

The Impact of Educational Policies on the Religious Minorities of Pakistan 1947-2010

by

Saeed Ur Rehman

and

Afiya S. Zia



South Asia Forum for Human Rights

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Tel: 92-21-35830418 Fax: 92-21-35830419
E-mail: Safhr.Pakistan@gmail.com, Safhr.pk@safhr.org
www.safhr.org

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South Asia Forum for Human Rights
D-3/1, Block 7, KDA Scheme 5, Clifton, Karachi
Tel: 92-21-35830418 Fax: 92-21-35830419
E-mail: Safhr.Pakistan@gmail.com, Safhr.pk@safhr.org
www.safhr.org

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The Impact of Educational Policies on the Religious Minorities of Pakistan: 1947-2010

Introduction:

This study was initiated by the South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR) to assess the social, political and cultural losses that have resulted for the minority community as a consequence of unequal and discriminatory policy. This report relies on a review of educational policies initiated by various governments and the recommendations of several committees dating from 1947 to present day. In particular, it studies the trajectory of policies which have had a direct and negative impact on the status, opportunities, and social justice available to the religious minorities of Pakistan. It refers consistently to the political environment and opportunism demonstrated by military and civilian governments and policymakers alike, which have been responsible for the decline in the status, skill-enhancement possibilities, and investment in the human capital for religious minorities.

The study was envisaged as an archival as well as consultative social research project. For the archival part, the authors consulted all the proceedings of major educational conferences and policy documents from 1947 to 2010 and investigated the historical development of the transformation from numerical dominance to ideological dominance of the majority. The distinction between these two types of dominance is very important because the former (numerical dominance) is the logical consequence of a democratic political configuration whereas the latter (ideological dominance) can be antithetical to the very nature of democracy and that is what we have attempted to analyse and critique. What becomes abundantly clear in the study of educational policy documents from a historical perspective is that an erstwhile minority (Muslims in United India) after acquiring the status of the majority in a new country can become as oppressive as its own former oppressors.

The second part of the study, after a review and analysis of all educational policies and proposals since 1947, builds upon the ideas and recommendations from the four consultations held with minority communities and SAFHR's research and advocacy work with the marginalised citizens of Pakistan.

Situational Analysis:

The recent figures show that Pakistan continues to lag behind overall in education and literacy levels within the South Asian region. According to UNESCO, the literacy rate in Pakistan is increasing in a skewed manner:

the literacy rate is growing the total number of illiterate people has increased. In 1951 it was 22.54 million and by 2006 it stood at 55 million. Pakistan Education Statistics¹ reveals that the overall literacy rate in the 10+ age group rose from 45% in 2001 to 54% in 2005-06. Over the same period, adult male literacy rate increased from 58% to 65% while that of adult female from 32% to 42%. Alongside this significant gender disparity, there are marked urban-rural differences. For example, the literacy rate in Punjab is 55%, but in Balochistan is just 37% (UNESCO 2008: 7).

However, the indicators for religious minorities demonstrate even a more disappointing and alarming quality of life and choices in the country. One method of assessing the status of minorities in Pakistan is by virtue of the fact that they feature in the national narrative at best as victims – of discriminatory laws such as the Blasphemy Law, of inter-religious conflict, of violence. Rarely are members of this community viewed as contributors or citizens deserving equal rights or participation towards nation-building. At best, they are seen as deserving some sort of compensation for their secondary status such as affirmative action, just as women are.

The findings of this study are embedded in the various political settings which, it finds, have repeatedly influenced the educational policies of the period under discussion. This intertwining of the political backdrop with the specific educational policies, also reveal much about the anxieties of (often non-democratic) leadership over the years. The study also notes the growing appropriation of Islam as an idiom in national and political identity. The latter often comes at the expense of religious plurality and carries over into policies in the form of chauvinism and exclusion rather than the spirit of equality and fraternity.

Evolution of Educational Policies:

The document that was prepared as a result of the first National Education Conference held in December 1947, reflected the lack of a precise vision of Pakistani identity (Government of Pakistan 1947). There is nothing articulated about any specific, suitable system of education but there is an expressed ambition to become modern and scientific. The ideological basis recommended for education is Islamic with an emphasis on brotherhood, tolerance and justice. Although this is abstract, still the policy clearly emphasizes the resolve to make religious instructions compulsory for Muslim students and allows for the provision for other communities to do the same if they should desire.

By the time of the Second National Plan of Education Development of 1951-1957, this abstract notion of universal Islamic principles already begins to become concretized into policy. There are numerous references to the need to reject 'Western' values that have ignored local religion and culture. The document stresses the need to seek a new identity basis for the country by breaking religious neutrality and by adopting 'Islamic socialism'. It recognises that education cannot exist in a vacuum and thus seeks to use education as a tool for the ideological transformation that the country needs. The document tasks itself to incorporate Islamic ideology into the educational system and to operationalize Urdu, as the national and official language of the country (Government of Pakistan 1951).

Report of the Commission on National Education (Sharif Commission) - 1959

The Army Chief and the Commander-in-Chief General Ayub Khan had declared Martial Law in October 1958. This martial law was declared on the country at a time when general elections had been called under the much-awaited 1956 Constitution. Only sixty-three days after taking power, the military regime appointed a commission tasked to speedily spell out a program for educational reform.

Addressing the members of the commission on January 5, 1959, General Ayub urged them to revisit the educational system. He argued that educational reform should not only help in the development of national character but should also meet the nation's future needs. However, subsequently two main problems got entangled which reflect the politicization of education; one was the medium of instruction and the other, the Pakistan ideology. According to Dr. Manzoor Ahmad, the former Rector, International Islamic University, Islamabad, "Conflicting opinions on both issues delayed the formation of a positive plan of action till 1959[,] when Ayub Khan constituted a Commission on National Education [which] produced a systematic report dealing with all the major policy issues[,] including incorporation of the role of religion (ideology) in the system of education and the medium of instruction".

The 1956 Constitution recognized the national language as Urdu but envisaged no senate to enfranchise federating units. A One Unit was established and the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan was embraced. However, most analysts agree that

during these eight years, both the civil and the military bureaucracies strengthened their grip of power.

Clearly, from the outset, the issues of language, of ideology, of sub-nationalities, and of religion played both a pivotal as well as, discordant role in the decision and policy making in Pakistan. Even though the issues of provinces and religious minorities had not been resolved, centrism had grown in strength.

In this backdrop then, the language of the document issued by the Commission on National Education 1959, focuses a lot on nationalism and unity. There are repeat references that both defend and promote the notion of Islam as a ‘religion of nature.’ There is also the recommendation for the educated community to make Islam a special study and be versed in Arabic but to complement this with the natural sciences. It also suggests that religious instruction should be confined to those who profess the corresponding religion and should not hamper social or political unity of the country. The policy also stresses that religion should not be presented as a dogma, superstition or ritual.

Islamiyat was recommended as a compulsory subject for all students up till grade 8. In addition, it was to be offered as a subject for Muslim students in ‘Christian schools’.

The 1956 Constitution turned out to be a continuation of the Resolution of Objectives in that it declared Pakistan to be an Islamic Republic. With respect to religious education for Muslims and non-Muslims, the Commission adhered to the Quaid-e-Azam’s historic speech to the Constituent Assembly on the 11th of August, 1947. This was a departure from the second educational conference and a return to the first educational conference.

The Commission clearly notes that several religions and denominations exist in Pakistan and called for non-Muslims to be educated according to their religious beliefs. It also recognized the various schools of thought in Islam and said syllabi should not contain anything repugnant to these. This is still seen today as exemplary of a policy which largely embraced religious and denominational differences. This is an aspect that was subsequently displaced after the discontinuation of the Sharif Commission reforms. Since 1969 and, at the moment of this study, prejudice against religious and denominational diversity has grown with every new policy.

¹ Dr Manzoor Ahmad, Convocation address, ‘The Problematique of Education In Pakistan’, to the Institute of Business and Technology, Islamabad, 2009.

The Commission’s policy on the madrassahs sought to reform them into harmony with public schools. The Commission also took into account the 1953 experiment of harmonizing madrassahs with public schools – as part of which madrassahs in large numbers had incorporated subjects like English, mathematics and science into their curricula and were moving in a parallel direction with mainstream schools. The Commission pronounced misleading the notions of discord between religion and science

and asserted that modern science posed no threat to Islam.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the Commission floated courageous proposals to address the reservations of non-Muslims. Five presidential ordinances were issued to enforce the recommendations of the Commission. However, the spirit of the Commission's recommendations was not taken into account in preparation of the corresponding ordinances. So incongruous were these laws to the Commission's recommendations that it was possible to admit objections to the former while supporting the latter. However, for certain reasons, the right and left wing hardliners in the educational institutions did not make this distinction, an attitude that had serious implications for the future of our education system.

In some ways, the Commission had the foresight to recommend preventive measures in the late 1950s, against the religious bigotry and extremism that are consuming our youth today. However, in retrospect, had the Commission strongly insisted on equal religious rights for all citizens and these had simultaneously been converted into law, the status of religious minorities may have taken a different direction. Such an inclusive approach may just have guaranteed the fulfillment of the Quaide-Azam's historic address of 11 August 1947. It may also have prevented the manipulative use of religion and plugged the bigotry that followed under the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq (1979-1988).

The Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report on Student Problem and Welfare – 1969

This Commission report continues along the earlier spirit of educational policies in that it continues to tie education to national unity and, now, patriotism. It links the Constitution of Pakistan to the right to education but also refers to the right to religious instruction. The Commission report allays the fears over Christian missionary schools by clarifying that the said schools themselves claim they are not missionary in nature nor by way of content. There is also mention of madrassahs in East Pakistan managed by a Madrassah Education Board and interestingly, the medium of instruction for these is Urdu. The Commission notes that appeals/recommendations were received which urged this dual system of education to be replaced by a unified pattern instead.

Proposal for a new educational policy; the Air Marshal (Retd.) Nur Khan Report – 1969

By 1969, the consequences of splintered identities within Pakistan are reflected clearly in the proposal drafted for a new educational policy. This report, drafted by Air Marshal (r) Nur Khan, is often recognized as a turning point in the academic, as well as, the political direction that Pakistan subsequently took. Such directions include the escalation of the ongoing cold war between Pakistan and India, the closing down of missionary schools, the political appropriation in the name of "Ideology of Pakistan," and the State's according preferential treatment to 'madrassahs' (Muslim religious seminaries) over public schools. All these aspects within the report specify the development of an

ideological stereotyping.

The political backdrop is important to understand such a development. This includes the aftermath of the Pakistan-India War of 1965 which established a cold war acrimony between the two countries. Debates over the Tashkent declaration dominated all other attention towards nation-building. Such a sentiment can be understood in the light of initiatives such as the confiscation of the properties owned by ‘unacceptable elements’, under the “Enemy property Act”, or with the mutual banning of the other’s films. The official media campaign during and for the 1965 War was proclaiming it as the “Battle of the Infidels and Islam.” The inclusion of loaded terms like “shahadat” (martyrdom), “jazba e jihad” (passion for jihad) and others of the same ilk, into war anthems and national songs proved to fuel the war mania. There was no analysis at a deeper level that predicted that playing upon religious sentiment would unwittingly encourage the religious forces already operating in the national political setup.

In order to sideline the embarrassment occasioned by the Tashkent Agreement, Mujeeb-ur-Rehman’s Six Points were widely publicized. The Agartala Conspiracy Case instituted against Mujeeb also contributed to his popularity in East Pakistan. This re-invigorated the student movement against the Ayub regime. Consequently, the Chief of the Army Staff and Ayub Khan’s right-hand man, General Yahya Khan, decided to take over. Air Marshal Nur Khan and General Sher Ali Patodi were two diligent representatives of Yahya’s team.

General Sher Ali Patodi is said to have coined the term “Nazriya-e-Pakistan” (the Ideology of Pakistan). Dubbed in plain language, the term signifies a conceptual amalgamation comprising a strong federation, anti-India propaganda, and religious fundamentalism. The concept was later on sanctified and assigned a special role in future policy-making. Those were the days when key functionaries of the state started taking fancy to the criticism on Islami Nizaam (the ‘Islamic System’) made by the Jama’at-e-Islami. Though the intellectuals of the Jama’at-e-Islami camp may claim credit about it today as their success, the fact remains that the policy shift had its origins elsewhere.

A letter dated November 23, 1967, addressed to Syed Munawwar Hassan, the Nazim-e-A’ala (the chief) of the Jamiat-e-Taliba-e-Islam (the student wing of the Jama’at-e-Islami), issued from the Secretary, Ministry of Education and the Chairman, National Curriculum Board, bears out the policy shift. The Jamiat had the letter especially published in the centenary number of the ‘Mehwer’, a periodical of the Punjab University.

Upon an appeal made by the Ministry of Education about the curriculum, Syed Munawwar Hassan presented a detailed account to the Ministry on November 1, 1967.

The daily Nawai Waq’t dated November 23, 1967, referred to this exchange. The Minister’s Committee deliberated upon the recommendations put forth. In appreciation, Qudrattullah Shahab, then Secretary Education, wrote back to Syed Munnawar Hassan:

‘I on the behalf of National Curriculum Board thank you for your letter dated November

1st. Your organization took great efforts to compile for us the recommendations and suggestions for the improvement of the national educational curricula. I ensure you that we shall utilize to the fullest the recommendations and suggestions made by Islami Jamiat-e-Talbaa. Pray Allah for us so that He helps us and shows us the right path' (Qudrattulah Shahab. Letter No. 52(E) /67, dated December 2, 1967).

Shahab left the government as soon as the Ayub regime was ousted and replaced by the Chief of Army Staff, General Yahya Khan. The duty of showing the 'right path', however, fell to Mr. Nur Khan, who was very close to General Sher Ali Patodi. In July 1969, a report regarding "Recommendations for the New Education Policy" was published. That both the compilers of the report and the promulgators of the Ordinance were really in haste was a fact denoted by the short timeline set for the preparation of the report.

At this point it bears noting that if General Yahyah Khan, as proclaimed, had taken over just for an interim period in order to convene general elections, what was the motivation for setting up policy commissions? This task ostensibly should have been that of the newly elected government.

However, as the summary of the Nur Khan report suggest: "the purposes of compiling the report are the review of the existing education policy and the formulation of recommendations for doing away with deficits/gaps. Now when it is known that if education is the best means of the national development and solidarity, a radical departure from the existing education policy is imperative."

