the program, university should conduct public comprehensive examination. Degrees

¹Government of Pakistan, First Five Year Plan (1955-1960), pp. 436-438.

²Government of Pakistan, Commission on National Education (1959), pp. 23-25.

were to be awarded on the basis of performance in both examinations.¹ This decision was also implemented.

In Pakistan, a diploma or a certificate is held in high prestige and is the magic passport to government employment. When the course instructors were authorized to evaluate the students, a wrong kind of practice started in internal evaluation. Corruption, favoritism, victimization and cooking of results became common in educational institutions.² Students union, the general public and different organizations protested against internal examination. Ultimately, the commission on student's problems (1967) recommended to do away with internal examinations because of gross abuse by many individuals and institutions.³

The other important suggestion of CNE (1959) was increased enrollment in scientific and technical subjects. The second five year plan (1960-65) made the improvement and enhancement of scientific and technical education in general universities as its central objectives.⁴ The

¹Ibid., pp. 23-25.

²Ishtaig Hussain Qureshi, Education in Pakistan, pp. 246-247.

³Government of Pakistan, Commission on Students' Problems and Welfare, 1966, pp. 102-105.

⁴Government of Pakistan, The Second Five Year Plan (1960-1965), pp. 348-349.

third five year plan (1965-70) proposed that major efforts be directed towards improving and expanding facilities for teaching of scientific disciplines.¹

Both plans envisaged upgrading of teacher's qualifications, the construction of libraries, laboratories, study rooms for teachers, and other essential buildings on campus. The second five year plan proposed the establishment of a central university in federal capital, Islamabad. The University of Islamabad (renamed as Quaid-i-Azam University in 1976) was founded in 1965. This university is unitary and does not have affiliated colleges.

The central and provincial governments both were generous in providing expenditures to the universities. Table 53 presents the expenditure on university education in Pakistan during 1960 to 1970.

¹Government of Pakistan, Third Five Year Plan (1960-1965), pp. 204-206.

Table 53

EXPENDITURES ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1960-1970 (in millions)

a.	Total Development Expenditures on Education	1026.6
	Development Expenditures on University Education	118.0
	Percentage of University Expenditures to Total Expenditure	11.50%
b.	Total Recurring Expenditures on Education	2930.3
	Recurring Expenditures on University Education	384.8

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1979), pp. 8-9.

As a result of these grants there was unprecedented expansion in university education. New buildings were constructed, better and adequate lecture rooms and facilities were provided to students. New departments were created and enrollments increased substantially. Table 54 presents the growth of university education from 1960 to 1970.

Table 54

**GROWTH OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1960-1970**

Output of M.A. level by field of study

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Arts</u>	<u>Science</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Other</u>
1960	1261	68.35	27.00	4	--	0.65
1961	1932	67.00	27.50	2.63	2.74	--
1962	2348	69.29	25.85	1.40	2.93	--
1963	2863	71.21	23.12	--	5	--
1964	3824	65.14	27.64	2.98	3.68	--
1965	4550	65.84	24.46	3.14	6	--
1966	5879	70.06	23.59	2.65	3.60	--
1967	5812	70.02	22.14	3.42	4.07	--
1968	6110	68.19	23.20	3.01	5.09	--
1969	8261	75.40	17.37	3.00	4.00	--
1970	7147	70.81	20.48	3.16	5.26	--

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics (1947-1972), Table 64.

These figures indicate that enrollments increased 22.90 percent per year. Arts group dominated the university enrollments and no significant change took place throughout the ten-year period. On average, 70 percent students were enrolled in arts groups, 23.65 percent in humanities, 4.50 percent in education, 3 percent in commerce and the remaining students were enrolled in unspecified subjects such as home economics, law, etc.

There could be various reasons for the expansion of liberal arts education.

The Commission on Students Problems (1967) noted the duplication of departments in the universities. Rather than being creative and innovative, universities were

imitating one another and establishing the parallel departments. This duplication was mostly in liberal arts.¹ The other reasons, for the non-expansion of science education could be the incapacity of the labor market to absorb science graduates. Probably the Commission on National Education emphasized science education, per se, rather than doing extensive survey of the labor market or exchanging views with national social and economic planners. In the early 1970s there was a great increase in the unemployment of scientifically and technically qualified people. The unemployment rate is claimed to be 52 percent for science degree holders, 44 percent for technical graduates and 31 percent for Masters degree holder in economics and commerce.² Dr. M. Hag, the chief economist, Planning Commission of Pakistan, admits that during 1960s in the formulation of five year plans. . . . a chapter on employment strategy was added at the end to round off the plans to make them look complete and respectable and hardly an integral part of the growth strategy or policy framework.