This policy document recognises that there is a dual educational system operating— the modern system instituted by the British in India and the classical system developed by Muslims and which produced great thinkers. The proposal rationalizes the need for an integrated system of education based on a 'common set of cultural values based on the precepts of Islam'. The proposal also regrets the growth of a secular class and its undue influence over national policy. It directly attributes this class to be a product of foreign missionary educational institutions which it suggests promote values that are 'alien to national values and Islamic concepts of life'. Therefore the proposal recommends the new policy should nationalize (presumably as an effort to indigenize and align with prescribed Islamic values) these institutions.

Compulsory Islamiyat was recommended for up until grade 10 and there was also a recommendation for awarding certificate degrees to Madrassah students on par with mainstream education. A critical review of the policy points out the following flaws;

The recommendations put forth by the architects of the new policy were designed to:

- Criticize the existing education policy (the Sharif Commission) as secular;
- Vouch for incorporation of certain sectarian interpretations into curricula in the name of an education system in a stratified society;
- Promote nationalization of the Christian (missionary) education institutions, proclaiming the same as an obstacle to the formation of Pakistani nationalism – all

- in contrariness to the Sharif Commission;
- Highlight differences between secular and Islamic systems, and to deduce in favour of the latter, thereby recommending a uniform education system based on sectarian or a divisive viewpoint of Islam;
 - Disregard the diversity of various Islamic schools of thoughts in Pakistan and to promote the implementation of a single sect/viewpoint through a homogenous Islamic education system;
 - Consider reading, writing and speaking in English language as westernization;
 - Begrudging acceptance of the Bengali language, and to altogether discount other regional languages (e.g., Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Brahwi, and Baluchi), their literatures and linguistic histories; and to emphatically recommend Urdu for West Pakistan;
 - To water down the contributions, in promotion of education, of respected institutions (such as Anjuman e Punjab Ali Garh, Anjuman e Hamayat e Islam, Anjuman e Islamia, Sindh Madrissat ul Islam, Usmani University, Peshawar University, University of the Punjab, and the Government College Lahore) and stalwart Muslim personages
 - (for instance, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Syed Ameer Ali, Nawwab Mohsin ul Mulk, Mian Muhammad Shafi, Mian Fazl e Hussain, and Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qayyum), to whom is owed the awakening of Muslims of India, from Bengal to the Punjab;
 - Aggrandize the academic contributions — and edify the same as the cornerstone of Pakistani nationalism — of such Muslim figures as had boycotted the English Education in the latter half of the nineteenth century and had instead established madrissas and ‘dar-ul-uloom’ (seminaries for higher religious education);
 - Make such recommendations as would make it mandatory to ‘align’ Law, Economics and other Social Sciences with ‘Islamic values’ under the pretext of the Muslim intellectual renaissance and reformation;
 - Get the degrees issued by madrassah institutions approved by the state so as to make the qualification of the Talibans equivalent to the formal education and acceptable for government jobs (making their entry possible in government offices) — instead of promoting rational inquiry in these institutions;
 - Instead of incorporating concepts like international brotherhood, justice and Islamic egalitarian values into the curriculum, to try to gain credit by only having Islamic Studies made a mandatory subject up to the matriculation level (i.e., the 10th grade).

The Jama’at e Islami gladly approved of Nur Khan’s report. The daily Dawn Karachi dated July 5, 1969 reported the news as follows: “The recommendations are acceptable to Jamiat, with a few changes”.

Salim Mansur Khalid, a Jamiat leader, writes in the centenary edition of the Punjab University periodical, the ‘Mehwar’:

“When Nur Khan went on to visit East Pakistan for compiling the recommendations and scheduled meetings with students’ representatives, the Chhatro League (pro-India) and the Chhatro Union (pro-Moscow) colluded with Jamiat and jointly refused to hold talks with him. Upon this, Air Marshal Nur Khan separately met Jamiat’s delegation; this enraged the other students group. Nur Khan finally announced the “Recommendations

for the New Education Policy” on June 3, 1969. This was appreciated by a majority of students as well as the national/religious leadership. The religious aspects of the policy were appreciated exclusively by Jamiat”.

Clearly, this policy was not only opposed to the Quaid’s vision concerning the minorities in Pakistan, but was, arguably, also an open criticism of the Pakistan Movement – the movement which was nurtured by the Muslims who had been educated in the same educational institutions were now being sidelined in the Report as secular institutions. There are people who believe that the policy was never implemented. However, if we closely observe the 1970 education policy, one can find many decisions carried into it that were originally proposed in the 1969 policy.

New Education Policy of 1970

Many of the recommendations from the proposal of 1969 were absorbed into the policy of 1970. Unlike the rigour displayed in the Sharif Commission, the 1970 policy shies away from seminal matters. It was a brief educational policy that failed to even record that there had been significant change in policy direction as recommended by the Nur Khan Report. This silence was tantamount to an acceptance of these changes.

Concerning women’s education, the policy took on the recommendation of the Nur Khan Report that co-education did not sit well with our traditional values. Based on this observation, it was therefore necessary to set up separate schools and colleges for women.

On the language issue, it evaded the question of introducing the mother language as the medium of instruction up to the primary level and focused on the Urdu vs. English controversy. However, it went along with the Sharif Commission report in recommending the establishment of a district authority to tackle educational problems on the district level and zonal college authority to oversee colleges. Provinces were instructed to assist in establishment of these institutions. It is to be remembered that shifting responsibility to provinces is an expedient move frequently used when the centre is unclear over an issue. This merely acts as a filibuster and policy often lies unheeded then.

In addition, the establishment of a National Council for Education was advocated, which was to have as its members prominent citizens besides educationalists. Instead of gradually mainstreaming the parallel madrassah system into the school system, the policy called for the East Pakistan Madrassa Board to be accorded equal status with the Board of Secondary Education.

In 1969, the Nur Khan Report had called for Islamiyat to be taught as a compulsory subject up to the tenth grade. The 1970 policy embraced this position. Like the Nur Khan Report, the 1970 policy also remained silent on the issue of how non-Muslim students would be imparted religious education in line with their beliefs.

It was acknowledged that Pakistan was amongst countries with high illiteracy rates. The need to regulate private education was identified but the responsibility for regulation

was left with the provincial governments. Thus education was not considered a prioritized sector. A Syllabus Development Bureau was proposed in each province but there was no word as to how the Bureaus will be related to the respective Textbook Board. The report acknowledged that most of the serving teachers lacked even the minimum capacity to become teachers. A new institution by the name of Education Service Board was proposed to be established at the provincial level to tackle this issue. Thus while some details such as proposed new institutions were to be established, there was tacit silence as to seminal issues.

It may be recalled that the Sharif Commission had made two recommendations about religious education:

1. Nothing contrary to the beliefs of the various Islamic schools of thought will be included in the textbooks of Islamiyat or Dinyat.
2. Non-Muslim students will be imparted religious education in line with their own beliefs in a subject called Dinyat (religious studies).

Disregarding both these points, the Nur Khan Report called for an Islamic and uniform educational system and sought to achieve a unification of the various Islamic schools of thought through education. This carried a message of insecurity to the non-Muslim community which was further reinforced by the recommendation of nationalization of their educational institutions.

Education Policy 1972-80

After the secession of East Pakistan on 16 December 1971, power was transferred to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. He had won the majority of seats in West Pakistan in the 1970s election. In particular, he had scored a landslide victory in the Punjab province, by virtue of which he was considered eligible to rule. Bhutto enjoyed exclusive support from non-Muslims because of the secular nature of the manifesto of his Pakistan People's Party. However, once in power, he faced a variety of problems.

Before the advent of Education Policy 1972-80, the country was in the grip of a severe political crisis. There was a need to develop a thorough review of previous detrimental policies, especially those concerned with centrism and enforcement of one language and those causing insecurity among non-Muslims. But the Bhutto government resorted to superficial revolutionary announcements to dispel fear and desolation.

As was obvious from all previous educational policies, Pakistan did not have trained teachers. The government did not have the capacity to provide education for all citizens. In addition to private educational institutions, schools run by anjumans and missionaries were lending a hand to the government, providing education to thousands. One would have expected the government to first institute a program to turn out cadres of trained teachers and, simultaneously, align the schools run by anjumans and missionaries, including madrassahs with the vision of the new educational policy. This should have included the requirement of all institutes to operate within the policy but the government did the exact opposite.

A policy to nationalize education and educational institutions was enforced from the 1st of September 1972. Free education was promised for every child up to the tenth grade. Thus, the Bhutto government nationalized all private educational institutions too. This went a step further than the 1969 recommendation to nationalize just missionary educational institutions under the rationalization that the latter were contrary to the ideology of Pakistan.

It is to be remembered that schools run by anjumans and missionaries had vast estates attached which several forces were eager to appropriate. These schools and colleges had been raising cadres of scholars for a long time. Alumni of these institutions had provided leaders and other key personalities which participated in the struggle for independence and the Pakistan Movement. Surprisingly, the policy to nationalize schools run by anjumans and missionaries left the madrassahs well alone. The policy expressly remained committed to maintaining the status quo concerning the madrassahs. Media channels such as television and radio were also recommended as part of religious educational tools. It would not be wrong, therefore, to say that this policy was deeply influenced by the 1969 policy. However, this policy accorded students the right to freedom of expression and exalted the status of student unions. Had this policy taken into account the recommendations of Hamoodur-Rehman Commission, the troubling issue of the relationship between student unions and political parties that cropped up in the future, may possibly have been resolved.

By maintaining silence on seminal issues concerning aims and objectives, the 1972 policy (like the 1970 policy) practically endorsed the decisions taken in 1969. Instead, had this policy spelt out a clear-cut vision like the Sharif Commission, it may have prevented the complete departure from this vision in 1979 under Gen Zia ul Haq. However, this policy did recognize cultural and social diversity and advised synchronization with the basic ideologies of the country.

It is important to note that this policy predates the 1973 Constitution. Had the policy document been retrospectively aligned with the Constitution, reservations concerning non-Muslims would certainly have been addressed. The policy of nationalization created a demand for 225,000 new teachers, which was met with little regard to quality. As 6,000 new jobs were created in Grade 17 and above, this led to a bloated educational administration, which in turn led to abysmal educational standards. It would not be wrong to maintain that the new arrangement helped exacerbate the reservations of non-Muslims.

At this point, it is important to remember that the unified East and West Pakistan had a 27.1 percent (Vakil 1950: 7). After the secession of East Pakistan, non-Muslims accounted for a mere three percent of the country's population. Coming on the heels of this development, the 1972 Educational Policy added to their insecurity. Careful examination of the circumstances of this period establishes the fact that the split of Pakistan most seriously undermined democratic forces and the rights of minorities. On the other hand, the forces to Islamize Pakistan were bolstered. Such contradictions are

well exemplified in the amendment to the 1973 Constitution in 1974, when Bhutto was forced to declare the Ahmedis as non-Muslims. The stage for this was set in April 1974, when a World Muslim League meeting held in Saudi Arabia adopted a resolution calling for excommunication of the Ahmedis. All in all, Pakistan's Islamic identity was becoming rigidified even under the proclaimed secular, liberal and democratic government of Bhutto.

National Educational Policy and Implementation Programme 1979 - (General Zia ul Haq)

On the 5th of July 1977, the Chief of Army Staff, General Zia-ul-Haq enforced Pakistan's third martial law using as a pretext the need to implement "Nizam-e-Mustapha" literally "Islamic System". Like his predecessors General Ayub Khan and General Yahya Khan, he blamed politicians for the martial law and focused on consolidating his power. This educational policy is often viewed as instrumental towards the growth of conservatism, obscurantism, and sectarianism on one hand, and the mushrooming of private and elitist schooling systems, on the other.

After the 16th of December 1971, with the non-Muslim population of Pakistan plummeting to a mere three percent, the fear of minority influence amongst religio-political quarters should have been somewhat alleviated. However, the 1973 Constitution under the Bhutto government revived the status in theory at least, of minority communities and this pitted the religio-political forces against the liberal rule of the time. Even the declaration of Ahmedis as non-muslims did not pacify the religious conservatives. When Gen Zia-ul-Haq overthrew the elected government of Z. A. Bhutto in 1978, the religio-political parties therefore supported this anti-democratic move.

When the draft of the 1979 Educational Policy was being prepared, Pakistan needed a policy that would look for answers defying influence from both, socialist Afghanistan and the Shia Islamic Iran. It would not be wrong to speculate that if Pakistan had a democratic government at that time, the National Assembly and Senate could be consulted. However, Gen Zia-ul-Haq chose to manipulate the regional situation in order to perpetuate his own power. This had serious repercussions for the 1979 Educational Policy.

The true rationale of Gen Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization policy was domestic. Even his supporters now admit he used this policy as a front to perpetuate himself in power. Religious forces supporting Gen Zia also conceded subsequently that they were under the false impression that Gen Zia would really promulgate an Islamic system. The objectives chapter of the 1979 policy states:

"When objectives change, it becomes necessary to draw educational policy along similar lines. To align the education imparted in Pakistan with Islam and the ideology of Pakistan, it is vital that we come with a truly national educational policy (Government of Pakistan 1979: iii).

In order to justify the governmental patronage of the madrassahs, the 1979 policy

document calls the madrassah a “traditional indigenous system” as if the madrassahs were not teaching anything foreign to the land.

Prior to colonisation, Madrasah was the seat of learning and all and all education was imparted through these institutions. During the colonial period, this traditional indigenous system was relegated into background and the British system of education was planted in replacement" (Government of Pakistan 1979: 43).

Religious quarters that are critical of Gen Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization argue there were nefarious designs behind the policy's failure which did not take into account various denominational interpretations of Islam. Among the architects of Islamization, was the political party that had consecrated Yahya Khan's constitution as Islamic in 1969. Hence, in practice, a certain parochial interpretation of Islam was branded as Islamization. This was precisely the dangerous mind-set that the Sharif Commission had warned against. It was only expected that supporters of Ziaul-Haq's educational policy were amongst those who had earlier vehemently opposed the Sharif Commission.

The tangential direction of the new policy can be gauged by the fact that under the 1979 policy, mosques were envisaged to serve as primary schools between the morning and afternoon prayers as a policy measure to expand primary education. Five thousand mosque-schools (masjid-maktab in Urdu) were approved – two thousands of them in the Punjab alone. Punjab was the most populous province with 56 percent of Pakistanis living there. Arrangements to rally support for Islamization were commensurately focussed on Punjab – a bias evidenced in the policy document itself.

The policy intertwined culture and religion too. It committed to promoting local sports like kabaddi, kushti (the indigenous form of wrestling), and gattka (the indigenous form of fencing), etc. at the expense of ‘alien’ and opulent Western sports. The object of this rejection of the influence of the West was not the promotion of the local culture but rather, the establishment of the ascendancy of narrow and expedient interpretations of Islamic culture. This approach was enabled in spirit by the Nur Khan Report of 1969. It was considered a success that the historic role of madrassahs was becoming more momentous because of the policies of the incumbent government. Special attention was paid to the Islamization of history and the social sciences.