Perhaps here is a place where contacts and communications between educational system, national social

¹Government of Pakistan, Commission on Students Problems and Welfare (1966), pp. 71-78.

²J. Henry Korson, "Bhutto's Educational Reforms." In J. Henry Korson, Contemporary Problems of Pakistan. (Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1974), p. 128.

and economic planning and employment market could be beneficial.

The fourth recommendations of CNE (1959) was creation of University Grants Commission. This proposal was approved by the government. The second and third five year plan categorically advised the government for the creation of UGC. But this proposal was never materialized. Therefore from 1960 to 1970, universities of Pakistan remained isolated from each other. Moreover these universities were clustered in certain geographical areas of the country. Therefore, geographical uneven distribution of higher education could be another consequence of this period.

Summary

During 1960-1970, university education expanded enormously in Pakistan. There was a record expansion rate of 22.70 percent. The enrollments increased in traditional disciplines of liberal arts group. Supplies of science graduates were smaller, but even then science graduates remained unemployed and there seems to be a lack of coordination between educational system and national social and economic planning. Finally, university education facilities were unevenly distributed among various geographical regions.

Education_Policy_(1972)_and_University_Education

Background

In 1969, political government in Pakistan failed and the army took over power. In 1970, general elections were held in the country. All regional political parties won the election. This led to serious political crisis at the national level. In 1971, civil war started in the country and, as a result, East Pakistan separated and became an independent state of Bangladesh.

During the political crisis period, the educational system came under serious criticism from several quarters. Some of the major objections raised against it were,

1. It has failed to provide national integrations,
2. It has failed to accelerate economic development,
3. It has created inequality in the society,
4. The academic standards are abysmally low.

Therefore Education Policy (1972) was prepared under this context. Its program for university education included

1. Establishment of Pakistan Studies Centres. These centres were proposed to be established for promoting national cohesion and integration. The focus of these centres is to conduct research and offer courses at undergraduate level on subcultures, languages and literatures of various regions in the country.

2. Establishment of area study centres. These centres were proposed to conduct research and provide instructions on various contemporary international societies which have vital importance for Pakistan.
3. Establishment of centres of excellence. The purpose of these centres was to make Pakistan self-sufficient in high-level manpower in various applied sciences.
4. Establishment of new universities. The purpose for the establishment of new universities was better distribution of educational facilities among various geographical regions of the country.
5. Improvement in curriculum and examination system.
6. Establishment of National Book foundation. The purpose of this foundation was to provide books on cheap prices to students.
7. Increased enrollment in scientific and technical subjects in all general universities of Pakistan.
8. Establishment of University Grants Commission (UGC). There were three basic purposes in the establishment of UGC.
 - a. To coordinate the program of various universities in such a way as to avoid unnecessary duplication and waste,

- b. To serve as a buffer agency between the government bureaucracy and university administration.
- c. To assess the financial needs of the universities so that appropriate funds be allocated to them.

Implementation of Policy and Development of University Education in Pakistan (1970-1978)

Soon after the announcement, the policy proposals were implemented.

Pakistan Studies Centres

In order to enhance national integration, the Pakistan studies centres were set up in five universities of Pakistan. These universities include Baluchistan, Karachi, Peshawar, Sind and Punjab. A national institute of Pakistan studies was also set up in Quaid-i-Azam University at Islamabad.

Centres of Excellence

In order to minimize reliance on other countries and to produce locally top expertise and leadership to initiate and accelerate the process of socio-economic development, the following five centres were set up in various general universities of Pakistan.

University

Baluchistan
Karachi
Peshawar
Punjab
Sind

Field of Specialization

Mineralogy
Marine Biology
Geology
Solid State Physics
Analytical Chemistry

Area Study Centres

For research and advance studies of contemporary societies, particularly of vital importance to Pakistan six area study centres have been established in general universities as follows:

<u>University</u>	<u>Area Study Centre</u>
Baluchistan	Middle East and Arab Countries
Islamabad	Africa, North and South America
Karachi	Europe
Peshawar	Central Asia, USSR
Punjab	South Asia
Sind	Far East and South East Asia

Establishment of New Universities

From 1970 to 1978, five new general universities were established in the country. These include:

1. Gomal University, D. I. Khan, NWFP.
2. Multan University, Multan, Punjab.
3. Islamia University Bahawalpur, Punjab.
4. Baluchistan University, Quetta, Baluchistan^x
5. People's Open University, Islamabad. This university is now renamed as Allama Iqbal University.

^xThis university was formally approved in 1970, but started working in 1971/72.

Establishment_of_UGC

With a view to coordinate the program of the universities for greater national development and to ensure an easy flow of public funds for this purpose, the UGC was set up in July 1973. It acts as a buffer agency between government and the universities. Its most important functions is to coordinate the developmental activities of the universities.

The University Grants Commission supervises academic standards, curriculum development, examination system and research activities of all the universities throughout the country.

Expansion_of_the_System

From 1970 to 1978 the number of general universities increased in Pakistan. Until 1970, there were only five universities in the country. In 1977/78 their numbers increased to eight. As a creation of these new universities, expenditures went up. Table 55 presents the expenditure on university education in Pakistan from 1970 to 1978.

Table 55

EXPENDITURE ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1960-1970 (in millions)

a.	Total Development on Expenditure Education	3,442
	Development Expenditure on University Education	359
	Percentage of University Expenditure	10.42%
b.	Total recurring Expenditure on Education	10,146.3
	Recurring Expenditure on University Education	2,714.6
	Percentage of University Expenditure	26.75%

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics, pp. 8-9.

Since 5 new universities were opened, therefore expenditure on construction of buildings, setting of new laboratories, libraries, recruitment of new staff had to go up. But the establishment of UGC, reduced to some extent duplication of departments. Probably, the new universities concentrated on scientific and technical subjects. In this way the enrollments pattern in scientific and other professional subjects improved. Table 56 presents the quantitative expansion in enrollments in various fields of study from 1970 to 1978.

Table 56

**GROWTH OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN
1970-1978**

Enrollments at M.A. Level by Field of Study

	Total	Arts	Science	Commerce	Education	
1970/71	12626	42.28	43.95	5.54	8.21	--
1971/72	12827	41.63	46.48	5.25	6.62	--
1972/73	13149	43.54	45.64	3.85	6.34	0.61
1973/74	14031	42.76	42.54	6.99	7.29	0.39
1974/75	15483	45.64	44.78	3.89	6.27	
1975/76	16467	45.81	42.46	5.27	5.94	0.50

1976/78: Data not available

Source: Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics, 1970-1976, pp. 96-97. Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics, 1947-1974, pp. 155-156.

This table indicates that university education expanded as usual but during this period the enrollments substantially increased in scientific and professional subjects.

Summary of University Education Development From 1970 to 1978

This description indicates that for the first time the concept of university education got full recognition in Pakistan. Establishment of Pakistan study centres, area study centres, and centres of excellence indicate healthy trend in the development of university education in Pakistan. Establishment of new universities in various interior parts of the country help decreased disparities among various geographical regions. The creation of

University Grants Commission has helped in better planning and development of higher education. In addition pattern of enrollments in scientific and technical subjects substantially improved.

Comparison of Effectiveness of CNE (1959) and EP (1972) and the Development of University Education in Pakistan

CNE (1959) made three proposals for the development of university education in Pakistan. These proposals include

1. Enhancement of academic standards,
2. Increased enrollments in scientific and technical subjects,
3. Establishment of University Grants Commission.

In fact, these suggestions were not new. The First Five Year Plan had already made these suggestions in 1955. Moreover, these suggestions could not be implemented.

1. New system of examination failed because of corruption on teachers' side.
2. Extension of degree program from two to three years could not take place because of students' agitation and non-cooperation of private colleges.
3. Enrollments in scientific and technical subjects did not increase.
4. Government did not take interest in the establishment of University Grants Commission.

During the Education Policy (1972) most of the suggestions were implemented.

1. University Grants Commission came into existence. This autonomous organization has helped in better planning and development of university education in the country.
2. Geographical distribution of higher education has improved. Now every province has sufficient universities for its need.
3. Centres of excellence in various applied disciplines were established.
4. Enrollment in scientific and technical subjects improved.
5. Establishment of Pakistan study centres and area study centres would be helpful in the national integration and as well as in international understanding.

Summary of University Education

From 1960 to 1970 university education expanded enormously in Pakistan. There was a record expansion of 22.70 percent in enrollment. The enrollments increased in traditional disciplines of liberal arts groups. No improvement could take place in academic standards.

From 1970 to 1980, university education further expanded. Number of universities increased from five to ten. Most of the new universities were established in interior regions of the country. This helped the better geographical distribution of higher education in Pakistan.

Moreover, the establishment of University Grants Commission, helped in better planning and development of higher education. Enrollments in scientific and technical subjects increased. Centres of excellence are also helping in making higher level manpower needs of the country.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study was undertaken as a historical inquiry into, and comparative analysis of, the proposals of the Commission on National Education, CNE (1959) and Education Policy, EP (1972) and the subsequent performance of the educational system in Pakistan.