The 1972-78 period of nationalization of educational institutions was heavily criticized and critics asserted that this particular policy should never be repeated. The ministry for education was vested with the power to decide on books to be taught at private schools. Private English-medium schools were required to also instruct pupils in Urdu or the sanctioned provincial language. Rather dramatically, the policy proclaimed that never again would a new English medium school open its doors to pupils in Pakistan.

As regards the medium of education at the primary level, the 1979 policy echoed an earlier policy that reinforced the notion of ‘ideological borders’ and Urdu as the national language. A uniform educational system (yakhsan nizam e taleem) was advocated and

private English-medium schools were demonized as a continuity of the colonial period. Pakistan's rich and diverse legacy of languages and the pre-eminence of Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, and Balochi were acknowledged. However, in the same breath, the variations of pronunciation, lexicon, and expression extant in these languages were mentioned with a spin to create the impression that there are no such variations in Urdu – as if Urdu were a ‘pure’ or ahistorical language.

The undertaking to set up thirty Arabic language centers at a cost of Rs. 44.32 million in itself was a symbolic move to align national identity with the muslim Middle East rather than South Asia. Friendly Muslim countries, it was said, were to fund this initiative. These countries included Saudi Arabia. The scarcity of funds to finance education was a problem but efforts to segregate activities including separate sports facilities for women were recommended. Notwithstanding any of this, institutions like UNESCO, UNDP, and UNICEF continued all kinds of assistance in all matters including the mosque-schools. This was, perhaps, due to the American support for the Zia ul Haq regime. Moreover, specialized pro-jihad books were published at the University of Nebraska and distributed in Pakistan and Afghanistan:

In the heyday of the Afghan war, USAID funded a project for writing and printing books for elementary schools established in refugee camps in Pakistan for Afghan children. The University of Nebraska, Omaha (UNO) oversaw the US\$50 million contract with the Education Center for Afghanistan (ECA), a group approved by the Pakistani government and various Mujahedin factions. These books were then distributed and used by the educators in Pakistan and, after the Soviet withdrawal, in Afghanistan. These books were not only replete with pictures of Kalashnikovs but also taught the children the Persian alphabet and basic mathematics; in an unusual [jihadist] way (Riaz 2005: 21).

It effectively demonstrates that the indigenization of our education system was deliberately linked with Islamization because this suited the needs of the cold-war era and Pakistan’s alliance with the USA.

There is scarcely a precedent in Pakistan's history by way of which the freedoms of conscience and expression were repressed as they were during the Gen Zia years. On the one hand, his whimsical recalibration of the educational system took its toll and on the other, ethnic (linguistic, nationalistic and sectarian) discord took on serious proportions. All previous gains made by educational policies were successfully diluted and reversed.

The Hamoodur-Rehman Commission had been unable to think of a way to Islamize subjects like mathematics, biology, and chemistry but the authors of the 1979 policy had no qualms in solving this dilemma. Thus began the futile experiment of Islamizing science books – an exercise that remains unprecedented even in the most puritanical Muslim countries.

The policy criticized the negligence towards madaris (religious schools) and darul-ulooms (seminaries) in the past and committed itself to enforcing equivalence between

the qualifications of these institutions with those of the mainstream educational system. It was acclaimed that the role of the madrassahs was all set to radically change society. Trumpeting Islamization all over the place, the architects of the policy forgot the country's three percent non-Muslim population. The underlining sentiment of a policy document that asserts that every Pakistani is also a member of the Muslim ummah seemed to be that non-Muslims should adhere to all Islamic tenets, otherwise there were limited spaces available for their expression and freedoms. What else is the message for non-Muslims when a policy document asserts that every Pakistani is also a member of the Muslim ummah? It would be a valid observation that suggests that Gen Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization alienated the various denominations of Islam and at the same time, pushed non-Muslims into the realm of anonymity. As of this writing, we as a nation are bearing the consequences this had for Pakistani nationalism.

After the 1979 educational policy, thirteen years passed without a new educational policy. However, there were several commissions on literacy and mass education (1981), the 10 point programme (1983), the Drop-in School Scheme (1986-89) and the Nationwide Literacy Plan (1986-90) as well as the much discussed Nai Roshni Schools (1986-1990). None of these policies achieved the targets set out by them. During this period, not only did the country endure the failed experiment of Islamization but also the regional political situation deteriorated because the Soviet forces were in Afghanistan and Iran had witnessed an Islamic revolution.

The proxy war against the Soviets in Afghanistan was unconventional in that mujahideen were nurtured and trained in Pakistan by the US to wage this war. It was not a war that developed the notion of the Afghan jihad on the frontiers. Rather, madrassahs and educational institutions in all parts of the country were turned into the nurseries of this alliance and were well-funded by US money. Thus, the jihadist fervor was fuelled in such a manner that the religious leadership in Pakistan adopted the American war as their own. Ironically, the same set of leaders failed to take ownership of the War on Terror that followed the 9/11 attacks.

Although the recommendations of maintaining joint electorates for minorities was made in 1978 as part of overall electoral reforms, Gen Zia obstructed such a move and took it upon himself to amend the Public Representatives Act of 1976 to enforce separate electorates – a measure later indemnified through the Eighth Amendment. Such a demand had never come from the minority community itself. Thus, through separate electorates, non-Muslims were relegated to the status of second-class citizens. This was an oblique move to weaken the liberal parties such as the Pakistan People's Party which had a vote bank amongst religious minority communities.

In 1985, Gen Zia-ul-Haq gave impetus to the divisive trends by holding non-partite elections for national and provincial assemblies. There were already other conflicts within Pakistani society caused by the promulgation of the Prohibition of Qadianiyat Ordinance and the Hudood Ordinances. His other measures in this spirit included amendment of the Law of Evidence (Qanoon-e-Shahadat) and denouncing interest as usury and inventing "Islamic" banking.

The national assembly returned by the 1985 election sanctified all such transgressions of Zia-ul-Haq through the Eighth Amendment. The Amendment also torpedoed the accord reached between the supporters of Liaquat Ali Khan and the Ghulam Muhammad group – under which the Objectives Resolution was to be made the preface of the Constitution but was to have no effect on legislation. This accord had not only held sway over the three pre-1956 formulations of constitution, but also remained sacrosanct to the three constitutions that were in turn promulgated in 1956, 1962, and 1973. A delicate arrangement as it was, it had inspired consensus for 36 years – but Islamists dismissed this factor as part of their politics of expediency. Gen Zia’s Eighth Amendment brought in Article 24, which made the Objectives’ Resolution part of the Constitution. Thus, Zia opened the avenues for the non-democratic religious forces to establish theocracy in Pakistan.

Under the Eighth Amendment, the reserved seats for non-Muslim in the legislature were increased with a view to enticing them into supporting separate electorates. A schedule of the seats increased under the Eighth Amendment is given below.

Province	Punjab	Balochistan	Sindh	Sarhad
Christians	5	1	2	1
Hindu & Scheduled Caste	1	1	1	1
Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsees, and other non-Muslims	1	1	1	1
Oadiani & Lahore Group	1	0	1	1

Had Gen Zia been a sympathizer of non-Muslims, he would have sought to enfranchise the minorities through a dual electoral system. The expulsion of the non-Muslims from the general election was a dangerous effort to demote the citizenship of non-Muslims. Had they been allowed to participate in the general elections alongside their Muslim compatriots, as well as elect their separate representatives, their sense of insecurity may have been legitimately addressed.

Such policies were particularly ironic because protection of the minorities' rights was the central issue in the struggle of the Muslim League that had been waged under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam in the 1940s. Thus, it is arguable that Zia-ul-Haq's Eighth Amendment was a direct attack on Quaid-e-Azam's idea of the new nation-state.

The changes that the Eighth Amendment brought about in Articles 62 and 63, dealing with the eligibility criteria for members of assembly, also sought to establish the ascendancy of a certain religious mindset in the assemblies. These two articles indicate

that religious extremists were as eager to impose their own interpretation of Islam on liberal and common Muslims, as they were to deny space to non-Muslims. Read alongside the Nur Khan Report of 1969 and Gen Zia-ul-Haq's 1979 education report, the Eighth Amendment promotes a restrictive and prescriptive religious conservatism that depends on discrimination for its implemented version.

It was not until 1988, after the death of Gen Zia ul Haq, that policy became open to some form of democratic governance. The first government of the late Benazir Bhutto was dismissed in 1990 before it completed even two years. In October the same year, Mian Nawaz Sharif was installed in power. It was the first government of Mian Nawaz Sharif that framed the 1992 educational policy.

While discussing the status of education in 1992, it is important to remember that a steady stream of lucrative funding had flown into Pakistan through the Afghan jihad of the 1980s. Gen Zia-ul-Haq had simultaneously promoted privatization and a prescriptive and bigoted interpretation of Islam. The World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programs had played a key role in advancing his privatization agenda. This privatization also affected the educational system and private schools and colleges started to mushroom all over the country. One outcome of tying education to profit was the disconnect this created between educational institutions for the elite and common Pakistanis. In the absence of any monitoring or balance between such divisions, it was inevitable that more and more institutions would offer education for profit only. This was the danger predicted in detail by both the Sharif Commission and the Hamoodur-Rehman Report. However, while the 1992 education policy enabled an elitist educational system, it makes no proposal as on checks on balances towards the impact of such policies.

National Educational Policy of 1992

The 1992 policy claimed to depart from earlier policy in that the authors claimed:

“We will project an enlightened image of the Muslim society by building the existing educational system on modern principles in line with Islam. In the past, efforts to transform the educational system through vague terms like Islamization have been unsuccessful.”

Despite such stated aims, this policy backed several measures like deletion from the textbooks of 551 articles as a result of the 1979 policy. The reasons enumerated for the failure of past education policies included weak government machinery, disregard of financial resources, misplaced centralization, inappropriate infrastructure, lack of professionalism, flaws of oversight, and incompetent management. However, no strategy was proposed in the report to resolve these technical issues. Neither was any attempt made to reverse the ideological exploitation of the educational sector.

The 1992 policy reneged on its claim to depart from earlier policy by failing to review the unjust marginalization of non-Muslims as part of its critique of the 1979 policy. The central issue of the infestation of the campuses with weapons and drugs was resolved

by declaring it a penal offence but this was not as a result of recognizing that a specific policy actually led to such criminalization in the first place. Similarly, the policy recommended that students' organizations financed by political parties would be prevented from operating in educational institutions in order to restore the apolitical status of educational institutions. The 1992 policy called for compliance of university regulations by students. There was some talk of running students' unions democratically but no line of action was given to keep political parties out of educational institutions. Positive results could have ensued had a consensus methodology been framed through dialogue with all political parties.

With respect to religious education, the policy of teaching recitation of the Holy Qura'an to pupils of first through third grade was continued. However, the study of translation and interpretation of selected verses from the Qura'an was added on the secondary level. This raised an additional concern since there was no consensus on which interpretation or denomination would guide this process. Moreover, the use of such terms as 'Islamic social sciences' in the text of the policy document had its own rich mystique.

This policy also demonstrates abdication of many responsibilities from the federal centre to provincial levels, as well as the choice of medium of instruction which could be the national, provincial or English language. This presumed these were all on par whereas the association of power with languages was not given due consideration. Within the private sector, no distinction was made regarding elite institutions and the more modest ones. Taxation and concession was and is still not worked out by grading the private sector and therefore undue benefits are made available to richer institutions catering to a privileged few.

Like the 1979 policy, this policy marks the continuation of the trend of ignoring the downward slide and status of non-Muslims in education. It was said that the object of the education system was to bring up pupils to become representatives of the Muslim Ummah by teaching them Islamic social sciences. In many ways, the policies of this government proved to be a true legacy of Gen Zia-ul-Haq who had patronised this political leadership.

The bulk of this document grapples with rescuing the process of Islamization and interjecting all disciplines in a way that religion supercedes and outweighs secular sciences;

- The existing provision of Islamic education will form the basis for the development of new curricula which, apart from religious content, will have moral content drawn from the worldview of Islam. At secondary and post-secondary levels, a coherent comparison of the worldview of science and technology and Islam will be presented. Religious education will be used to train students in the teaching and practice of Islam and in submission to the wishes of God. The religious education will be so directed as to enable students to imbibe high ethical and moral values encoded in the spirit of Islam, preparing them at the same time as members of healthy, forward-looking and enlightened society. Curricula of teachers' training programmes at all levels will include religious

education designed to enhance their understanding of the worldview of Islam (Government of Pakistan 1992: 14).

- Teacher will be considered a focal point for dissemination of information on fundamental principles of Islam as laid down in the Quran, and as applicable to the development of an egalitarian Muslim society. For this purpose, extensive in-service training programmes will be conducted. The pre-service teachers' training curricula will have a compulsory component of Islamic education, and principles and methods of teaching Islamic courses. The teacher during contact with students in tutorial hours will discuss the Islamic social order, and Islamic concepts of justice, love, beauty goodness, co-existence, knowledge, study of nature, and man's place in society (Government of Pakistan 1992: 14).

- Research in Islamic Social Sciences and methodology of their teaching at various levels of education will be undertaken on priority basis (Government of Pakistan 1992: 40).

- No other worldview, certainly not of science and technology, would stand up to the social organization designed by the worldview of Islam (Government of Pakistan 1992: 13).

- The purpose of education is to create a sizeable population of such educated men and women who could understand the world well enough and are able to bring about a change leading to adequate health and education services, a better environment, and elimination of ignorance and deprivation-limitations-which continue to strangulate the developing societies. The policy, therefore, adhering to the principles of equity, quality and efficiency will place added emphasis on the education of the people, who are under-privileged and live in misery (Government of Pakistan 1992: 3).

- The raising of the collective ego of the nation through a facilitated, efficient and effective educational system remains the primary goal of this Policy (Government of Pakistan 1992: 5).

- Shifting education from supply to demand-oriented study programmes (Government of Pakistan 1992: 10).

- To restructure the existing educational system on modern lines in accordance with the principles of Islam so as to create healthy, forward-looking and enlightened Muslim society (Government of Pakistan 1992: 11).

- To promote the teaching of Islamic Social Sciences to enable the students to understand the Islamic worldview and to strengthen their cultural moorings as members of the Muslim Ummah (Government of Pakistan 1992: 11).

- To obviate ethnic prejudices and superstitions, discourage consumerism, fanaticism and sectarianism (Government of Pakistan 1992: 12).

- The design of the Education Policy is such that the youth is released from the self-created myth of apologetic psyche, and of inferiority complex in the presence of western political, social, economic, and cultural onslaught. The youth must be prepared to confront worldview of science and technology (Government of Pakistan 1992: 14).