A review of literature on education policy developments in Pakistan indicated that the policies in question subscribed to four common goals for developing the country's educational system.

1. Universalization of primary education,
2. Moderate expansion of secondary, college and university education,
3. Equalizing access to educational opportunities, thus reducing disparities in the provision of educational facilities between men and women and among the various provinces.
4. Increased emphasis on scientific and technical education at the college and university level.

In pursuing these goals, however, the policies adopted different approaches. CNE (1959) emphasized the role of the private sector, local governing bodies, local communities and federal and provincial governments for the

accomplishment of these goals over the period 1960 to 1971. It also imposed tuition fees at all levels of education, except education for girls and in underdeveloped areas at the primary school level. From 1971/72 to 1977/78, Education Policy, EP (1972) nationalized the whole system of education and gave the national government the responsibility of providing education through its sources rather than involving the private sector and local governing bodies. It made education free up to high school level and standardized tuition fees in colleges. It also abolished annual examinations and introduced automatic promotion up to the 9th grade.

The researcher described, assessed and compared the performance of the educational system during each policy period. The purpose was to analyze the differing effects of the policies and, on the basis of this analysis, make recommendations for future education policy in Pakistan. The study was carried out as historical descriptive case study. Simple statistical techniques such as growth rates, averages and percentages were used to assess the performance of educational system in each policy period.

To determine the comparative effectiveness at expansion level,

1. Growth rates, or quantitative expansion of the system, in each policy period were compared,

2. To determine distribution of educational facilities:

- a. enrollment ratios for both boys and girls in the terminal year of each policy were compared with national norms,
- b. enrollment ratios at each provincial level were compared with national norms in the terminal year of each policy.

3. Enrollments in scientific and technical subjects at the college and university level were compared at the terminal year of each policy period.

The differences in the achievement of goals were analyzed with respect to differences in policy approach.

Primary Education

The study revealed the following results.

In 1960, at the national level, primary school enrollment ratios were 36 percent. CNE (1959) proposed to enroll 85 percent of the primary age group children by 1970. This target was to be achieved through the cooperation of the Government of Pakistan, local governing bodies, local communities and the private sector. The Government of Pakistan set this target in theory but ignored it in practice, as it failed to allocate enough funds for primary education. The limited allocations made in national development plans were further reduced during

implementation. Thus, from 1960 to 1970, primary education got only 4.26 percent of the educational development funds and 30 percent of the national education budget. The private sector, local bodies and local communities showed good potential to contribute but the Government of Pakistan did not exploit these helping hands very well. As a result, non-government participation was reduced from 52 percent in 1960 to 7 percent in 1967/68. Non-government schools survived only in urban areas such as Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi and Hyderabad. From 1960 to 1970, annual growth in primary school's institutions, enrollments and teachers was 7.75 percent, 6.58 percent and 6.72 percent, respectively. In 1970/71, in the terminal year of the policy period, only 45 percent of primary age children were enrolled nationwide against the target of 85 percent. These enrollments were unevenly distributed between boys and girls and among provinces. Boys constituted 60 percent and girls constituted 20 percent. In the provinces, enrollment ratios were 22 percent in Baluchistan, 39 percent in Sind, 46 percent in NWFP and 48 percent in Punjab.

These findings indicate that the system did not expand quantitatively and disparities persisted in educational facilities between the sexes and among the provinces.

In March 1972, New Education Policy, EP (1972), vowed to enroll 100 percent of the boys and 70 percent of the

girls of primary age by 1979. Thus, 85 percent enrollment targets were to be achieved by 1979. To accomplish this objective, the policy (a) nationalized non-government primary schools, (b) abolished tuition fees, (c) eliminated examinations and possibly introduced a double shift system in some primary schools.

From 1970 to 1978, the government spent 12.8 percent of the education development budget and 32 percent of the total education budget on primary education. Annual growth rates for institutions, enrollments and teachers were 3 percent, 6.25 percent and 5.10 percent, respectively. In 1978, enrollment ratios at the national level were 54 percent against the target of 85 percent in 1979. Boys' enrollment ratios were 71 percent and girls' constituted 33 percent.

In the provinces, Baluchistan had enrollment ratios of 32 percent, Sind 59 percent, Punjab 56 percent and NWFP 52 percent. These figures indicate that this policy also failed to universalize primary education and to reduce disparities.

Problems_Confronting_the_Expansion_of_Primary Education_in_Pakistan

The history of primary education planning in Pakistan is a history of goal setting rather than successful achievement of goals. There might be a number of factors; social, political, economic, cultural and religious,

impeding the realization of goals but some of these do become obvious in this study, while the existence of others can be inferred. The PNEC (1949), CNE (1959), PEP (1969) and EP (1972) and the subsequent development plans all promised to substantially increase funds for primary education but none of them could keep its promises. The implementation of policies and plans has been markedly different than the original policies' thinkings. Probably, many different powerful forces in the society constrained the process of implementation. The Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-1983), hinting toward these forces, pointed out

In the present arrangement, it would not be easy to implement the policy of giving highest priority to primary education. The population coming from the well-to-do and educated sections of society is generally for expansion of higher education. Demands for the expansion of primary education, on the other hand, are not made forcefully since the underprivileged persons 'adversely affected' by lack of education are, very often, not conscious of their deprivation.

The plan has rightly identified the major obstacle in the expansion of primary education. The top-heavy pyramidal shape of the educational system is obvious proof of this phenomenon.

Seventy-five percent of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas. Rural children help their parents in agriculture and other related jobs. By attending schools, they incur opportunity cost, and primary education has low

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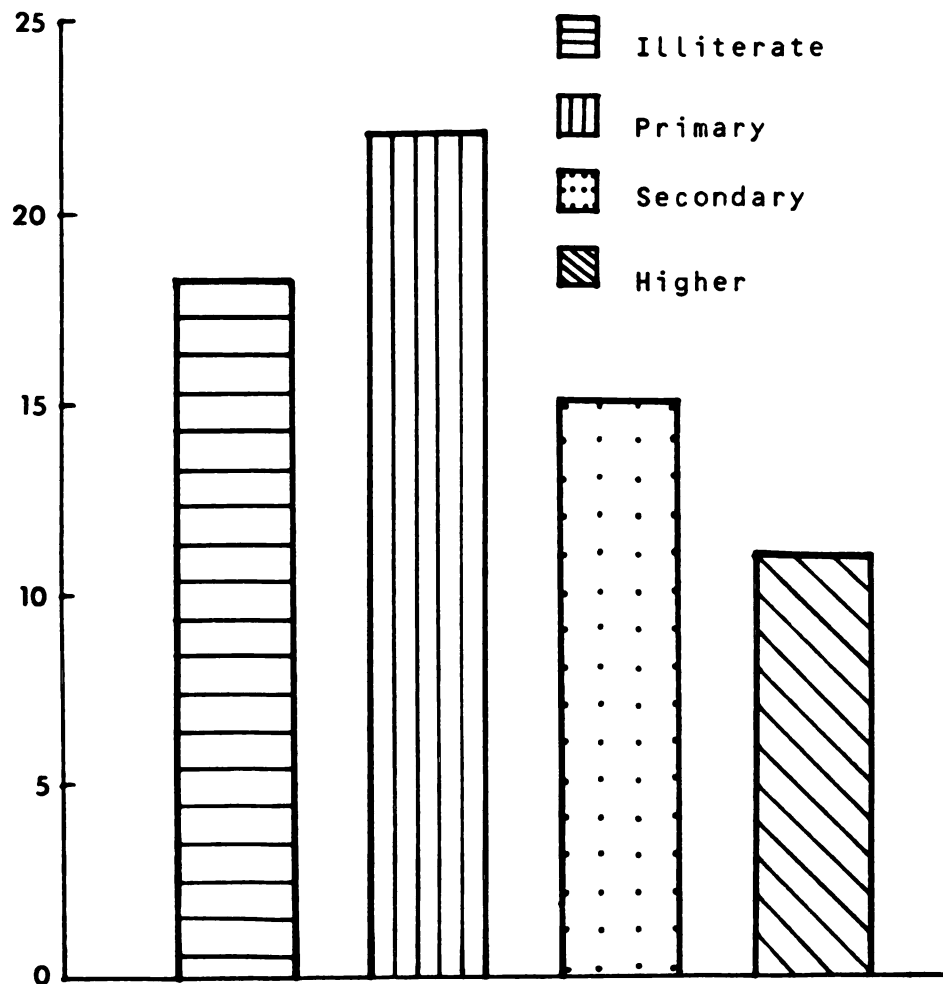
Government of Pakistan, The Fifth Five Year Plan (1978-1983), p. 478.

rates of long-term of return for them. In the last two decades, the highest rate of unemployment was among primary school graduates. Figure 2 presents the level of unemployment among various levels of graduates. Since the rate of return is very low, rural children cannot sacrifice opportunity cost for useless primary education.

The rate of population growth is very high in Pakistan. Population has constantly grown at the rate of 3 percent or more since 1960. In 1960, the Planning Commission of Pakistan stipulated that it would go down to 2.5 percent but actually no change occurred. Similarly, in the 1970s the same rate of growth continued. As a result, large numbers of children are entering every year in the school age group. CNE (1959) and EP (1972) and subsequent development plans did not take this phenomenon into account. Unless population growth is controlled, universalization of primary education in Pakistan is indeed likely remain a difficult task to achieve.