- The area of Islamic sociology has not been researched. This should be done urgently to bring out the best in our religious-philosophical thought for the education and training of the youth (Government of Pakistan 1992: 14).

- The existing provision of Islamic education will form the basis for the development of new curricula which, apart from religious content, will have moral content drawn from the worldview of Islam (Government of Pakistan 1992: 14).

- In the 1979 Education Policy an educational framework was introduced for inculcating Islamic values in students for improving the quality of Islamic education in Deeni Madaris, and for creating Pakistani nationhood. As a result, any material which was considered repugnant to the teachings of Islam was removed from some 551 titles used as textbooks (Government of Pakistan 1992: 13).
- Islam presents its own worldview, a worldview which comprehends more than what science and technology can comprehend; a worldview identifies life, eternity, unity, power, truth, beauty, justice, love and goodness (Government of Pakistan 1992: 13).
- Quran Nazira will continue to be compulsory. However, the meaning of the verses of the Holy Quran along with detailed commentary will be emphasized at secondary and post-secondary levels (Government of Pakistan 1992: 15).

National Educational Policy 1998-2010

This policy was formulated in the second phase of Nawaz Sharif's government. Analysts have commented on the fact that during both terms served by the liberal government of (late) Benazir Bhutto, there was no educational policy drafted. The disappointment is that a policy under her premiership may have reformed education and brought it back in line with the original 1973 Constitution. This may have then rehabilitated educational policy to include the cultural, nationalistic, religious and denominational diversity of the country, addressed the shortcomings of the Sharif Commission and exorcised the sense of insecurity of non-Muslims. Instead, the priority given to education by the conservative government of Nawaz Sharif was set in an environment whereby absolute powers were invested in the premiership by constitutional amendments and virtue of the large majority he won in the 1997 elections. Conservatism, as defined in this term, was not simply under the shadow of Gen Zia's legacy but in fact the new phenomena of a Taliban government in Afghanistan and Pakistan's recognition and sympathy with this ideological shift in the region also influenced the psyche of the establishment and policy-making.

The policy document was signed by Nawaz Sharif's education minister, Syed Ghaus Ali Shah while the bureaucrat in-charge of policymaking was federal secretary education, Dr Safdar Mahmood. Like the 1992 policy, the new policy criticized all the past policies and presented itself in the light of a revolutionary leap forward. The National Education Committee drafted the National Curriculum 2000: A Conceptual Framework. Although this policy aims to institute a modern and professional education system, yet no structural approach is purported including the need to review the medium of instruction. Urdu is an imposition as a language of education for a child growing up in any of the provinces. Also by reiterating the fear that policy had veered into a secular direction, the policy insists on the commitment to Islam to define content and this further excludes the non-muslim citizens.

The policy report discusses library culture in these terms:

“The Library of Congress alone has a collection of more than 90 million books, where

as there are 31,254 libraries in the United States; in Israel, there are 3,419 libraries for a population of five million; Japan has 58 library books per capita; however, in our country – if we divide the books in 1,430 libraries by 150 million (Pakistan’s population back then), it comes to 0.1 books per capita.”

However, the report goes on to neither propose a library act nor does it look into the causes of a downward trend of reading curricular or extracurricular books. The policy does not acknowledge the fact that the educational institutions had ceased to play a role in the development of knowledge. The policy recommended that the tenets of the Quran and Sunnah should not only hold ascendancy in every sphere of life, including science and technology, social sciences and humanities, economic and cultural activities but also that these be incorporated into those curricula.

The report said thirty thousand private educational institutions were working in the country, where approximately three million pupils were enrolled but there was no law regulating the fee structure of these institutions. Moreover, a continuation of the schemes to extend plots of land, tax breaks and interest-free loans to the private institutions was recommended. It was proposed that these institutions should impart free education to ten percent of poor, talented students. In this regard, an effective policy could have been instituted if elitist and low-income education were dealt with separately. However, the policy was made at the expense of low-income schools and there was no distinction indicated between governmental and non-governmental institutions. The policy criticized the current textbooks and recommended in favour of private publishers rather than focussing on scholarly independence as a requirement of book quality.

One of the biggest obstacles in the development of curriculum has been government interference. One indication can be seen by the way successive rulers have considered it more important to lend legitimacy to their own politics by publishing their own pictures alongside with those of the Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal in text books. This trend signals an unwillingness to disconnect education as a propaganda tool and to revise its intent and content towards academic opportunities for all and equally.

History has been distorted and erased respectively from the Pakistan Studies books. By eliding over the references to Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Mehr Garh, Raja Poras, Gautama the Buddha, the glorious past of Taxila, only narrows the historical perspective of future generations. Similarly, the exclusion of the writings of the Sufis and the scholastic endeavours of between the 13th and 17th centuries, are a loss to the body of historical knowledge for Pakistani students. Politically, the inaccuracies and omissions about 1971 and the Bhutto period from the textbook of History of Pakistan, betrays a serious and troubled process of academic production in the country.

More recently, analysis of text book literature shows the proliferation of ‘jihadi’ content and allegiance to militarized notions of Islam. None of this can be divorced from the earlier attempts to Islamize education and the lack of success this produced in making a cohesive and inclusive polity. Instead, education has become politicized, narrow, parochial and exclusive across both class and religious differences.

The 1998 policy quotes liberally from the Qura'n in the absence of having any alternative or original view of improving the sliding standards of education in the country. Some policy statements are reproduced to illustrate this bias:

- Ideology of Islam forms the genesis of the state of Pakistan. The country cannot survive and advance without placing the entire system of education on a sound Islamic foundations (Government of Pakistan 1998: 2).
- We are not a country founded on its territorial, linguistic, ethnic or racial identity. The only justification for our existence is our total commitment to Islam as our sole identity. Although the previous educational policies did dilate on Islamic education and Pakistan ideology but those policies did not suggest how to translate the Islamic ideology into our moral profile and imbibe it in our educational system (Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
- The secular western countries or the Marxist-oriented countries always make sure that their ideology is fully reflected and integrated in the educational system not only in social sciences but also in other disciplines. Secularism and materialism are two sacrosanct principles of their educational approach (Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
- Pakistan is not a secular country, nevertheless, during the past fifty years, we did not dissociate ourselves from the colonial and secular concepts of education, in which religious subject were incorporated in the curricula (Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
- While we talk about religious dimension of the new policy, this aspect cannot be overlooked. The missing relationship between our Islamic vision, ideology and educational system, will only defeat the purpose of even including Islamiyat or Pakistan studies in our curricula (Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
- The objectives is to narrow the gap between purely religious and purely secular education, leading finally to purposeful integration of the two systems (Government of Pakistan 1998: vi).
- It is high time that new educational policy should take into consideration the development of an integrated educational system in which our Islamic values, principles and objectives must be reflected not only in the syllabi of Islamic studies but also in all the disciplines (Government of Pakistan 1998: 10).
- Aqida (one's conviction and faith) in Islam is not a matter of blind belief. It calls for the use of analytical faculty i.e. "Shu'ur" and "tafakkur" to be actively applied and after proper analysis to be translated into one's everyday life. This antidogmatic approach of Islam is inculcated through the Qur'anic and the Sunnah paradigm of education (Government of Pakistan 1998: 10).
- That a knowledgeable person is superior to one who does not know, is underscored by the Qur'an many places: Allah will exalt those who believe among you, and those who have knowledge to high ranks. Allah is informed of what you do. (A-Qur'an 58:11). This century of knowledge and creation of culture of knowledge appears to be the social norm of Islam. It rejects the unscientific thinking in its many forms, and places knowledge as the valid basis for social stratification; Say unto them, O, Muhammad, are those who know equal with those who know not? But only men of understanding will pay heed) Al-Qur'an 39:9). It condemns with the possible force, the attributes of dogmatism, skepticism, and agnosticism (Government of Pakistan 1998: 10).

- Development of clear thinking is a virtue encouraged to be inculcated among the believers: Men who remember Allah, standing, sitting and reclining, and contemplate the creation of the heaven and the earth (and say) our Lord, you created not this in vain. (Al-Quran'an 3:191). The universe and all it contains, is presented as subject matter for man's contemplation, critical thinking and meditation: And He it is Who spread out the earth and placed there infirm hills and flowing streams and of all fruits, he placed therein two spouses (males and females). He converts the night with the day. Lo! Herein verily are portents for people who take thought. – (A-Qur'an 13:3). In the following ayah in place of *ley qawmin yatafakarun*, it uses *ley qawmin ya'qiloon* people with reason, aql, or intellect (Al-Qur'an 13:4) (Government of Pakistan 1998: 11).
- Efficient decentralized management and institutionalization of community mobilization are the two mainstay of the policy. A new concept of District Education Authority has been proposed. This authority will have proper linkage with educational set-up on the one hand and liaison with the community for mobilizing its resources for meaningful utilization on the others (Government of Pakistan 1998: vi).
- The ideology of Pakistan lays down two important obligations for the government. Firstly education will be accessible to all citizens. Secondly, it shall enable them to prepare an enlightened and civilized individuals committed to the cause of Islam (Government of Pakistan 1998: 1).
- Within the context of Islamic perception, education is an instrument for developing the attitudes of individuals in accordance with the values of righteousness to help to build a sound Islamic society (Government of Pakistan 1998: 5).
- To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training (Government of Pakistan 1998: 6).
- To make curriculum development a continuous process and to make arrangement for developing a uniform system of education (Government of Pakistan 1998: 7).
- To develop the personality of students as enlightened citizens of an Islamic state and peace loving citizens of the world at large (Government of Pakistan 1998: 35).
- The future belongs to countries whose people make the most productive use of information, knowledge and technology. Knowledge has become the most important economic resource. Knowledge and information will be the engines to drive the economy in the 21st Century (Government of Pakistan 1998: 85).
- Our literacy rate is approximately 39%. About 25% of our children are not enrolled in primary schools and 50% of those enrolled, drop-out before completing primary schools. The participation rate at middle and high school level is 46% and 31% respectively. In literacy rate, the placement of Pakistan among the Muslim world is 31 out of 35 countries and globally 134 out of 180 countries. Nothing can be more depressing for an ideological Muslim state (Government of Pakistan 1998: 109).
- Pakistan is an ideological Muslim state. Article 31 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan clearly points out this aspect. It requires development of an educational policy to ensure preservation, practice and promotion of Islamic ideology and principles as enshrined in the teachings of the Qur'an and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) (Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
- The dualistic vision of life, in which religious and secular realms of knowledge are clearly marked into *dunya* and *deen*, secular and the sacred, is even recognized by

- several classical Muslim scholars. They interpret religious sciences i.e. ulum-ud-deen as a matter of belief, while worldly sciences i.e. ulum-ud-dunya as a mundane activity. This approach needs to be empirically examined (Government of Pakistan 1998: 10).
- To fulfill the requirements of Objectives Resolution and Article 31 of the Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan saying that education and training should enable the citizens of Pakistan to lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam as laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah (Government of Pakistan 1998: 11).
 - In terms of Article No. 31 of the Constitution, the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan, making Islam as an integral part of individual and national life with the purpose of reformation and development of society on the principles of the Qur'an and Sunnah shall be ensure (Government of Pakistan 1998: 12).
 - Teacher shall be considered the focal point for dissemination of information on fundamental principles of Islam as laid down in the Holy Qur'an and as applicable to the development of an egalitarian Muslim society. For this purpose, extensive in service training programs will be conducted. The curricula of pre-service teachers' training shall have a compulsory component of Islamic education including Uswa-e-Hasna, Naira Qur'an an with translation and principles and methods of teaching Islamic courses (Government of Pakistan 1998: 13).
 - Schools and colleges, during morning assemblies and during the periods set aside for religious and moral education, shall emphasize character building, high moral values, and create an environment for societal development, patriotism and discipline based on the injunctions of the Qur'an and Sunnah (Government of Pakistan 1998: 13).
 - Science and Technology, as well as social and human sciences, economic and cultural activities, in brief, all aspects of life are to be guided and determined by the principles of the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah (Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
 - Memorization of few shorter surahs of the Holy Qur'an or reading a few passages, selected from the Holy Qur'an, without knowing their implications for life, serve a formal requirement to satisfy constitutional needs but it does not serve the spirit of the Constitution(Government of Pakistan 1998: 9).
 - The Islamic epistemic change, at a personal level, leads to a qualitative change in one's social life. Economic, political, legal and cultural aspects of the society are also remodeled on the foundation of a well-reasoned Islamic epistemology (Government of Pakistan 1998: 10).
 - Teaching the Holy Qur'an with translation shall be introduced from class VI and will be completed by class XII (Government of Pakistan 1998: 12).
 - The basic teachings of the Holy Qur'an an shall be included in all the courses of studies (Government of Pakistan 1998: 12).
 - Degree/asnad awarded by Deeni Madaris shall be equated with the formal degrees/certificates at all levels (Government of Pakistan 1998: 12).
 - Islamiyat shall be continued as a compulsory subject from class I to B.A..B.Sc. levels including professional institutions (Government of Pakistan 1998: 12).
 - Nazira Qur'an shall from an integral part of Islamiyat compulsory for classes I to VIII (Government of Pakistan 1998: 12).
 - Islamiyat, Arabic and the Holy Qur'an with translation shall be integrated in a single compulsory subject from class IX onward (Government of Pakistan 1998: 13).
 - In lieu of Islamiyat as a compulsory subject for Muslim students, moral education/ethics

has been provided as an alternate to the non-Muslim students. Status quo will be maintained (Government of Pakistan 1998:14).

- All the willing Wafaqs/Tanzeem/Rabita and independent Madaris will be eligible for affiliation to this Board. A draft Act recently prepared by the Ministry of Education in consultation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs shall be processed for legislation (Government of Pakistan 1998: 14).

By 1998, Pakistan had responded to the Indian missile tests by demonstrating its own nuclear capability. This led to severe economic consequences in the country. Some analysts believe that in order to manoeuvre out of this tight spot, Nawaz Sharif resorted to the strategy that has been the mainstay of rulers since the Objectives' Resolution. On 28 August 1998, he tabled for discussion in the national assembly the draft of the 15th amendment. Through it, he was looking to tighten his grip of power in the name of Islam. Importantly, not a single non-Muslim member of the parliament voted for the 15th Amendment bill.

The Kargil conflict created rifts between Nawaz Sharif and Chief of the Army Staff General Pervez Musharraf and the latter took over the country through a military coup on 12th October 1999. As part of the process of legitimizing his martial law as more liberal and enlightened, General Musharraf increased women's political representation and removed the discriminatory separate electorates for minorities by replacing this with joint electorates. Joint electorates had been sanctioned by the constitutions successively adopted in 1956, 1962 and 1973 but subsequent governments never sought to uphold this principle of equal political right of minorities.