Social attitude of the people is another factor which is a hindrance in the process of primary education development. Female students constitute approximately half of the population but their participation rates are low. It is not only the lack of provision of schools or teachers for girls but lack of interest of parents. For example, in

Figure 2. Educated Unemployed in Pakistan



Source: John Simmons (ed.). The Education Dilemma (Oxford Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 33.

Note: "Primary" is defined as passing 5 grades. "Secondary," 12 grades. "Higher," 16 to 18 grades.
 2. "Survey results," (from which data is derived) are not official and several problems with the data make them not fully reliable.

NWFP 84 percent male children were enrolled in primary schools while enrollment ratios for females were only 18 percent.

Dropout rates remained high throughout the last two decades as is reported in Table 57.

Table 57

RETENTION AND WASTAGE IN CLASSES I-V FOR THE YEARS
1962-1967 AND 1972-1977 IN PAKISTAN

	<u>Enrollments, Grade I</u>	<u>Enrollments, Grade V</u>
1962-67	100	49.38
1973-78	100	54.00

Computed from Institute of Education and Research, West Pakistan Statistical Profile, Table 6, p. 15; Government of Pakistan, Pakistan Education Statistics 1947-1979, Table 15, p. 26.

Both the policies appeared to be about the same in not being able to control this dropout factor.

Secondary Education

CNE (1959) and EP (1972) had the following common objectives for the development of secondary education in Pakistan:

1. Quantitative expansion,
2. Equalized distribution of educational facilities between the sexes and among provinces. In order to achieve these goals,

- a. CNE (1959) involved the private sector, local governing bodies and the national government in providing education. It also permitted the charging of tuition fees,
- b. EP (1972) centralized the secondary education system under the national government and made education free for everyone.

From 1960 to 1970, the government of Pakistan spent 19.23 percent of the education budget on secondary education. This does not include non-governmental contributions but does include grants-in-aid to private schools.

Assessment and comparison of secondary education was done at two levels, i.e., the middle school and the high school levels.

Middle_School_Level

From 1960 to 1970, at the middle school level, the rate of growth in institutions, enrollments and teachers was 7.20 percent, 6.98 percent, and 8.27 percent per year, respectively. In 1967, there were 2970 middle schools in the country, 368 private schools and the rest managed by the government.

In 1970, the enrollment ratios nationally, at the middle school level, in grades 6-8 for the age group 10-12, were 27.52 percent, enrollment ratios for boys being 40.9

percent and for girls 11.7 percent. In the provinces, enrollment ratios were 12.3 percent in Baluchistan, 22.3 percent in Sind, 28.4 percent in NWFP and 30.3 percent in Punjab.

In 1972, the middle schools were nationalized and education became free. From 1970 to 1978, annual growth rates in institutions, enrollments and teachers were 3.27 percent, 7.12 percent and 4.71 percent, respectively. Enrollment ratios at the national level were 21.64 percent. Boys constituted 28.40 percent, and girls 11.60 percent. In the provinces, enrollment ratios were 9.50 percent in Baluchistan, 19.44 percent in NWFP, 25.94 percent in Punjab and 23.94 percent in Sind. These data suggests that when education became free and governmentalized,

1. Annual growth rates in institutions, enrollments and teachers decreased,
2. Enrollment ratios at national level declined from 27.52 in 1970 to 21.64 percent in 1978,
3. Boys' enrollment ratios decreased from 40.9 percent in 1970 to 28.40 percent in 1978. Girls' enrollment ratios decreased from 11.7 percent in 1970 to 11.60 percent in 1978,
4. At the provincial level, enrollment ratios in Baluchistan dropped from 12.3 percent in 1971/72 to 9.5 percent in 1978, NWFP dropped from 28.4 percent

to 19.44 percent. Punjab had enrollment ratios of 30.3 percent in 1971 and these ratios went down to 25.96 percent in 1977/78. There was a marginal increase in Sind from 22.3 percent in 1971/72 to 23.94 percent in 1977/78.

It was concluded that nationalization of middle school education and making it free proved to be counterproductive. Growth rates in institutions, enrollments and teachers went down. Consequently, enrollment ratios at the national level decreased. Disparities between the sexes and among provinces increased.

High School

From 1960 to 1970, the annual rates of growth in high school institutions, enrollment and teachers were 5.47 percent, 6.96 percent and 6.61 percent respectively. In 1967, there 1,764 high schools in Pakistan; 23.46 percent of these schools were managed by local governing bodies, 40.02 percent were administered by the private sector. The remaining 36.52 percent were government schools.