Education in Pakistan: A White Paper– 2007

It was under these circumstances that a review of the 1998 education policy was initiated at an inter-provincial meeting of education ministers in January 2005. Prior to this, two Education Sector Reform programmes and a National Plan of Action (Education For All, 2001-2015) had also been initiated. By September 2005, a team had been put together to review the 1998 policy. Former Cabinet Secretary, Javed Hasan Aly led the review team which adopted a detailed methodology, including visits to some twenty districts to gain awareness about educational issues and gathering information through provincial and federal educational conferences.

By way of such public consultations held by the team, the federal education ministry's experts invited all critical views too. Published in its entirety in the form of a book, this consultation would become an excellent resource to help understand our educational problems. For all the political expediency of this military government, the whitepaper that emerged from all this meditation and deliberation is a notable document in itself. On the advice of international aid agencies and domestic, this has been posted on the web. However, its availability exclusively in English has made it inaccessible for the majority of Pakistani viewers.

Departing from the influence of the Pakistan-India cold war that dominated the Nur

Khan Report (1969) and the Safdar Mehmood Report (1998), this whitepaper is seemingly in the tradition of the first educational conference and the Sharif Commission Report. However, it was not immune to the weaknesses that were inherent to all policies brought in by General Musharraf. One would expect the whitepaper, prepared over sixteen months of deliberation to be comprehensive in the final analysis. However, once it was published, this paper attracted much criticism. The paper did not address the issue of medium of instruction nor did it satisfactorily settle the question of synchronizing the education system with the changing international economic milieu. Although a revised edition of the whitepaper was published in February 2009, this is not radically new by any means.

As an example, on page 3 the whitepaper reiterates that “The Education Policy of every State has an ideological basis at least for a predictable timeframe. This ideological basis provides the social norms expected of a society. While in the West, this ideological basis may be liberal, conservative or Marxist of any definition, in the context of Pakistan, this ideological base is essentially and historically provided by Islam as an ideology derived from Islam the religion. Islam is the principal source of values for our life and ethical conduct is an essential precondition for social development (Government of Pakistan 2007: 3).

This claim itself goes against the grain of the 11th August 1947 address of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whereby all citizens of Pakistan were to have equal civil rights, irrespective of their faith. However, in Pakistan, successful efforts have been made for the last forty years to relegate non-Muslims to the status of second-class citizens. On the other hand, Islamization in the past had meant enforcement of a dominant, denominational interpretation of Islam. The Sharif Commission (1959) had clearly stated that no curricula would be formulated in contravention of any denomination or Islamic school of thought. However, under the regimes of Gen Zia-ul-Haq and the governments that followed him, this principle has been deliberately violated. The curriculum framed in the name of uniform Islamic education system manifested itself in serious sectarian clashes in Gilgit. This education system gave rise to feelings of insecurity not only among non-Muslims but also among many denominations of the Islamic faith itself.

Another key issue not adequately addressed by this whitepaper concerns devolution of power and the discontinuation of the educational bureaucracy. The Musharraf government had introduced a new system of local governments. This system envisaged establishment of supervisory committees concerning education at the level of district and union council. This way, the local political leadership became co-opted into the vital matter of education. On the other hand, school management committees (SMCs) were also established which included local influential people as well as parents. International aid agencies pumped hundreds of millions of rupees through these school management committees but evaluations show these were weak and ineffectual.

Had the whitepaper, mindful of this pattern of waste, made an effort to decentralize the educational bureaucracy, a better methodology would have involved a local body involving just the principal/headmaster, the SMC, and the supervisory committee.

However, even this formula leaves monitoring and supervision to the discretion of provincial governments which is in direct conflict with the 'local' nature of the local government system. Clearly, there was no real commitment to embrace the local governments system. The whitepaper rightly points out that, as of its writing, we have been unable to devise a standard in respect of education policies that should guard against vested interests which exploit educational policy for political ends.

The whitepaper notes how education is related to mother languages and local culture and history and the dangers of disconnections in this regard. However, the recommendation to then not change the medium of education is evidence of the same guilt: "(a) Mother tongue allows better expressions and conceptual understanding, and helps slow learners to progress faster. (b) This, however, does not prepare a child for secondary education in another language (Government of Pakistan 2007: 34).

The white paper surrenders everything to the status quo. Just as Islamization means enforcement of a certain denominational interpretation of Islam, "wherever possible" means nothing but a continuation of the prevailing practice of streaming children through foreign languages like Urdu and English, as in the past.

This paper also stresses on private institutions which it says, account for 30 percent of the total scholastic enrolment. However, paper makes no attempt to distinguish between those catering to an elite clientele of English medium schools and those private schools which operate in low-income neighbourhoods. An estimated three percent of Pakistanis can afford the upper end of private education in the country. At the same time, English medium schools benefit most from concessions granted by the government in the name of private education under the education policies of 1951, 1979, 1992 and 1998.

Hypothetically, even if the figure of 30 percent enrolment is accepted, the contribution of elitist schools cannot hold as a quantifiable benchmark. Policy should be based by holding mainstream schools and colleges as models which are populated by the majority of school-going children.

There is also a need to assess the benefits accrued by affording tax breaks and free or subsidized plots of land to elite schools, particularly since the 1992 education policy. Modelling policy from such a micro perspective is unhelpful in terms of reforming the educational system.

The whitepaper contains a recommendation to the effect that in line with article 37(2) of the 1973 Constitution, education up to the tenth grade should be free and compulsory for every individual. However, it conceded that up until that time, state expenditure on education scarcely came up to 4 percent of the GDP. Such a recommendation makes no sense if in the same paper there is an admission to the contrary. Each policy over the last sixty-two years has set its own targets concerning literacy and free education but as of this writing, none of these targets have been achieved. The whitepaper is no exception. Meant to be published in February 2007, this became an impossible task since Pakistan witnessed political upheaval for that entire year.

Education Policy 2009

The lawyers' struggle that started in 2007 cost General Musharraf his government. The education policy available at the federal ministry for education website was updated on 1st August 2009. Work on this policy document had continued and its final version is now available on the site. It has also been plagued with controversy over these past months. The Ministry under the new government instituted a review in the second half of 2009 after the policy was termed 'un-Islamic'. The updated version that was made available in August 2009 thereafter included a chapter on Islamic education.

It is a hopeful sign that the Ministry for Education has finally recognized the diversity extant among Pakistani Muslims. It has also steered clear of the misleading slogan of 'uniform education system', which is associated with a dominant Islamic stream of belief.

Unfortunately, the spirit of tolerance is translated as separation for religious minorities but in the case of religious education, state policy historically subsumed minorities within the hegemony of Islamic education. The 2009 policy breaks away from this myopic view and talks of extending religious education for non-Muslims according to their faith.

The new education policy 2009 is currently available on the website of Ministry for Education, Government of Pakistan. Although the new democratic government from 2008 has contributed significantly in the form of amendments and additions, a lot of work to this draft was contributed under Gen Pervez Musharraf's rule. There is a dire need for this policy document to be translated into Urdu and published for consultations inside and

² See table 4.15 on Literacy Targets in Social Development in Pakistan; The State of Education, Annual Review 2002-2003, by the Social Policy Development Centre (SPDC), Karachi.

outside the Parliament. The government needs to align it with the spirit of the original 1973 constitution and make courageous decisions to pull back from the course set by Gen Zia-ul-Haq. To arrive at a new vision for education without breaking with the education policies of 1969 and 1979 is just not possible.

The policy points out two deficits in previous policies which include bad governance and lack of implementation. However, there is no acknowledgement of the askewed politicization of policy in the past.

The policy declares the Inter-Provincial Education Ministers' Conference (IPEMC) the highest policymaking forum and recognizes policymaking as an ongoing process. The implication is that no new education policy will be formulated in the future and the IPEMC will continue to endlessly sculpt and shape the education policy. However, the document does not lay down any methodology for the IPEMC to seek inputs from

experts, intellectuals, the civil society and political leadership. In short, the stakeholders are left out from this process.

The policy also does not link education to those articles in the Constitution that deal with fundamental rights, nor to protection of non-muslim Pakistani citizens. There is also no planning for an incredibly fast-paced growth of youth population. The policy advocates for the inclusion of private educational institutions (including madaris) in the national education system. However, the state budgets a mere 2.7 percent of GDP for expenditure on education. Commitments have been made to raise this to 7 percent by 2015 but the expected targets are still unlikely to be met with a simple increase in expenditure.

The crucial issue of curricula is also circumvented in this policy which states that, curricula alone are not responsible for extremism and that factors like poverty, inequality, political instability and injustice play a greater part. This side-steps the critical need to review text books and tackle directly the distortions and negativism that is carried in these texts along chauvinistic and false notions of nationalism and a dogmatic interpretation of religion.

In line with Pakistan's international commitment to the "Education for all (EFA)" framework, which requires ensuring universal primary education by 2015, this policy refers often to the EFA. Apart from expenditure, there is no discussion on mobilizing the support for meeting such targets by involving local government.

The proposal for separate ethics texts for non-Muslims is a promising move. However, simultaneously, it is also necessary to exclude discriminatory portrayal of non-Muslims from textbooks for Muslim students. In this connection, the 11th August 1947 address of the Quaid-e- Azam should not only be distributed amongst the authors of textbooks but also included in the metric curriculum.

The policy makes an appropriate recommendation that curricular should include no material against Islam or against any Islamic school of thought or against any cultural or linguistic minority. This policy recommendation is in line with the message of the Constitution – all who live in Pakistan are equal without regard to race, ethnicity, religion, or denomination.

Inclusion in the curricula of awareness about disaster management is also a valuable proposal and must be commended. The policy document concedes that 40 percent of public schools in Pakistan do not have a boundary wall; 31 percent schools have no access to safe drinking water; 16 percent go without electricity; 39 percent have no sanitation arrangements; and 6 percent work without a building. In these circumstances, it is not inappropriate to suggest that the country faces an educational emergency. The solution lies in reforming the educational system by synchronizing it with a major political consensus and political campaigning. Without these, no progress on the ground can be expected and an exclusive rather than inclusive educational outcome is likely to plague the future generations of young Pakistanis.

Recommendations:

There are no shortages of studies and recommendations for reforming the overall educational systems of Pakistan. From text book and curricula to infrastructure, many government and non-governmental efforts continue their pledge to improve this sector. However, most of these consider the issue of mainstreaming gender and minority perspectives as an additional rather than integrated requirement. As long as this view persists, women and religious minorities are unlikely to be included as stakeholders or indeed, to shape the educational future of this country. Below are some recommendations regarding educational policy that emerge as demands from within the minority communities. Reproducing these may be the best representation of recommended means towards parity in educational needs.

1. Church based organizations sent a memorandum to the Human Rights Ministry in January 2009 which included recommendations regarding education as follows (the full text is Appendix 1 to this document):

“Biases in education policy and the curriculum:

- i. Syllabus should be free from all kinds of biases and discriminations.
- ii. Pakistan is a multi-religious and multi-cultural society; therefore religious study of a specific religion, as a compulsory subject should not be imposed, rather it should be optional subject. If necessary, proper arrangements should be ensured for all the religions.
- iii. Islamiyat should be confined merely to a subject and inclusion of religious chapters in other subjects be avoided.
- iv. In other subjects, where religion is mentioned, it should not promote discrimination on the basis of religion, gender and ethnic. Instead strengthen global peace and inter-religious relations.
- v. Changes in the syllabus should be incorporated with the objective of positive growth of the students and Historical facts should not be misreported.
- vi. Non-Muslim religious expertise/leadership should also be involved in the process of preparing syllabus.
- vii. The curriculum should be designed to impart modern scientific knowledge and the vision for a society based on principles of justice and fair play.”

2. In his Convocation Address to the Institute of Business and Technology, Islamabad, 2009, ‘The Problematique of Education in Pakistan’, Dr Manzoor Ahmed, former rector International Islamic University, made the following suggestion;

“Coming back to madrassah education reforms, ideally there should be one educational

curriculum for 12-13 years of education before which no specialization should be allowed. This curriculum should be broad-based and should follow modern pedagogical insights placing emphases on learning and discovering, rather than on teaching and pontificating. After 12-13 years of proper and adequate education a student would have some sense to decide for himself, as to what he wants to be. If he wants to go to a madrassah or seminary, they should be open to him with highest possible standards of scholarship of his own choice. But if he wants to opt for Medicine or Engineering or Liberal Arts, opportunity should be made available to him to prove his mettle in these areas. The important point is to let a broadly educated youth partake in the decision-making process. Implementing the policy of making primary education compulsory may be a step in the right direction.

The reason, I advocate 12-13 years of common primary and secondary education as a precondition of entering a seminary is that religion is a serious matter and its teaching and research cannot be left in the hands of half-lettered teachers commonly employed in the madrassahs. Moreover the pedagogical methodology used in madrassahs freezes the minds of the learners and makes them incapable of entertaining fresh ideas or increasing the horizons of knowledge even at a later stage of their lives. Unfortunately the condition of the present primary and secondary level education is also far from satisfactory. A serious attempt is required to re-orientate the school education and change its pedagogical methodology. This can not be done merely by bureaucratic machinery.”

3. Letter to Javed Qazi from Justice and Peace Committee, 2007 on Pakistan: Education Policy / Curriculum Reforms (Appendix2).

4. News article in Daily Times, Dec 2009, reporting on demands by minorities in a consultation on education policies and the exclusion of minorities (Appendix 3).

³ Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Religious Minorities in Pakistan; A Memorandum for Laws and Policy Reforms, Addressed to:Federal Ministry for Human Rights, January 16, 2009, On Behalf of Civil society and Church based Organizations through National (Catholic) Commission for Justice and Peace (established by the Pakistan Catholic Bishops’ Conference).

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Recommendations from Provincial Consultations:

The provincial consultations were held in Karachi, Quetta, Abbottabad and Multan in December 2009 and January 2010 and attended by elected representatives, members of civil society organizations, media persons, politicians, education officers, provincial ministers and members of religious minorities. The participants of the consultations agreed that Pakistan is a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-religious society. The linguistic, religious and ethnic diversity in four provinces and different regions represent the richness of social fabric that must be acknowledged at all levels and respected in the policy framework of the country.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan promised to its citizens in Article 37 (b) & (c) that "the State shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within the minimum possible period; make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit". The Constitution also corresponds with Article 26 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which says that "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit." However education policies adopted by successive governments in the last sixty years manifested the least respect to the constitutional guarantees and international human rights standards on education. A wide range of policy, budgetary and implementation issues have held back progress at ground level and the country lags behind in literacy and standards of education.

In all four consultations experts in the field emphasized that that present education system in Pakistan is coercive in many ways and restricts student's ability to relate with other communities in a culturally diverse country and a globally interdependent world. There was a consensus that the present National Curriculum is largely the product of Zia ul-Haq period, and promotes intolerance toward religious minorities, sectarianism, and violence.

The participants were of view that there has been no serious evaluation on the effects of making Islamic studies compulsory for students and the policy has done more damage than good to the cause of education in Pakistan. The prejudices and biases on the basis of religion, sect and gender that have been part of the curriculum are an obstacle to creating a tolerant society and moderate social behavior.

Apart from the fact that students belonging to religious minorities are obliged to study Islamiyat, the separate syllabus for Shia and Sunni students has only deepened the sense of sectarian division among Muslims.

Participants in four consultations were of the view that cultural diversity and religious pluralism have not been recognized in country's policies because of an overemphasis on Islamic education. They emphasized that religious discrimination has crept in our daily lives because state institutions promote majority's religion and "education policies over the last the sixty years have been a source of religious intolerance in Pakistan". The consultations also deliberated on the broken down of education system and argued that the entire education system needs an immediate overhauling in order to [make it sensitive with an ability to produce meaningful discourse] address the discriminatory

provisions that exist on the basis of caste, class, creed and gender. The entire education policy demands revision not only with regard to address the exclusion of religious minorities but also to include the democratic aspirations of majority of the citizen that has been undermined by class-based education system.

They attributed the non-implementation of educational policies to lack of democratic process irrespective of the legitimacy of the successive governments. “No policy was ever discussed in the parliament. All of them were rather approved by cabinets of different times. We need Ulema to deliberate upon minorities issues and suggest ways and means to accommodate them as per the tenets of Islam,” maintained a research officer of education department.

There was a consensus that the historic speech of founder of the nation, Quad-e-Azam to the constituent assembly on August 11, 1947, should be made as the mission statement while formulating country social and education policies.

The Curriculum in Pakistan should comply with the ideals set out in Article 25 of the Constitution of Pakistan, which guarantees equality of citizens in all aspects. In a multi-religious society, education should focus on Universal human values and the religious education should be the responsibility of the family and the respective religious institutions and not of educational institutions. Therefore, it is recommended that in education all religions should be taught only as optional subjects at school, college and university.

Ethics, as a subject is no option for the children belonging to religious minorities because ethics in schools is taught from Islamic point of view. Moreover, students belonging to minority communities are not inclined to study ethics as it isolates them from majority students hence enhances discrimination against them.

When religion is discussed in other subjects, the lessons must show equal respect to all religions and a reference to a particular religion should be avoided in the subjects of secular nature, or else, the government should provide curriculum and teaching staff for all children to receive religious lessons in their own respective faiths, as prescribed in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Articles 29, 30 and 40), which is signed and ratified by Pakistan.

Government should make efforts to abolish parallel systems of education, and adopt a uniform syllabus for private, and public sector schools. If necessary, religion may be taught as an option subject to all students of all faiths and it should include chapters on all key religions in order to broaden the understanding on development of religion. The text books and curriculum must attempt to promote co-existence, harmony, multiculturalism and diversity of thought, and freedom of expression and thought. The curriculum boards and committees should be constituted in line with international best practices and standards comprised of best available minds which are accepted to all religious and other sections of the society.

Provinces should have autonomy in developing curriculums catering the linguistic and other needs of students at the local levels. Large section of the participants believed that education should be imparted through mother tongue. The parliament should discuss the education policies before adopting and implementation of education policy. They recommended that the paucity of trained subject specialist teachers in religious minority concentrated areas could be addressed by applying minority teacher quota in employment.

That existing majority Muslim teacher should be sensitized to address the minority's education issues. Participants said syllabus should create a sense of belonging to the country besides inculcating a national pride instead of provincialism on ethnic or religious lines. "Education system should have contents which inculcate globalization, harmony and tolerance. Education is supposed to be based on facts with a critical approach to learn and unlearn," said a minority member.

Participants noted that intolerance was promoted through education policies, which were aimed at division rather than cohesion. They asked for reviewing curricula so that biased contents could be removed. Comparative religions should be offered as optional subject. "Role of minorities during the independence needs to be highlighted to weed out negative consequences of policies since 1977."

Teachers trained through CT, PTC, B.Ed. and M.Ed. courses should have subjects like Ethics or Comparative Religions as part of their syllabus.

They also emphasized the need of organizing policy consultations with religious minorities so that a consensus can be reached regarding the national policy. They also acknowledged the importance of involving elected representatives into such consultation process. "Government should start imparting religious education for non-Muslim students at primary level. This needs to be supported by adequate teaching staff.

Appendices:

01	MATRIX OF 9 DOCUMENTS RELATED TO EDUCATION POLICY MAKING 1947 to 2006	First Educational Conference 1947	Second Educational Conference 1951	National Education Commission 1959	Commission On Student Problems and Welfare 1966	The New Education Policy 1969-70	The Education Policy 1972	National Education Policy & Implementation Program 1979	National Education Policy 1992	National Education Policy 1999-2010
	<p>Vision/objectives / aims / Civic sensibility / historical perspective of Pakistan movement / Freedom struggle / Pakistani nationalism / Culture & Heritage / Minorities (religious as well as cultural)</p>	<p>Education should be based on the Islamic conception of universal brotherhood of man, social democracy, social justice, and the cultivation of democratic virtues, i.e. tolerance, self-help, self-sacrifice, human kindness etc. and the consciousness of common citizenship as opposed to Provincial exclusiveness. Envisioned integration of spiritual social and vocational elements in education.</p>	<p>Less categorical on Islam but sought ways and means of incorporating the principles of Islamic ideology in the educational system of the country.</p>	<p>No reference made to Islam or Islamic ideology. Clear & concise on concerns of nationhood, quality of education & creation of welfare State. It declared, 'educational system is the instrument a society uses to equip all its people to lead productive public lives and play a fundamental part in the 'preservation of the ideals, which led to the creation of Pakistan and strengthen the concept of it as a unified nation'. The education system, must strive to create a sense of unity and of nationhood among the people of Pakistan and promote the desire to create social welfare State.</p>	<p>In the aftermath of 1965 Indo-Pakistan war, the policy raises concerns about national unity & Islamic ideology. It propounds, 'knowledge of the ideology of Pakistan must be imparted, a sense of national pride-generated and a spirit of patriotism and loyalty developed'. It advocated that 'the poems of Allama Iqbal and Nazrul Islam written to arouse the slumbering Nation. The Missads of Maulana Hali and suitable portions of Hafiz Jallandhari's Shahnama-i-Islam may also be usefully incorporated in the syllabus. In East Pakistan works of similar type in Bengali should be selected.'</p>	<p>The policy made two significant points of departure from the previous policies & announcements on education: First, it asserted that education system created by the British & adopted in Pakistan was 'secular' and must be reformed & Islamized. 'Pakistan must aim at ideological unity and not ideological vacuum, a common set of cultural values based on the precepts of Islam'. Second, it launched a frontal attack on all Foreign Missionary educational institutions and recommended that these be 'nationalized'. It argued: 'Their continued existence in a free and independent State which is an Islamic Republic must be regarded as highly anachronistic...The policy should therefore aim at nationalizing these institutions'. The 1970 Education policy merely reinforced 'preservation and inculturation of Islamic value for national unity and progress'.</p>	<p>This policy adopted a muted and value neutral position on Islam and ideology. It envisioned promotion and preservation of 'Basic Ideology' for national and individual life. It called for building 'national social and cultural harmony' compatible with our Basic Ideology through the conscious use of educational process.'</p>	<p>This policy was a watershed in the history of education & education policies in Pakistan. Building on the 1969 policy Islamic & ideological thrust it advocated not only Islamization of all education but also emphasized that Pakistan be seen in the context of Islamic Ummah. It called for revision of all curricula in conformity with Islamic principles, reorientation of teachers on the basis of Islamic ideology and advocated centrality of mosque and Madrasah education in the life of Pakistanis. Education was to be driven by Islamic precepts & beliefs rather than universalistic principles of Islam that were emphasized by the Quid-i-Azam & 1947-66 policies.</p>	<p>The policy noted that despite promises and calls for universal primary education, the ground reality remained dismal. It pointed out that national drop out rate at primary level stood around 50%. It promised eradication of illiteracy by 2002. Like 1979 policy focused on teacher training and proposed</p>	<p>Continuing on the 1979 & 1992 policies, this policy makes several leaps. First, in 21st Century it visualizes Pakistan as an Ideological State. It declares, 'Pakistan is not a secular country... Ideology of Islam forms the genesis of the State of Pakistan. The country cannot survive and advance without placing education on a sound Islamic foundation. It goes on to say, 'the only justification of our existence is our total commitment to Islam as our sole identity'. Second, education is perceived as an instrument to 'build a sound Islamic society'. Third, Islam and Islamic values should not be part of Islamic studies alone but also all other disciplines. Finally, recognizing the centrality of Islam the policy envisages Pakistan as an ideological State.</p>
02	<p>Primary/Secondary education and school management</p>	<p>Promised free & compulsory primary education up to class V to be extended to class VIII. Trained female teachers for this level. Funding to be raised by provincial governments.</p>	<p>Recognized the lack of trained teachers both at the Primary & secondary levels and laid emphasis on teachers training. Increasing the number of schools at both levels. Noted the variations in the quality of education in the provinces and called for uniform & national education system. No clear source</p>	<p>Emphasized compulsory primary education and introduced compulsory religious education at this level. Local Bodies to manage all primary education. Secondary education divided into three stages: Class VI-VIII (Middle) Class VIII to X (Secondary) Class X to XII (Higher Secondary).</p>	<p>Recognized that free & compulsory education has been accepted but not achieved in East or West Pakistan. Recognized drop out rate as a problem but showed enrollment on the rise. Proposed revision salaries for non-matriculate teachers. Identified 5 types of schools in West</p>	<p>Building on 1959 policy, proposed the creation of a District School Authority in each district. The Authority was to be autonomous with specific functions tasked to streamline the primary & secondary school systems. Provincial governments & districts were to work in close collaboration. Funding & management</p>	<p>Announced free & universal education up to Class X for both girls & boys. It was to be accomplished in two phases. In the first phase October 1972 all public & private schools to provide free education up to class VIII. Second phase starting 1974, free education extended up to Class X. It anticipated</p>	<p>The policy launched a frontal attack on 'Westernized & colonial' model of education, attributing deterioration of both Islamic cultural values & quality of education. Therefore laid emphasis on Mosque & Mohalla schools, called for using village mosques between Fajr & Zuhar as primary schools.</p>	<p>The policy noted that despite promises and calls for universal primary education, the ground reality remained dismal. It pointed out that national drop out rate at primary level stood around 50%. It promised eradication of illiteracy by 2002. Like 1979 policy focused on teacher training and proposed</p>	<p>Continuing in the spirit of 1992 policy recognized the pitfalls of primary & secondary education system. The policy proposed a few new initiatives like expanding the role of National Education District Education Testing Service (NETS). Authorities to regulate the work Education Foundation. The District</p>

MATRIX OF 9 DOCUMENTS RELATED TO EDUCATION POLICY MAKING 1947 to 2006	First Educational Conference 1947	Second Educational Conference 1951	National Education Commission 1959	Commission On Student Problems and Welfare 1966	The New Education Policy 1969-70	The Education Policy 1972	National Education Policy & Implementation Program 1979	National Education Policy 1992	National Education Policy 1999-2010
03	Higher education, particularly universities were expected to perform two tasks: first, promote learning, set intellectual moorings of the society; second, produce an 'elite class' that will determine and ensure that quality knowledge/learning is produced and protected in our national life.	Debated the issue of raising the BA degree program to three years. Noted that in UK, it took thirteen years of schooling to get to the university, while in the US, it takes 16 years to obtain a Bachelor's degree. Could not give a clear policy direction on the issue.	Unlike the previous policies it recommended that BA should be a three-year degree program. It also proposed that Bachelor in Engineering should be a four-year degree program. The policy laid considerable emphasis on regulating, recruitment, training, and promotions of university teachers. Linked promotions with merit and not seniority but remained silent on research & publications. Called for bringing Pakistani scholars serving in foreign countries/universities.	Departing from previous reports, this focused on the administrative functions of the universities. It attributed law & order problems in the universities due to over crowding, ineffective university bodies (for example Senate Syndicates), and unnecessary interference from outside, uninspiring teaching methods and outdated curriculums. Therefore, it proposed the formation of vicechancellor's committee to advise the chancellor on academic and administrative concerns of the universities. It also linked promotions of the university faculty to research/publications in journals of international repute.	Like the previous policy this also supported the idea of promoting the autonomy of the universities. It called for giving financial, administrative autonomy to universities so that they streamline their internal structures. Proposed the creation of University Grants Commission to coordinate the affairs of the universities. Like the 1959 policy called for bringing back the 'talented Pakistanis' to the universities, so that quality of research, teaching and administration could be improved in the universities and they develop into true institutions of learning and modern knowledge.	The 1970 education Noting the pathetic conditions of higher learning in Pakistan, the policy pointed out that only 2% of our relevant age group was enrolled in universities and institutions of higher learning. It also observed that 80% of students in the universities were in the arts programs and pointed out that there is serious need to increase enrollments in science subjects; it promised an increase of at least 10% per annum in science programs. Called for the establishment of UGC, also proposed greater interaction between inter university Board and UGC. Proposed the establishment of an Open University that would provide education	Noted that the number of universities in the country has risen from 4 in 1955 to 15 in 1977. It also pointed out that the provincial governments are hard put in funding the university education, therefore proposed federal funding through UGC but assured that did not mean federalization of the universities. Recognized that research was not given adequate attention in the universities, therefore proposed the creation of National Institute of Educational Research that would promote coordination & collaboration. This was to encourage liaison and coordination with UGC, National Institute of Psychology and other institutions to promote	Like the previous policies recognized that university education was in crisis. However, to resolve the crisis it proposed Islamization of education and knowledge at higher institutions of higher learning. It propounded religion driven ideological education across disciplines at the university level. It encouraged the formation of R & D centers, centers of excellence & called for endowments for research at the universities. It proposed that National Council of Social Sciences be established to promote research in social sciences, collect data and do research on social issues.	Like the 1992 it emphasized the Islamization of higher learning in Pakistan. It observed all university teaching must take into account the Pakistan ideology and Objectives Resolution as the defining principles of higher education. Within this framework the policy proposed a number of reforms in curricula and bringing university education system to international standards. Proposed Islamic law courses at International Islamic university and Bahawalpur Islamic university. Proposed health & science universities in the private sector. Recognizing the dearth of quality research