In 1970/71, high school enrollment ratios at the national level were 16.8 percent. Boys constituted 25 percent and girls constituted 6.8 percent. Among the provinces, Baluchistan had enrollment ratios of 6.2 percent, NWFP 13.4 percent, Punjab 18.9 percent and Sind had enrollment ratios of 14.7 percent.

EP (1972) was aimed at increasing enrollment ratios and decreasing disparities. For this purpose, it nationalized non-government schools and abolished tuition fees. From 1970 to 1978, the rate of increase in institutions, enrollments and teachers was 5.41 percent, 5.90 percent and 7.5 percent, respectively. In 1977/78, the enrollment ratios at the national level were 14.35 percent as against 16.8 percent in 1971/72. Boys' enrollment ratios decreased from 25 percent to 21.17 percent and girls' from 11.6 percent to 6.83 percent. At the provincial level, enrollment ratios in Baluchistan went down from 6.2 percent to 5.17 percent; in NWFP, from 13.4 percent to 12.14 percent; in Punjab from 18.9 percent to 15.82 percent. There was some marginal improvement in Sind, where enrollment ratios increased from 14.7 percent in 1971/72 to 15.86 percent in 1977/78.

These findings lead to the conclusion that nationalization of schools and free education increased government expenditure. Instead of proposed quantitative expansion and reduction of disparities, however, growth rates and enrollment ratios declined and disparities widened.

Free education helped those areas which had enough schools. For instance, enrollment ratios increased in

Sind. In Baluchistan, however, there were a limited number of schools and many people lacked access to education. Therefore, free education there did not enhance enrollment.

Discussion

CNE (1959) recommended the charging of tuition fees in both government and private schools. Government in its own schools kept tuition fees low but allowed the local bodies and private sector to recover 60 percent of the recurring expenditure from tuition fees. EP (1972) argued that poor people cannot afford tuition fees and in this way they remain deprived of education. Moreover, private education creates inequality among society. Therefore, it decided to nationalize private education and make it free for everyone.

But the findings of this study are quite contradictory to the claims of the policy. Table 32 presents the comparison of enrollment ratios in both policy periods. It is evident that in the second policy period (a) enrollment ratios went down, and (b) disparities increased. Enrollment ratios went down because government failed to increase budget and build new schools. The disparities increased. Enrollment ratios went down 3 percent in Baluchistan, 9 percent in NWFP, and 5 percent in Punjab but growth rate increased by 1.90 percent in Sind.

The reason lay with the fact that nationalization of schools and free education helped only those segments of society who already had school buildings. NWFP and Baluchistan did not have private schools. They had a limited number of high schools. Therefore, people belonging to these areas availed limited facilities.

Therefore, the only beneficiaries of nationalization of education and free education were private school teachers and urban areas where private schools existed.

College_Education

Both policies had two objectives in developing college education in Pakistan.

1. College education must perform three tasks and they must be accomplished at one and the same time:
 - a. The range of educational courses must be extended,
 - b. The quality of education must be improved, and
 - c. The number of students must be increased.
2. Equality of educational opportunity between the sexes and among provinces must be maintained.

CNE (1959) involved the private sector and government in the achievement of these targets. The government spent 9.59 percent of the education budget from 1960 to 1970 on college education. Out of this budget, the government gave some grants to private colleges but 80 to 90 percent of the college education budget was spent on its own colleges.

In 1970, there were 289 colleges in Pakistan; 175 of these colleges were in the private sector and 114 were managed and administered by the government. Private colleges were clustered in big cities, particularly in urban areas of Sind and Punjab. As a result, facilities were unevenly distributed among provinces. In addition, private colleges indiscriminately enrolled students in liberal arts groups. In 1972, after nationalization, the patterns of distribution of college education among provinces improved. There were significant improvements in enrollment in scientific and technical subjects.

Discussion

In both policy periods, college education expanded quantitatively beyond expectations. During CNE (1959) 75 colleges were proposed to be established but actual increase was 173 colleges. During EP (1972) which remained in force for 7 years, 117 new colleges opened as is presented in Table 43. This quantitative expansion was not desired in both policy periods.

1. In fact, college education in the past has expanded on slaughtering the funds reserved for primary and secondary education.

2. In the first policy period, the colleges were dominated by students offering courses in humanities and liberal arts group. Particularly, private colleges had

limited facilities for science education. This overemphasis on liberal arts groups causes two problems.

1. Wastage of resources on unnecessary education.
2. Pressure on labor market.

Economic Survey of Pakistan (1978/79) pointed out

Higher levels of general education are suited to white collar jobs which are, however, limited in scope. In a situation like this when the educated find that they are neither employable nor equipped for self-employment, they are forced to continue schooling until they climb up another step in the ladder or drop out in sheer exhaustion. This results in deterioration of educational standards, wastage of resources, loss of productive time and yet they are confronted with the same situation of uncertainty in the employment market.

3. Unfair distribution of college education creates moral, political and social problems. EP (1972) succeeded to minimize disparities. At present, all provinces of Pakistan have adequate college education facilities. None of the provinces need more colleges. Therefore, government should have full control over college education and private sector should be totally banned, otherwise problems of inequalities in opportunities would again arise.

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Government of Pakistan, Economic Survey of Pakistan (1978-1979) (Islamabad: Finance Division, 1978/79), p. 5.

University Education

From 1960 to 1970, university education expanded enormously in Pakistan. There was a record expansion of 22.7 percent in enrollment. The enrollments increased in traditional disciplines of liberal arts groups. No improvement took place in academic standards. From 1970 to 1980, university education further expanded. The number of universities increased from five to ten. Most of the new universities were established in interior regions of the country. This helped the better geographical distribution of higher education in Pakistan. Moreover, the establishment of University Grants Commission helped in better planning and development of higher education. Enrollments in scientific and technical subjects increased. Centres of excellence are also helping in making higher manpower needs of the country.

At present, there are 12 general universities in the country. Baluchistan has one university, NWFP has two, Punjab three and Sind has two. One university is in Azad Kashmir and three universities are managed by the central government. There is no reason to open more universities. Instead, qualitative improvement should be the chief objective in university education. In addition, university education must follow the manpower needs of the country.

Recommendations_for_Future_Education

Policy_Developments

1. The present study reveals that herculean efforts are needed to universalize primary education in Pakistan. There are three kinds of universalization of primary education.

- a. Universalization of schools,
- b. Universalization of enrollments,¹
- c. Universalization of retentions.

In the past two decades, the government of Pakistan tried to universalize primary schools. Since buildings are expensive to build, government could not succeed in building enough schools for boys and girls. It is suggested that government should utilize the existing school buildings appropriately. In the urban areas, a double shift system should be introduced in boys' and girls' schools. In the rural areas, girls should be taught in the first shift and boys in the second shift. This arrangement would also help to bring those boys into the schools who cannot afford daytime in the schools.

2. Funds for primary education should be increased and the government should take care that they are not

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This idea is taken from, J. P. Naik, Education in the Fourth Plan: Review and Perspective (Bombay, India: Nachikela Publications, 1968), pp. 46-47.

curtailed or transferred to other sectors in the process of implementation. This may be done by introducing legal reforms in the accounting section of the Planning Commission of Pakistan and the Ministry of Education.

3. The government should again encourage the participation of the private sector and local governments in the expansion of primary education. However, precautions should be taken to assure that teachers are appropriately paid and provided adequate service facilities.

4. High rates of dropout were observed in both policy periods. Efforts should be made to retain the students by providing free text books, writing materials and recreation facilities.

5. Curriculum at primary schools should be made functional so that rate of return to school graduates is increased.

6. Girls' participation has been low in both policy periods. Some of the reasons for low participation rates for girls could be parents' indifferent attitudes towards girls' education. Measures should be taken to motivate the parents to send their daughters to schools.

7. The participation of local bodies and the private sector should again be invited in the development of secondary education. Government should give grants-in-aid to these schools.

8. All non-government secondary schools should be registered with the government. Strict rules and regulations should be enforced so that these schools (a) pay adequate wages to teachers, (b) maintain good academic standards, and (c) are not converted to commercial enterprises.

9. Tuition fees should be reinstated in secondary schools. At least 60 percent of expenditures should be recovered through tuition. However, loans and scholarships should be awarded to needy and competent students.

10. General expansion in college education should be frozen for at least five years. Expansion in enrollment should be allowed for women and those in rural areas.

11. Private colleges should be completely banned.

12. Facilities in existing colleges should be improved and maximally utilized.

13. At present, there are 12 general universities in the country. Baluchistan has one university, NWFP has two, Punjab three, and Sind has two universities. One university is in Azad Kashmir and three universities are managed by the central government. There is no reason to open more universities. Instead, qualitative improvement

should be the chief objective in university education. In addition, tuition fees should be substantially increased. Universities should generate revenue for themselves. The increase of tuition fees at the university level will serve two purposes; (a) reduction in social demand, (b) universities will not consume the education budget which is much needed for primary and secondary education.

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