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	Proposed Urdu to be compulsory language. E. Bengal opposed it. However, it called for growth of provincial languages & culture, left it to the provinces to decide about the primary school teaching.	Proposed adoption of Urdu as national & official language. Mother tongue to be the language of instruction in primary schools & Urdu at secondary schools. Urdu made compulsory subject at primary & secondary level.	Examined the issue of language & medium of instruction in detail. Recognizing the discrepancies in the teaching at primary level in different provinces of Pakistan i.e., in Sindh up to class X the policy called for making Urdu compulsory after class III. Urdu be taught as compulsory language up to class XII as is the case with Bengali.	Took a clear position that Urdu would be language of instruction after class IV in West Pakistan and up to that level instruction in regional language. In E. Pakistan, Bengali will be the language of instruction.	1969 document proposed that Urdu & Bengali should be the medium of instruction at all levels in the West & E. Pakistan. While reliance on English be reduced it proposed that English be taught as optional & not compulsory subject. 1970 policy reiterated the same position.	Policy adopted a position of benign neglect on medium of instruction. Makes no reference to language.	Urdu propounded as lingua franca, an instrument of ideology, national cohesion & symbol of Muslim culture. Called for strengthening Urdu as national language. Primary education, provinces may choose to instruct in mother tongue/regional language. All English Medium schools must adopt Urdu. In Madrasahs, medium of instruction will be Urdu.	Recognizing Pakistan as a multilingual society, it proposed a flexible approach on medium of instruction; provinces may choose regional, national language or English as medium of instruction. For higher education English may be continued as medium of instruction.	The policy stated that Urdu was adopted as medium of instruction in 1979 but could not be fully implemented and led to the return of elite English medium schools.
04 Medium of instruction				rather than seniority. It proposed universities be autonomous bodies and vice-chancellors should be eminent educationists /scholars	policy still continued on improving the quality of university education and also attracting the best & brightest to university teaching. It lamented that the best brains were not opting for university teaching. It promised better salary structure, greater autonomy and restoration of university senates. It promised creation of centers of excellence in the National Institute of Modern Languages at Islamabad and one at Dacca. UGC was asked to promote better coordination between universities and provincial & federal governments.	through distance learning and non-formal method. To encourage research, scholarship and talent promised to institute National Professorships. Also promised interest free loans to talented students.	research and teachers training at this level		in sciences, law, arts and social sciences proposed instituting a federal law to ensure research quality research in the universities and other research institutes. Proposed centers of advance research in the universities. Observed that by 2010 in most universities qualified faculty would retire herefore serious need to plan for acquiring qualified faculty. Like the earlier policies proposed encouraging Pakistani scholars abroad to join Pakistani universities.
05 Religious and Madrasa education	Emphasized universal principles of Islam and dispelled any notions of theocratic State. Called for brining religious/Madrasah teachings in line with existing education system.	It denounced the existing education system as colonial, recognized the need of promoting Islamic values and ideology, referred to Objectives Resolution and declared that religious education would have the goal of pursuing 'Islamic	Proposed that in a State and society like Pakistan, religious studies should be taught at three levels: 1. Compulsory, for Muslims from class 1-8. 2. Optional, from class 8-12. 3. Research, Optional, University	Primary focus on East Pakistan, where religious education was controlled and managed by Madrasah Education Board. Called for reform and also noted that in E. Pakistan religious education imparted in Urdu, regular	Made Islamic compulsory up to grade 10 and subsequently optional. A major shift policy introduced equivalence between religious and modern education. Now, the Madrasah degree holders could compete for job with regular	Declared status quo be maintained in religious education. Keep Islamic studies compulsory up to grade 10. New educational radio channels to give more time to recitation of Holy Quran.	Announced the formation of 5,000 mosque schools and the centrality of mosque for imparting education. Recognized the Sand of Madrasahs, Imams equated with teachers. The graduates of the Madrasah to be given foreign scholarship	The initiatives taken for bringing the centrality of religious and Madrasah education in 1979 were pursued and adopted with new vigor to Islamize the education system in Pakistan. Propagation of Islamic worldview, Quran and Nazra made pivot of all	Continuing the march towards Islamization, Islamiat made compulsory from Grade 1 to BA/BSC even in professional colleges. Holy Quran to be taught along with translation from class VI to class XII. From Class XII, Holy Quran, Islamiat

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		Socialism which will promote political democracy and economic justice. Proposed the creation of Institute of Islamic Research to attain these goals.		level and research be encouraged to deal with challenges & issues of modern times.			degree holders. The policy emboldened the religious groups. The 1970 Policy listed 10,000 Madrassah in E. Pakistan and close 700 in W. Pakistan. Noted mostly privately managed. Raised the issue of equivalence and parallel system of education.				Islamic studies and religious studies treated as core of education, thus elevating the social status of Imam and adding legitimacy & respect to religious degree & education.		learning in the education system.		and Arabic introduced as integrated compulsory subject. Karachi, Peshawar Universities and Sheikh Zayed Islamic Centre in Lahore to be treated as models of Dars-e-Nizami.	
06	The policy makers were conscious about need for revision & modernization of syllabi & textbooks. For secondary, high school & university they proposed committees of experts for writing textbooks. Silent on elementary teaching & curriculum.	Nothing specific offered.	Nothing specific offered.	The Commission recognized that providing suitable textbooks & updating curriculum was a challenge. It also resisted the demands of Islamization of curriculum & textbooks by raising the issue; how could one Islamize physics, maths, chemistry, technological subjects or professional skills? However, it made specific proposals that text books prepared by Textbook Boards be examined & approved by expert's committees; Textbook Boards should prepare, print, publish & distribute books through its own agencies; diversify curriculum to cater for the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture & other sectors. Curriculum committees could do similar job at secondary & high school levels. On primary/elementary level Arabic alphabet (Qaida) & five pillars of Islam be taught from class II; life history of Prophet & Islamic virtues like integrity, honesty & righteousness be taught; children be	The Commission prepared by Textbook Boards be examined & approved by expert's committees; Textbook Boards should prepare, print, publish & distribute books through its own agencies; diversify curriculum to cater for the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture & other sectors. Curriculum committees could do similar job at secondary & high school levels. On primary/elementary level Arabic alphabet (Qaida) & five pillars of Islam be taught from class II; life history of Prophet & Islamic virtues like integrity, honesty & righteousness be taught; children be	The 1969 policy had broad brush approach towards curriculum & textbooks; proposed standardization of syllabi & textbooks at national level; setting up of committees of scholars, writers, educationists to prepare textbooks. The 1970 policy declared that curriculum should be according to national objectives (not defined). Called for improving analytical skills and imparting scientific knowledge at elementary level; promote technical & vocational training. Proposed each province should have a Bureau of Curriculum Development & that should coordinate with other Boards and teachers training institutions & integrate curriculum at all levels & meet on regular bases. Unlike the 1966 policy it proposed that to improve the printing quality of books private sector publishers be sought.	The 1969 policy had broad brush approach towards curriculum & textbooks; proposed standardization of syllabi & textbooks at national level; setting up of committees of scholars, writers, educationists to prepare textbooks. The 1970 policy declared that curriculum should be according to national objectives (not defined). 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The policy advocated that National Book Foundation would be run on commercial bases and Printing Corporation of Pakistan would supplement & support the work of Foundation.	This policy replaced the phrase 'Basic Ideology' with 'Pakistan's national objectives' (again not defined) & proposed revision of all curricula in line with that. Like 1970 policy it called for developing analytical skills & teaching of science at elementary level. Also proposed setting up of curriculum committees at appropriate levels for up gradation of curricula. Each province should have a permanent Curriculum Bureau 'devising curriculum & coordinating with provincial textbook boards & teachers training institutions. No reference is made to National Curriculum Bureaus instead it is stated that the ministry of education should continue to coordinate & formulate national policies on curriculum development. No reference to National Book Foundation but called for more than one textbook on subjects & allowed printing by private publishers with prior approval of the Textbook Boards.	This policy reflected a trend towards privatization & reliance on market forces. It declared that textbook curricula reforms initiated in the 1970's have outlived their utility. Very much like the 1966 & 1979 policies it called for moral education based on Islamic values. It launched a frontal attack on textbook boards asserting that school (elementary, secondary, high school) education has suffered because these schools failed to produce quality books. It allowed development of textbooks under private sector, breaking the monopoly of textbook boards. Also allowed private publishers to publish textbooks.	This policy while sustaining privatization of education made a major push towards Islamization of knowledge & education in Pakistan. It promised to provide chart flows of Quamme Ayaat for study at elementary level. It called for ensuring that all materials that are repugnant to the 'teachings of Islam' and 'ideology of Pakistan' are expunged from the textbooks. To ensure that it is binding on private institutions the policy proposed a Curriculum Act. Like the previous policies it recommended that federal curriculum bureaus and provincial textbook boards should continue to review and approve textbooks. Promised the incorporation of issues like incorporation of environment, Aids in the curriculum at various levels. Instead of single textbook it proposed multiple textbooks. It promised to produce textbooks of international standards & quality.					

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07	Gender and education	Gender awareness was relatively weak at the time, therefore a non-issue. Broad reference to Islam that it does not differentiate in education the basis of sex. The policy allowed co-education at elementary level but called for separate girls & boys schools at secondary level. The policy made two important announcements; first, for Adult literacy centers 50% of allocation be given to women centers. Second, encouraged the creation of Industrial Homes, where women could acquire vocational training to earn a livelihood.	Gender issue is hardly touched; it was noted that in college's coeducation was prevalent and there was need for encouraging more separate men & women colleges.	Again the issue does not catch the imagination of policy makers. However, policy makes three salient points, first, girls primary schools should have same facilities as of boys; second, up class III women be encouraged as primary school teachers; third, for girls, department of Home Economics be created in universities & colleges	Gender becomes an issue. The 1966 report recognizes that the 'orthodox' section of Pakistani community strongly opposes coeducation at primary & college/university level. The report rejects the orthodox view and insists that at both levels co-education be continued. It concedes that more separate female schools & colleges be opened where the 'orthodox' section may send their children.	The 1969 & 1970 reports attribute low enrollment of girls in primary schools to coeducation. It asserts for social/cultural reasons parents don't send girl child to school. It notes girl child enrollment is only 20% & worsens as one moves to secondary level, therefore, it is proposed that more separate schools be created.	Like the previous three reports/policies, this policy also recognizes that girl child enrollment & co-education need some attention & resolution. This policy asserts that ratio of female teachers at primary level is less than 30%, therefore it recommends that a proportionate increase in the number of female primary teachers will help increase enrollment of girls. It does not see co-education at primary level as an obstacle to girl child education.	This policy launches a frontal attack on coeducation. It claims that in an 'Islamic society' male & female education should be separate at all levels. It also asserts that female education has been 'grossly neglected' therefore to improve enrollment and arrest drop out rate, sex segregated education is imperative at all levels. In that spirit it proposes the establishment of two women universities, one in Lahore & other in Karachi to begin with. It claimed that by 1992 universal primary female education would be achieved.	This policy treats gender in a marginal way. It proposes that female education would be promoted through nonformal & distance learning.	Like the previous policy does not address gender issues in education in a comprehensive manner. However, the policy is focused on improving & enhancing the quality of primary school female teachers. It starts with the assumption that female teachers are better & could increase and sustain girl child enrollment rate. Therefore it proposed a three pronged approach; 70% of the newly established schools would have female teachers for both girls & boys schools; during summers pre-service training would be provided to female teachers; no upper age restriction for female teachers who join primary schools.
08	Private education, low pay's, high profits & commercialization	Ambiguous on the role of private sector in education; considered education at all levels primarily government responsibility but recognizing the financial constraints encouraged private initiative in elementary education.	More open & forthcoming in recognizing the role & responsibility of private sector in education. Conceded that central, provincial & local bodies have neither the financial means nor infrastructure to meet the educational needs of the country therefore not only welcomed private initiative but also proposed that if government opens one school, private sector should open three. Recognizing the contribution of private sector it encouraged	The Commission reported a trend of commercialization, profiteering, lack of quality education in private sector. Therefore it proposed better regulation by government & efficient management of private schools. It also drew attention that some private schools promoted elitism & snobbery and that needs to be discouraged. Private education was reported more as a problem than an efficient policy alternative to	The Commission reported a trend of commercialization, profiteering, lack of quality education in private sector. Therefore it proposed better regulation by government & efficient management of private schools. It also drew attention that some private schools promoted elitism & snobbery and that needs to be discouraged. Private education was reported more as a problem than an efficient policy alternative to	The 1969 policy also viewed private education more as a problem rather than an alternative. It noted exorbitant school fees, underpaid teachers and administrative irregularities; it recommended the adoption of legislation by the government to streamline these issues. The general approach was that private education needed greater governmental oversight, supervision & regulation. The thrust of 1970 policy was no different	This policy Brought an end to over a decade's complaining about the private educational institutions as reflected in previous policies, it Nationalized the entire private education, except for the religious educational institutions. This marked the beginning of an era of public sector education expansion and over lordship of ministry of education.	This policy departed from the previous ones as it aimed not only at reversing the privatization of education as a viable policy prescription for changing the direction of education in Pakistan. It announced that private sector would be allowed to open up educational institutions. Nationalization law would be suitably amended and assured no further nationalization would occur. Private sector to play an important	Building on the 1979 policy this one aimed at institutionalizing the role of private sector in education. To attract the private sector to open up educational institutions the policy promised; interest free loans; plots for constructing educational institutions in residential areas on special price and income tax rebate. Philanthropists were encouraged to invest in private education. National & Provincial Educational Foundations were to be set up to facilitate & coordinate	Continued on the path adopted by the 1979 & 92 policies. Expanded provisions of denationalization of educational institutions and strengthened privatization instruments. For example it encouraged the adoption of Punjab Private Educational Institutions (Promotion & Regulation) Ordinance 1984 NO II by other provinces to serve as a model for privatization. The policy reported that in 1972 the government had nationalized 19,432

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		them to be more self-reliant, competitive and efficient.		supplement & support public sector education.		developmental role in education.	with private sector to develop educational institutions in urban & rural areas. Accredited inter-national universities were to be encouraged to set up campuses in Pakistan or collaborate with private schools & universities.	educational institutions. These included 18,926 schools, 346 Madrassahs, 153 colleges and 5 technical institutions. The policy postulated that government alone could not take the responsibility educating the nation, private sector must play a positive role and the government would provide conducive regulatory framework.
09	Recognized that illiteracy is a major problem & resolved that the State must provide free, universal and compulsory basic education. Called for adult literacy campaigns. Promised to establish Adult Literacy Campaign Boards in all provincial governments; these Boards were to provide non-formal education in provincial languages.	Did not pay any attention to the subject.	The subject of adult education did not receive much attention in this report. However, the report floated a few interesting programs. First, it called upon the ministry of education to establish a pilot project using school children to teach their parents; second, under-graduate college teachers could also be used as adult literacy teachers; 'each one teach one' in this system each literate was expected to teach an illiterate adult.	This subject did not catch the imagination of this report.	The policy reflected the growing awareness among the decision makers that illiteracy and adult education needs attention & resources. Promised eradication of illiteracy in the shortest possible time. Proposed the establishment of National Literacy Corps, which was to have one team of trainers to train adults for Literacy Centers nationwide. These were to serve as the lifeline of non-formal adult education program.	Like the previous three policies it remained focused on eradication of illiteracy & adult education through non-formal schooling. However, it departed from the earlier policies in four major ways: First, it mainstreamed the religious idiom in adult education by declaring that adult/youth education be conducted after prayers; second, it proposed coordination social sector ministries by recommending that the ministry of education will sponsor 10,000 adult literacy centers out of which 5,000 centers will be sponsored by Allama Iqbal Open University, IRDP Markaz, Social Welfare Centers and Population Wing of Planning Division; third, announced the establishment of a National Council on Adult Education in the Allama Iqbal Open University. Finally, procured 10,000 TV sets from UNESCO for the	The policy reported that Pakistan has the lowest literacy rate in the region estimated around 34%. It observed that there are no nationwide adult literacy programs and pointed out the socio-cultural divisions between regions & provinces. It promised that appropriate legislation would be adopted to provide non-transferable funds for the promotion of adult education. Directories of Adult Education with federal & provincial ministries would provide training at the division & district levels; also promised financial support from private sector & NGO's.	The thrust of this policy was similar to that of the 1992. The policy estimated literacy rate at national level stood at 38.9%. That meant 50% of males and 27% of females. It noted that in world ranking and regional context literacy rate was pathetic in Pakistan. Recognizing this handicap the policy promised to launch a massive non-formal education program to supplement formal education. By involving community it promised a massive Non-formal Basic education program that would raise the literacy level to 70% by the year 2010. To achieve this goal it promised the launch of two programs; Quranic Literacy Program and National Literacy Movement. It also proposed an all Political Parties Accord on elimination of illiteracy, according to the policy that would be signed by 2010. Khanbakh's and Mazars were asked to donate generously in this program. More

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	It announced the setting up of Council of Technical Education. The Council was to advise the government of Pakistan on technical & vocational education. The conference proposed a massive reorganization and modernization of technical education & vocational schools to suit the economic needs of the country. For women establishment of Industrial was to be encouraged.	It did not dwell much on vocational education, merely emphasized that a strong general education should serve as a base for vocational & technical education.	The general thrust of the Commission was that at secondary & high school levels technical/vocational & general education should be integrated. It also proposed that the Directorate of Technical Education in the Department of Education should administer all technical institutions other than those managed by the universities.	encouraged to recite national anthem & poems of Iqbal & Nazamul-Islam. The report noted that Councils of Technical Education that did work for few years needed to be revived & revitalized to strengthen vocational & technical education. Like the earlier policies linked vocational education with general education & the development needs of the country	The 1969 policy made three specific proposals; first, 60% of students who leave Elementary school should be given opportunity to join the vocational/technical schools; second, central & provincial governments should provide scholarships to 75% students who join vocational/technical schools; third, a massive shift towards vocational & technical education at secondary school level would be a desirable goal. The 1970 policy reiterated the proposals made in the 1969 policy on the subject.	This policy also supported the general approach of earlier policies of integrating vocational / technical education with general education. However, it proposed two new changes; first, after completing three year diploma course, students would be encouraged to have two years of industrial training. The diploma holders could do one-year of additional course and obtain B.Tech degree; second, for the first time it drew attention on the handicapped children and announced the formation of committee's in the Education Councils of the provinces. It promised of making special arrangements for the handicapped children in the country's schools.	The policy declared that disabled & handicapped constitute 4% of country's population and unfortunately adequate attention is not paid towards their education. Therefore, the policy announced devising of special curricula, arrangements in the schools for children with special needs. It called upon the Pakistan philanthropists to donate funds and also approached the donor agencies to cater for the needs of special children. It announced the opening up of teachers training institute for the Deaf & Dumb in Sindh and Punjab. Continuing the theme of the 1972 policy it laid emphasis on vocational/technical education, teacher training and strengthening the existing institutions and programs, particularly, the diploma & B.Tech degree. It called for creating special skills schools/programs for school dropouts.	Adult Literacy Centers.	The policy sharpened the focus on the need of technical/vocational education by calling for incorporating the usages of emerging technologies in the curricula. The policy was equally forceful in suggesting the adoption of Islamic teaching & developing 'Islamic worldview' for the teachers in vocational/technical education programs and institutions. It proposed compulsory computer education at all levels for vocational/technical education. Promised the introduction of male & female technical/vocational schools at tehsil & district level. It called for the setting up of National Technical & Vocational Education Council. It also promised to increase the number of Directorate of Technical Education.	importantly Asian Development sponsored a pilot project on women education. The policy lambasted the condition of technical & vocational education in the country. It attributed violence, unrest among youth and unemployment on policy maker's inability to fix the technical/vocational education. Drawing attention to the dismal condition the document noted that there are 21 divisions without a polytechnic for women, 65 districts without any polytechnic for boys, 329 tehsils without a vocational institute for boys and 277 tehsils without a vocational institute for girls. Given these conditions the policy proposed the establishment of National Council on Technical & Vocational Education, which would regulate and coordinate on technical/vocational education with the provincial departments. It also proposed to task the National Technical Teachers Training College, Islamabad to launch a special crash program for teacher's training in the field. It proposed the strengthening & expansion of 194 existing vocational institutes with the provincial departments. Called for revision, up gradation of their curriculum and increasing enrollments in these schools/institutes to

MATRIX OF 9 DOCUMENTS RELATED TO EDUCATION POLICY MAKING 1947 to 2006	First Educational Conference 1947	Second Educational Conference 1951	National Education Commission 1959	Commission On Student Problems and Welfare 1966	The New Education Policy 1969-70	The Education Policy 1972	National Education Policy & Implementation Program 1979	National Education Policy 1992	National Education Policy 1999-2010
11	<p>Political scenario or environment with special emphasis on student and teacher politics</p> <p>Took place at a time when nation building & laying the foundations of an administrative set up for the new State appeared to be the preoccupation of top leadership.</p>	<p>Language controversy/riots in East Pakistan and Objectives Resolution sharpened focus of policy maker's two issues, on medium of instruction, role of national and provincial languages, on role and significance of Islam/Pakistan ideology in education.</p>	<p>Those who took over power in 1958 saw politics chaotic & faculty therefore the policy advised students & teachers to stay away from politics and discouraged the formation of unions.</p>	<p>encouraged to recite national anthem & poems of Iqbal & Nazrul-Islam.</p> <p>This report must be seen in the context of 1965 war and discontent that prevailed on the college & university campuses. It provides a good summary of causes of unrest on campuses, politicization of students, interference of administration and political parties, weak university managements and over crowding. However, fails to offer a clear policy prescription, although alludes to autonomy of universities, devolving legislation to give some participatory rights to teachers & students in managing affairs of the universities.</p>	<p>Breakdown of system of governance provided by General Ayub Khan (1958-69). The policy points out over 400,000 youth unemployed, hence massive student unrest. In reality higher education system in crisis, as educational degrees do not translate into employment possibilities. The policy does not offer any prescription. The 1970 policy comes out with a few proposals, formation of teacher-student councils, head of the department or senior professor to head such council; a committee to look into the conveyance problems of students in large urban centers; provincial governments to do planning on employment opportunities for university graduates.</p>	<p>The nationalization of education needs to be understood in the context of protests of students, school teachers, who emerge as one of the important support groups of the PPP government. Therefore, revision of pay scales, labor export, youth employment strategies of the government need to be seen in that context.</p>	<p>Interestingly the 1977 PNA Movement against PPP government was not led by students nor were they significant component in protest, therefore the policy is stern on colleges, university student/teacher concerns and issues.</p>	<p>However in the post 1979 phase ideological cleansing of the universities and colleges leads to violence on college and university campuses, student clashes and weaponization emerge as serious problems, therefore the policy offers a number of new proposals, First, counseling and guidance for students, second, universities to have Dean of Student Affairs, Who would advise and mediate in student's disputes; third, no political student organizations to operate on campuses, although cultural & scientific societies would function; carrying weapons would be banned on campuses.</p>	<p>Like the previous two policies recognized the inadequacies of education system in the country, particularly the university education. Proposed building of libraries and other research provisions on campuses. Called for the creation National Education Council to be headed by PM & provincial ones to be headed by Chief Ministers. The policy declared that all educational files because of lack of sufficient ideological training of the teachers and students, hence recommendations enforcement of Islamization of knowledge at all levels.</p>
12	<p>Teacher trainings and service conditions</p> <p>The policy resolved that teacher's training is of vital significance and provincial & central government should provide the funding. It promised regular training & adequate salaries for schoolteachers. The policy also announced to establish first rate Teachers Training Institutes for Women, which would train them for nursery & primary classes.</p>	<p>The policy recognized that the best & the brightest don't go to teaching, therefore the need is to raise the status of the teacher and the place to start is primary school teacher. It proposed to establish 101 training institutions for primary school teachers (male & female) and 26 such institutions for secondary school teachers. Technical & Vocational education was to be treated as integral part of the</p>	<p>Instead of focusing on teacher's training the Commission's report shared with the assumption that schoolteachers have too many free days and that need to be regulated and monitored. It also recommended that the salaries of Pakistani language teachers & other disciplines should be the same.</p>	<p>Like the previous reports the status & salary are noted as the primary reason for poor quality of teachers at school level. While at college & university levels dearth of quality teachers is attributed to the fact that the best & brightest prefer to opt for 'superior services'. The policy did not come up with any specific proposal to improve the quality of teacher but implicitly implied that rigorous method of recruitment (particularly</p>	<p>The 1969 & 1970 policies found too much of bureaucratic control by the education department bureaucracies as a serious obstacle to the recruitment of quality teachers at all levels. Both policies favor teacher's recruitments be made by autonomous governing bodies at all levels. The 1969 policy proposed that Separate Directorates be created, headed by Director General, for recruitment of primary, secondary,</p>	<p>This policy revealed a clear pro-teacher bias – in the sense that at levels it promised to improve service conditions, training & salary nationalized all private & missionary institutions and announced government pay scales for teachers, particularly the college / university teachers were given grade 17 i.e. gazetted grades, while schoolteachers were negated grades. It proposed that the entire</p>	<p>Compared to the previous policies on teacher's recruitment & training the 1979 policy was clear, categorical and emphatic in proposing that teachers at all levels (elementary, secondary, high school, college, university) must possess & demonstrate "strong commitment to the Ideology of Pakistan". It promised the launching of massive ideological reorientation training program for the teachers and to that effect</p>	<p>This policy also focused on changing the ideological orientation of the teachers. It proposed that teachers training curricula would have an enhanced Islamic religious education component. The teachers were advised to teach Islamic concepts & worldview to students in tutorials. The policy proposed following new initiatives: it called for strengthening the Academy of Educational Planning and</p>	<p>The policy continued emphasis on reorienting the teacher's education along Islamic & ideological lines. It proposed the creation two posts of Qari and the other for teaching Quran in all teachers training institutions of the country. It proposed that a Education Public Service Commission would be established for the recruitment of teachers. Promised revision of curriculum of all M. A Education and B. A Education</p>

MATRIX OF 9 DOCUMENTS RELATED TO EDUCATION POLICY MAKING 1947 to 2006	1947	1951	1959	1966	1969-70	1972	1979	1992	1999-2010
	First Educational Conference	Second Educational Conference	National Education Commission	Commission On Student Problems and Welfare	The New Education Policy	The Education Policy	National Education Policy & Implementation Program	National Education Policy	National Education Policy
	1947	1951	1959	1966	1969-70	1972	1979	1992	1999-2010
		education system		in colleges & universities) and better salary package may attract the talented.	college and vocational/technical teachers	policy would be continuously reviewed & evaluated by Education Councils. These Councils would be set up at district, provincial, federal & institutional level. The Councils were to have MNA's, MPA's and members of the Local Bodies and the representatives of the teachers unions, student government departments & other agencies. On the one side the policy promoted democratization and in put of the elected in the education. On other hand, the policy proposed that the recruitment of college/university teachers should be more rigorous. Their recruitment & training should be on the pattern of CSS. To accomplish this, the policy led to the creation of Academy of Educational Planning & Management. The policy laid considerable emphasis on schoolteacher's training as well. The policy also proposed that 2 members of the Public Service Commission be recruited from the education cadre. District Education Councils were to expedite the recruitment, training and promotions of the schoolteachers.	proposed to upgrade all existing elementary training institutions to Colleges of Elementary Teachers. Like the 1972 policy it proposed the establishment of Academy of Educational Management and Planning for in service training.	Management and creating such Academies in the provinces; it also introduced National Testing Service for regulating access to higher education; promised increasing the financial autonomy & authority of District Education Officers to streamline the recruitment training and other problems of school teachers; finally, proposed the establishment of National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) for management & development of manpower in the education sector.	programs. Proposed the creation of new cadre of educators. It also proposed the establishment of a new National Institute of Teachers Education (NITE), which would train and improve the skills of over 300 teachers annually. It also called for the setting up of Teachers Foundation, which will cater for the needs of teachers, and national teacher's conference would be organized. The Academy of Educational Planning and Management will offer short & long term courses to improve the professional skills of the teachers.

About SAFHR

Human rights, peace and democracy are the main areas of concern of the South Asia Forum for Human Rights (SAFHR). SAFHR, set up in 1990, is a regional public forum for the promotion of respect for universal values of human rights, the interdependence of rights and the indivisibility of rights.

In the strife torn region of South Asia, SAFHR is committed to the promotion of the inter linkages between human rights, peace and substantive democracy. SAFHR is a human rights organization with 'peace as value' as its cornerstone. Peace is understood as a space for the enjoyment of the rights of all peoples. It is not simply the absence of war or the management of crisis but a fundamental value to be integrated in all programmes for realizing peoples' security - that is, security of food, shelter, health and livelihood in a non-hegemonic democratic regional order. It is this perspective which animates SAFHR's flagship programme – Human Rights and Peace Studies Orientation Course.

SAFHR's other programmes address some of the core concerns of the human rights and peace agenda –displacement of indigenous peoples and minorities, refugees and migrants, impunity, inter-state and intra-state conflicts and peace accords, militarization and the strengthening of peace constituencies in civil society.